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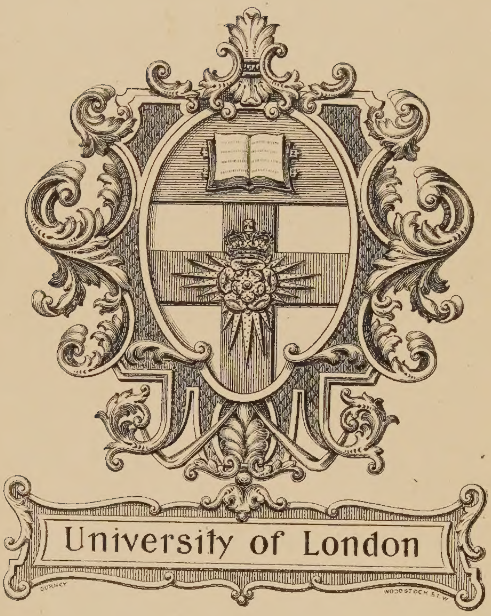

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HANSARD'S

PARLIAMENTARY

DEBATES:

Third Series;

COMMENCING WITH THE ACCESSION OF

WILLIAM IV.

8° VICTORIÆ, 1845.

VOL. LXXIX.

COMPRISING THE PERIOD FROM

THE THIRD DAY OF APRIL,

TO

THE THIRTIETH DAY OF APRIL, 1845.

Third Volume of the Session.

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1845.

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HANSARD'S

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

IN THE *FIFTH SESSION* OF THE *FOURTEENTH PARLIAMENT* OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF *GREAT BRITAIN* AND *IRELAND*, APPOINTED TO MEET 11 NOVEMBER, 1841, AND FROM THENCE CONTINUED TILL 4 FEBRUARY, 1845, IN THE EIGHTH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF

HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.

THIRD VOLUME OF THE SESSION.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, April 3, 1845.

MINUTES.] *Sat first.*—The Earl of Effingham, after the Death of his Father.

BILLS. *Public.*—1^{a}· Sugar Duties; Lands Clauses Consolidation (Scotland); Lands Clauses Consolidation; Railway Clauses Consolidation (Scotland); Railway Clauses Consolidation.

2^{a}· Bastardy.

3^{a}· and passed:—Companies Clauses Consolidation; Companies Clauses Consolidation (Scotland).

Private.—1^{a}· Duke of Argyll's Estate; Pudsey Gas; Birkenhead Commissioners Dock; Birkenhead Company's Docks.

PETITIONS PRESENTED. By Lord Redesdale, from Clergy and others, of Dorchester, and from Inhabitants of Watlington, and several other places, against Increase of Grant to Maynooth.—From Metropolitan Inhabitants, for Inquiry into Operation of Anatomy Act.—By Dukes of Richmond and Buccleuch, and Earl of Roseberry, from Chirnside, and several other places, for Improving the Condition of Schoolmasters (Scotland).—By Duke of Richmond, from Dean and Clergy of Frome, and from numerous other places, for the Suppression of Intemperance.—From Ashley, for Repeal of Malt Tax.—From County of Banff, against any Alteration in the present System of Banking (Scotland).—By Bishop of Hereford, from Hereford, against the Insolvent Debtors Act Amendment Bill.—By Lord Campbell, from British-born Jews of Portsmouth, in favour of Jewish Disabilities Removal Bill.—From Ballisakeery, and 2 other places, for the Encouragement of Schools in Connexion with Church Education Society (Ireland).—By Lord Monteagle, from Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India, for Protection to Planters.

THE BOUNDARY TREATY WITH AMERICA.] Lord *Ashburton* rose and said: My Lords, I take the liberty of bespeaking your Lordships' attention whilst I offer a few observations on a subject which is, indeed, in some respects, personal to myself, but which is also eminently of a public nature; inasmuch as it refers to the Treaty which I had the honour of negotiating with the United States of America. As I had the great satisfaction of receiving the expression—the most unusual expression of your Lordships' approbation of that measure, I feel it the more necessary to notice the gross misrepresentation which has been made of my conduct in this case; and, as this House is the only place and the only means I have of making any explanation, I trust your Lordships will excuse me whilst I detain you for a short time. I am not now about to enter into any general discussion of the merits of that measure; and your Lordships will do me the justice of recollecting that I have never troubled the House by noticing the criticisms, some of them made in no very fair or very decent language, which have been made upon that measure —and I would not now introduce them except to contradict certain statements of facts which, if they were true, would render me little deserving of the honour which your Lordships were pleased to pay to my exertions. Neither do I now complain of a matter personal to myself in the manner in which a noble Lord (Viscount Palmerston) is in the constant habit of speaking of the way in which I acted for the Crown; he may call the Treaty a capitulation, or anything else he pleases; we are all of different temperaments by nature, and it is the nature of the noble Lord to show a flippancy, not only upon this, but upon other occasions, which is most unfortunate for this country.

The Marquess of *Lansdowne*: I rise to order. I am most anxious that the noble Lord should be permitted to explain his own conduct, either in these transactions or in any other; but I must submit to the noble Lord whether it is consistent with the rules of this House, which are founded on excellent maxims of sense and usefulness, to introduce personal allusions—particularly when those references are so made, that it is impossible not to understand who the party is to whom those observations are intended to be applied. I am satisfied that the object of my noble Friend in making the explanation can be equally well effected without introducing any personal allusion; and, after what has recently taken place elsewhere, I wish my noble Friend would have recourse to some other mode of making his defence.

Lord *Ashburton*: I will attend, as far as possible, to the admonition of the noble Lord; but when a man who has discharged public duties, and who has received the approbation of this House for the manner in which he has performed those duties, has the honour of a seat in this House, this is the place in which he ought to justify himself when any imputations are made on his conduct; and I think that if my noble Friend who now complains of my expressions had been in another place, his great love of order would have been used to induce others to speak less disrespectfully and less lightly of the transactions to which I allude. I speak, however, now only to matters of facts. I am alluding to what has been published abroad as a positive declaration made elsewhere of facts which I am about to controvert. I wish to guard myself against committing any irregularity; but I shall speak of facts which have been published out of doors, and which it is impossible for me to admit. I am not about to enter into any argument as to the merits of the Treaty, or to say whether it is good or not; your Lordships and the other House of Parliament have been pleased to pass sentence upon it, and I should be very fastidious indeed if I were not satisfied with it: the approval of Parliament has been my inducement heretofore to abstain from entering into any controversy on the subject. I will not detain your Lordships for any great length of time, and when I have stated what the misrepresentations to which I allude are, and also the real facts of the case, I think I may leave it to your Lordships and to the country to decide upon them without any observations of my own. The principal fault imputed to me in condemnation of the Treaty which I negotiated with respect to the North-Eastern Boundary of the United States of America, is, that I made a sacrifice of certain settlements at the upper part of the river St. John, called the Madawaska Settlements. Recklessness and impropriety have been attributed to me over and over again, and it has been said that I sacrificed the interests of this country by surrendering those settlements. Without troubling your Lordships with any lengthened details, your Lordships probably know that the Madawaska Settlement is a straggling village extending for some miles on both sides of the river St. John; and now that this river is taken as the boundary, that portion of the settlement which lies on the south side of the river has been by the Treaty accorded to the United States. But those persons who bring accusations against me for this act have on more than one or two occasions positively offered to do the same thing; and the Secretary of State for the time, Lord Palmerston, has repeatedly, and over and over again, offered to give up to the United States this very settlement which he now reprobates me for parting with. As your Lordships will recollect, when the disputes as to the boundary first arose, the matter was referred to the arbitration of the King of the Netherlands; he made his award; and by that award the same portion of the Madawaska Settlement as I gave up was ceded to the United States; so that this was no new concession on my part. But was there any objection expressed to this concession on the part of the Secretary of State at that time? On the contrary, the Secretary of State urgently pressed the United States to accept this award, by which this Madawaska Settlement was given up. This favourable opinion was expressed in the strongest terms two or three times. On the 4th of October the noble Lord said,—

> "His Majesty would indeed be deeply grieved if he could suppose that the Government of the United States would hesitate to accept this award."

Therefore this settlement, which is said by Lord Palmerston to have done so much mischief because of the cession, is founded on a cession of which the noble Lord not only approved, but presssed the United States to accept. I think that is a good answer to the complaint, and shows that no extravagant concession was made by my Treaty. But in a second letter, written two years afterwards, the noble Lord the then Secretary of State said,—

> "His Majesty has seen his hopes frustrated with the deepest concern."

So that, after two years' consideration, the noble Lord expressed his great regret that the line drawn by the award of the King of the Netherlands had not been accepted. I should state, as an additional fact, that the settlements ceded by the award of the King of the Netherlands, as the line was drawn by him, and which was so pressed for acceptance by Lord Palmerston, ceded a more important portion of territory than he (Lord Ashburton) had agreed to cede to the American Government; that the line drawn by the King of the Netherlands ran along the heights intermediate between the waters of the St. John and of the St. Lawrence, and that these heights would enable America to command, in case of any war, the whole passage of the river St. Lawrence. The truth is, that this was the only part of the territory which is of the slightest importance. The heights ceded by the King of the Netherlands overlooked the banks of the St. Lawrence, and commanded the passage and the road on the right side of that river; so that the noble Lord who now complains of my concession was not only ready to make that cession of the settlement of Madawaska, but was also ready to take the very bad line which involved the whole military command of the St. Lawrence, and by which the American Government could have impeded the communications between our Colony of New Brunswick, and the whole of our Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. That point was, I trust, satisfactorily settled by my Treaty. Whatever others may think about it, I should say, that the last person entitled to express an opinion adverse to the settlement of that part of the line is the noble Lord, who has so flippantly made the objections I have stated. It may be said, it is true, that Lord Palmerston consented to an objectionable line, because that was the line which was made by the award of the King of the Netherlands; but, as the noble Lord did not think that an unfair line, and as my line is a better line, I do not see how it can be open to the objections which have been raised against it by the noble Lord. As I have before said, it might be stated that the fact of its having been the award of the King of the Netherlands was a sufficient reason for the noble Lord's accepting the unfavourable line to which I have referred. But, the whole of the negotiations pending on the award having blown over in 1835, four years after the Americans had refused that award, and the entire question being open for fresh negotiations, the noble Lord volunteered an offer to America, in which the line, as then drawn, proposed again to sacrifice these very Madawaska settlements which the noble Lord reproaches me for having sacrificed. In writing upon the subject, the noble Lord's language is to this effect; that when a tract of country was claimed by two States, and when each is equally convinced of the justice of its claim, the fairest way to settle the controversy would be to divide the disputed territory between the two claimants. I do not object to the principle laid down, or to the proposal which was made on that occasion by the noble Lord; but I do claim your Lordships' judgment of the fairness of the proceeding of a man who, having himself once consented to accept a particular line, because it had been the arbitrated line of the King of the Netherlands, and who afterwards proposed that line as a boundary between the two countries, could come down to Parliament and charge me with having adopted an objectionable line, although a more favourable line than the one which the noble Lord himself had sanctioned and proposed. I wish to cast no blame upon the noble Lord for having proposed that line. I do not think the line at all an unfair one; but if my line be a better line, retaining, as it does, to this country the heights of St. John, to which

I have alluded, I say it is hardly fair to reproach me with having accepted an objectionable line. Another Member of the late Cabinet (Lord J. Russell) states, that he had, through Lord Sydenham, directed a negotiation between Lord Sydenham and Mr. Webster, and that Lord Sydenham had positively refused to let America have those Madawaska settlements. I do believe that many Gentlemen who complain of those settlements having been sacrificed, do so either for party purposes or without knowing or caring where those settlements really are. Lord J. Russell, however, states, that Mr. Webster would not consent to the proposed Treaty without the Madawaska settlements, and that the last act of his (Lord J. Russell's) official life was to express to Lord Sydenham how much he approved of his conduct upon that occasion. Your Lordships will probably be surprised when I tell you that for the whole of that statement of facts there is no foundation whatever. There was no negotiation between Lord Sydenham and Mr. Webster; nay, more, there was no offer of a treaty on the part of Lord Sydenham to Mr. Webster, or on the part of Mr. Fox in Washington, upon the terms stated by Lord J. Russell. The noble Lord, however (Lord J. Russell), prided himself very much upon boldly maintaining the interests of his country as the last act of his official career, and of course threw a proportionate degree of opprobrium on the person who yielded what he had refused to grant. He had a sincere respect for the noble Lord, and from the experience of a long friendship with him, he felt assured that the noble Lord would not state anything knowing it to be untrue. Whether on going out of office he dreamed this fact, or took it upon light authority, I cannot say; but I can only assure your Lordships that there is really no foundation for it. The only negotiation that took place was one between Mr. Fox, the British Minister at Washington, and Mr. Webster, the American Secretary of State, and that was a negotiation, not for any Treaty of Boundary whatever, but one that was called for merely in consequence of contests having arisen in that country between the regular officers of the State of Maine and our officers in New Brunswick, which threatened to involve us in the probabilities of war. They said that the subject was going to be negotiated about generally, and they proposed and agreed to draw a line pending the negotiation for the occasional occupancy of the military; but there never was any negotiation between them for a Treaty of Boundary. Your Lordships are aware that the New Treaty could not be entered into without the previous consent of the States of Maine and Massachusetts, the Deputies from which particular States I had absolutely to wait for. Your Lordships will therefore see from that fact that there could have been no negotiations for a treaty going on between Mr. Fox and Mr. Webster, and still less between Mr. Webster and Lord Sydenham. There had been other statements with respect to his proceedings on the occasion to which he had referred, relative to a subject which now occupied the attention of the country and the Government—he meant the question of the reciprocal Right of Search upon the seas between Africa and America. It has been stated by the noble Lord (Lord Palmerston), speaking of the present Government, that "The very first thing that they did after they came into power was to acquiesce in the refusal of the French Government to ratify a Treaty for the suppression of the Slave Trade; the next thing they did was to let the United States out of a Treaty to co-operate with them for this object." And then there is a further charge made, that I had done something to let the United States out of their existing Treaty for the suppression of the Slave Trade by Right of Search. Any one who knows anything of the history of these transactions must at once see that that is wholly untrue; and I only throw it out as another instance of the loose and light nature of the charges that have been made against me in a place where there is no possibility of my answering them. With regard to this imputation of my having, as the phrase is, "let America out" of the Treaty for the suppression of the Slave Trade by the mutual Right of Search, it is rather a singular fact that not only was there no such Treaty entered into with America from which I could have "let her out;" but that in 1824, the Government of which Lord Palmerston was a Member did let America out of a most effectual stipulation for the mutual Right of Search. During the Government of Mr. Canning a Treaty was about to be entered into which would have been perfectly effective, had it been put in force, much more so in fact than existing Treaties upon the subject about which so much noise has been made. When sent to America for ratification, however, the Senate of the United States wished to strike out the words "on the coast of America," which were contained in the definition of the latitude and longitude within which the Right of Search was to be exercised. The Senate said, "You might as well extend the limits into the British Channel; omit these words, and we will ratify the Treaty." Mr. Canning refused to adopt the Amendment of the Senate—an extremely reasonable Amendment in my opinion — and the Treaty was accordingly rejected, and America "let out of it" by the act of a Government of which Lord Palmerston was a Member. These, my Lords, are the only observations with which I shall trouble you. I trust you will be of opinion that I was sufficiently justified in making them. For myself, I can only say that if I had suffered the imputations of which I complain to pass unnoticed, I do not think I should have been worthy of the approbation which your Lordships have bestowed upon my conduct.

BASTARDY BILL.] Lord *Stanley* wished that the Second Reading of the Bastardy Bill should not be postponed; it stood for to-night, and it was material, on account of its provisions, that it should receive the Royal Assent on Saturday, in order that it might be acted upon at the approaching Quarter Sessions. Their Lordships were, perhaps, aware that it did not interfere at all with the general question of which notice had been given by a noble Lord opposite, but that it had been introduced merely for the purpose of removing some technical difficulties in the practical working of the Act of last Session.

Lord *Campbell* not only saw no objection to the Bill, but thought it would be salutary in its operation; he thought, however, that the noble Lord ought to wait until the Earl of Radnor was present, who had a measure pending upon the same subject.

The Duke of *Richmond* remarked, that if the Bill did not receive the Royal Assent on Saturday, it would be of no use.

Lord *Stanley* observed, that it did not in any respect interfere with Lord Radnor's Bill.

Bill read 2ª, and the Committee fixed for to-morrow.

House adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, April 3, 1845.

MINUTES.] NEW WRIT.—For Greenock, *v.* Robert Wallace, Esq., acc. Chiltern Hundreds.

BILLS. *Public.*—1°· Glass (Excise Duty); Maynooth College.

Private.—*Reported.*—Forth and Clyde Navigation.

3°· and passed:—Birkenhead (Company's) Docks.

PETITIONS PRESENTED. By Viscounts Grimston, Howick, Villiers, Pollington, and Palmerston, Lords Ashley, Bruce, Harvey, Norreys, Rendlesham, Somerset, J. Stuart, Vane, and Worsley, Sirs T. Acland, J. Chetwode, W. Codrington, P. G. Egerton, J. Hanmer, R. H. Inglis, W. H. Joliffe, H. Smyth, and J. Tyrrell, Colonels Acton, H. Baillie, and Wood, Capt. Meynell, Alderman Copeland, and Messrs. Adderley, Bankes, H. Berkeley, Blackstone, Bradshaw, Briscoe, Burroughes, Carew, Cartwright, Chapman, Christopher, Clifton, Darby, Dickinson, Divett, Douglas, O. Duncombe, Egerton, Ellice, Entwisle, Evans, Fitzmaurice, Greene, Gore, G. Hamilton, Hawes, Heathcote, Henley, Herbert, Kemble, Lockhart, Long, Maxwell, Milnes, Mundy, Neeld, Packe, Palmer, Patten, Pattison, Plumptre, Ricardo, Round, C. Russell, W. Russell, A. Smith, Smyth, Somes, Sotheron, Strutt, Tollemache, Trotter, Turnor, Villers, Waddington, and Worsley, from an immense number of places (298 Petitions) against the Grant to Maynooth.—By Mr. Christopher, from Lincoln, for Relief from Taxation.—From Guardians of the West Ashford Union, against the Parochial Settlement Bill.—By Lord Ashley, from Dorset, for Alteration of Physic and Surgery Bill.—By Mr. A. Smith, from Stapleford, for Alteration of Law relating to Promiscuous Intercourse.—By Lord Ashley, Mr. Christopher, and Mr. Ricardo, from several places, for Diminishing the Number of Public Houses.—By Mr. Mangles, from the Royal College of Surgeons, (Surrey) for Inquiry respecting their Charter.

RAILWAY FROM CROYDON TO ASHFORD.] Mr. *Dodd* rose to bring forward (at the time of Private Business) the Motion of which he had given notice—viz.,

> "That the Report of the Board of Trade against the Bill intended to be brought in by the Croydon Railway Company, to authorize the construction of a Railway to Ashford be referred back to the Board of Trade for reconsideration."

The hon. Member was proceeding to address the House on his Motion, when—

The *Speaker* observed, that before the hon. Member went on it might be necessary for the House to consider whether the Motion were one which should be brought on in the time of private business. It was a question relating to a certain matter which had come before the Board of Trade, and the Motion was that the decision of that Board against a particular railway line should be referred back to it for reconsideration. It would be for the House to decide whether that came under the head of Public Business, and if it did, it would be a question whether it ought to take precedence of all the other business of the day. In his opinion it ought not to be considered as Private Business. The question was a novel one, such as had not yet come under the consideration of the House, relating to certain public acts of a Public Department, and it would be for the House to decide whether it ought not to come under the head of Public Business, and, if it came under that head, it was clearly not entitled to have precedence of all other business.

Mr. *Hawes* said, that with all deference to what seemed to be the opinion of the Chair, he must submit that the matter to which the Motion referred was wholly Private Business, and that the hon. Member for Maidstone ought to be allowed to go on with his Motion. If the decision of the Board of Trade was to be final in the case of every railway line against which it decided, there would be an end of a vast number of railway projects; but he had never understood that that was to be the rule; and as a proof that it was not so intended, it was only necessary to remind the House that the Reports of the Board of Trade, containing the grounds on which it had decided for or against any railway line, were laid before the House, as information to guide the Committees which were finally to decide on them. The decision of the Board of Trade with respect to the railway referred to in the Motion was most objectionable, and was not entitled to the attention of the House, and the parties ought to be allowed to proceed with their Bill.

Lord *G. Somerset* disclaimed, on the part of Government, any idea of making the decision of the Board of Trade final with respect to any railway. The parties in every case might proceed with their Bill, notwithstanding a decision of the Board against them. It was not his intention to say anything as to the merits of the case referred to in the Motion of the hon. Member for Maidstone, as the only question now before the House was, whether that Motion should be brought on in the time of Private Business. In his opinion it was a matter which ought to be brought on in the time of Private Business.

Viscount *Howick* said, before the House disposed of that question, they ought to consider the position in which the case rested. On the 19th of July last, the House came to a Resolution requiring that all such Bills or projects should be referred to a particular department of the Board of Trade, before being brought under the notice of that House; and in the present Session they went still farther, as on the 4th of March they determined that all railway Bills and projects should be classified in groups by a single Committee of the House, and they were afterwards, along with the Reports of the Board of Trade upon them, to come before the Committes appointed to consider them. He begged to remind the House that these regulations were adopted by the House on the Motion of the noble Lord (Lord Granville Somerset) at the time of Private Business. The House should, besides, reflect on the injustice which they would do if they refused to consider the present Motion at once; for the hon. Member might be obliged to wait for a considerable time before he could get another opportunity of bringing it forward, and in the interim the Private Committee might be appointed, and might proceed with the consideration of the Report of the Board of Trade. If the Report were to be referred back to the Board of Trade, it should be done directly. He did not, however, see that much good was likely to arise from that course, for after the very slovenly manner in which they were told the Board of Trade performed their business —he said "slovenly," because the right hon. Baronet (Sir G. Clerk) had told them the other night that the decisions to which they were in the habit of coming were not decisions after all—he did not expect any very satisfactory report from them.

Sir *G. Clerk* said, it was not his intention to comment on the remarks of the noble Lord. The question simply was, whether this matter ought to be brought forward at the time of Public Business. He would not go into details; but he should say, that the uniform practice of the House was, that railway matters should be disposed of with the Private Business. But this question did not fall within that rule. As it touched the character of a Public Board, he did not conceive that it should be heard with the Private Business.

Mr. *Labouchere* confessed that he was inclined to take the view of the right hon. Baronet opposite, in preference to the opinion of the noble Lord who sat beside him. He could not help thinking that this Resolution differed in its nature from any that he recollected, and was sure that it would take the House some considerable time to discuss it. It could not be considered or disposed of during the Private Business of the House, as it affected the conduct of a Public Board, and would open the door to other, and perhaps more serious petitions. If it were true the Board of Trade had hastily and negligently reported on this Bill, he thought that a discussion on the matter in this House, in this mode, would be perfectly unsatisfactory. He did not wish to pronounce any opinion on the merits of the Bill; but he thought the House would do well to adhere to the rules which they had hitherto acted upon in relation to Private Bills.

Mr. *T. Duncombe* did not coincide with the reasons offered by the right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down, for resisting the Motion. The right hon. Gentleman's complaint was, that if the House laid it down as a rule that this Motion should be entertained at the time of Private Business, they might have many such petitions brought before them. But his reply to that argument was, that even if they had many such petitions presented, it was the duty of the House to hear them. He could very well understand why any person connected with the Board of Trade should be unwilling to have such a Motion as the present brought forward, as he considered the Railway Department of that Board had been hastily, crudely, and unwittingly created by the House at the close of the last Session. That Department had created great public dissatisfaction; and he would go farther, and say that the Reports which had emanated from it would be found to be an actual nuisance in that House. The right hon. Gentleman opposite said, "Let the Committee decide upon this question;" but surely the Committee had quite enough to do already without imposing that additional duty upon them—but if it should be referred to them, see the loss of time that would follow. The counsel who go before them had quite enough to do in supporting the cases of their respective clients, without being obliged, in addition, to occupy the time of the Committee in supporting the decision of the Board of Trade on one side, and in opposing it on the other. The House, having already allowed the hon. Member for Maidstone to present a petition on this subject, and afterwards to move that it be printed at the time of Private Business, he thought it was but just that the consideration of the Committee should also come forward at the time of Private Business. That petition contained very serious allegations against the Railway Department of the Board of Trade, and he believed those allegations could be substantiated. The Board were charged with not having done their duty, and with injuring private interests, and these were charges that in his opinion ought to be investigated. In order to bring the matter to an issue, he begged to move—

> "That Mr. Dodd, the Member for Maidstone, be now heard in support of the Motion intended to be made by him, and that the Question be proposed to the House."

Mr. *Gisborne* conceived that the House had got into a very awkward position by the manner in which they had conducted this proceeding. The present was only one of a great many cases of this kind, and they were all owing to parties having a duty entrusted to them which they were incompetent to deal with. By referring these complaints to a Select Committee who had already twenty-three independent railways to deal with, it would be found that this addition to their labours could not be satisfactorily performed by them. His opinion was, that the case ought to be heard. The hon. Gentleman ought to be allowed to make his statement, and they would then have an opportunity of deciding whether the Report of the Board of Trade was well founded or otherwise.

Colonel *Sibthorp* said, the experience of every day confirmed more and more the opinion which he had formerly given of that Department of the Board of Trade, namely, that it was foreign to the Constitution, and odious to the public. There were honourable and talented men connected with it; but if they were angels come down from heaven, and gifted with the power of infallibility, it was impossible that they could get satisfactorily through the mass of business which was heaped upon them.

Sir *G. Grey* expressed his great deference for the opinion which, he understood, the Speaker entertained on the question before them. Whatever errors the Board of Trade might have fallen into, he certainly believed that their opinions had been honestly adopted; but when gross errors of the facts in this particular case were alleged against them, he thought an opportunity ought to be given to the parties to enter into some explanation of their case. He did not agree in the censure expressed by the hon. and gallant Member who had just sat down against the Board of Trade. In order to get rid of the difficulty in which the House was ploced, he would be glad to see the right hon. Baronet the Vice-President of the Board of Trade get up in his place and declare his willingness to take back the Report in question to the Board for their reconsideration.

Mr. *Dodd* said, he did not understand the Speaker to give any decided opinion with respect to the question before the House. All that he had said was, that the present was the proper time for deciding whether the Motion should come on at the time of Private Business or not. The hon. Gentleman was proceeding to observe, that the portion of the public who would be affected by this measure resided fifty-seven miles from London, and that the question of the construction of the railway was, therefore, one of the greatest importance to them, when—

The *Speaker* begged to remind the hon. Member that he could not enter into the merits of the case until the preliminary question was first disposed of.

Mr. *Borthwick* suggested that the general rule, if adverse to the Motion of the hon. Member for Maidstone, should be waved in the present instance.

Mr. *Hawes* thought that the House should have heard what the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir George Clerk) had to say in reply to the proposition of his right hon. Friend (Sir George Grey). If he considered that the Speaker had pronounced an opinion upon the matter, he would not say a word on the subject; but he understood that the Speaker had left the matter in the hands of the House. He thought that an early day should be fixed for bringing on this subject.

Mr. *Mangles* said, that the hon. Gentleman the Member for Lambeth had suggested that an early day should be appointedfor discussing this subject; but he thought a Committee could very much better investigate the matter than the whole House. In his opinion it ought not to be heard by the House either in the light of Private or Public Business. An objection had been raised by an hon. Gentleman near him about the difficulty which a Committee, having twenty-three Bills before it, would find in investigating such a question as the present; but surely it would be much better for a Committee of five Members to be left to get through all these measures, than that such an accumulated mass of business should be thrown on the entire House. The present was not a solitary case, and if it were entertained by the House they would have hundreds of dissatisfied parties crowding forward with petitions of a similar kind.

Mr. *Ricardo* asked whether it was to be laid down that there was to be no appeal to the House in cases where acts of injustice had been perpetrated by the Board of Trade? Such would be the case in the present instance, if the House did not proceed with the matter.

Sir *G. Clerk* said, that he had not objected on the point of form on the part of the Board of Trade, for he was ready then, or at any other period, to go into the case. After the observations of the Speaker, he felt that they could not that night go on with the subject. For his own part, as the matter involved a serious charge against the Board of Trade, he was anxious to meet it.

Mr. *T. Duncombe* wished to know on what ground the right hon. Gentleman would not fix a day to discuss this subject; for as it was the Bill might pass through Committee before the matter could be brought under consideration. He denied that the Speaker had laid it down that the hon. Member was out of order; but he left it to the House to determine whether or not it would proceed with the Motion, as the subject was entirely new. He should take the sense of the House, if he stood alone.

The House divided, on Mr. Duncombe's Motion:—Ayes 78; Noes 123: Majority 45.

List of the AYES.

Adderley, C. B.
Baldwin, B.
Banks, G.
Barnard, E. G.
Bernal, R.
Borthwick, P.
Bouverie, hon. E. P.
Bowes, J.
Bright, J.
Browne, hon. W.
Buck, L. W.
Christie, W. D.
Cobden, R.
Craig, W. G.
Dashwood, G. H.
Denison, W. J.
Dennistoun, J.
Disraeli, B.
Dodd, G.
Douglas, J. D. S.
Duncan, Visct.
Duncan, G.
Duncombe, hon. A.
Duncombe, hon. O.
Dundas, Admiral
Ellis, W.
Elphinstone, H.
Filmer, Sir E.
Forster, M.
Gisborne, T.

Gore, M.
Granger, T. C.
Gregory, W. H.
Hallyburton, Lord J.
Hastie, A.
Hill, Lord M.
Hindley, C.
Hodgson, F.
Howard, hon. H.
Howard, Sir R.
Howick, Visct.
Irving, J.
Jolliffe, Sir W. G. H.
Kemble, H.
Leader, J. T.
Lindsay, H. H.
Lygon, hon. Gen.
Mackinnon, W. A.
McGeachy, F. A.
Mitchell, T. A.
Morris, D.
Morrison, J.
Murray, A.
O'Brien, A. S.
Osborne, R.
Paget, Col.
Pechell, Capt.
Plumridge, Capt.
Polhill, F.
Protheroe, E.
Ricardo, J. L.
Rous, hon. Capt.
Scott, R.
Sheil, rt. hon. R. L.
Sibthorp, Col.
Spooner, R.
Standish, C.
Stuart, Lord J.
Stuart, W. V.
Tancred, H. W.
Tuffnell, H.
Turner, E.
Villiers, hon. C.
Waddington, H. S.
Warburton, H.
Wawn, J. T.
Yorke, H. R.

TELLERS.

Hawes, B.
Duncombe, T.

List of the NOES.

Acland, Sir T. D.
Acton, Col.
Adare, Visct.
Ainsworth, P.
Allix, J. P.
Arkwright, G.
Arundel and Surrey, Earl of
Baillie, J.
Baring, rt. hon. F. T.
Baring, rt. hn. W. B.
Barrington, Visct.
Blackstone, W. S.
Bowles, Admiral
Bowring, Dr.
Bradshaw, J.
Brisco, M.
Broadley, H.
Brotherton, J.
Bruce, Lord E.
Bruges, W. H. L.
Buller, Sir J. Y.
Carew, W. H. P.
Cartwright, W. R.
Chapman, A.
Chelsea, Visct.
Chetwode, Sir J.
Childers, J. W.
Clay, Sir W.
Clayton, R. R.
Clerk, rt. hon. Sir G.
Clifton, J. T.
Codrington, Sir W.
Colquhoun, J. C.
Currie, R.
Darby, G.
Divett, E.
Du Pre, C. G.
Ellice, E.
Emlyn, Visct.
Entwisle, W.
Esmonde, Sir T.
Estcourt, T. G. B.
Ewart, W.
Feilden, W.
Fitzmaurice, hon. W.
Flower, Sir J.
Fremantle, rt. hn. Sir T.
French, F.
Gladstone, rt. hn. W. E.
Gordon, hon. Capt.
Goring, C.
Greenall, P.
Grey, rt. hon. Sir G.
Grimston, Visct.
Hamilton, G. A.
Hanmer, Sir J.
Harris, hon. Capt.
Heathcoat, J.
Heneage, G. H. W.
Henley, J. W.
Hepburn, Sir T. B.
Houldsworth, T.
Hume, J.
Hutt, W.
Inglis, Sir R. H.
Labouchere, rt. hn. H.
Lascelles, hon. W. S.
Law, hon. C. E.
Listowel, Earl of
Loch, J.
Lockhart, W.
Long, W.
Lowther, Sir J. H.
Lyall, G.
McTaggart, Sir J.
Mahon, Visct.
Mainwaring, T.
Mangles, R. D.
Marjoribanks, S.
Martin, C. W.
Marton, G.
Milnes, R. M.
Mundy, E. M.
Newdegate, C. N.
Newry, Visct.
Norreys, Lord
O'Conor Don
Ord, W.
Packe, C. W.
Pakington, J. S.
Palmer, R.
Palmer, G.
Patten, J. W.
Pattison, J.
Peel, J.
Plumptre, J. P.
Pollington, Visct.
Pusey, P.
Reid, Sir J. R.
Repton, G. W. J.
Richards, R.
Round, C. G.
Round, J.
Russell, J. D. W.
Sheppard, T.
Shirley, E. P.
Smith, A.
Smith, rt. hon. T. B. C.
Smyth, Sir H.
Somerset, Lord G.
Somes, J.
Sotheron, T. H. S.
Strutt, E.
Thompson, Ald.
Townley, J.
Trotter, J.
Turnor, C.
Tyrell, Sir J. T.
Vane, Lord H.
Vyvyan, Sir R.
Wall, C. B.
Ward, H. G.
Wellesley, Lord C.

TELLERS.

Lennox, Lord A.
Young, J.

MAYNOOTH COLLEGE.] On the Motion of Sir R. Peel, the Acts of the Parliament of Ireland 35 Geo. III, c. 23, and 40 Geo. III, c. 85, and also Act 48 Geo. III, c. 145, were read.

House went into Committee on the Act.

Sir *R. Peel*, addressing the Chairman, said:—Mr. Greene, in the course of the last Session of Parliament, I took the opportunity of publicly declaring, on the part of Her Majesty's Government, that it was our intention during the recess to apply ourselves to the consideration of the state of academical education in Ireland. I accompanied that declaration with a distinct intimation that the circumstances and position of the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth should be included in that consideration. I added, that in undertaking the consideration of the state of Maynooth, it was our intention to undertake it in a spirit friendly and not adverse to the institution; and I made that public declaration at that time in order that due notice should be given of the intentions of Her Majesty's Government. I was not unprepared for the demonstration of opinion which has been made this day by the presentation of petitions. I could not look back to the discussions which have taken place in this House with respect to Maynooth, without foreseeing that a proposition for the extension of Maynooth was likely to encounter the risk of great opposition. I could not disguise from myself that many persons entertaining strong religious feelings and conscientious scruples, the sincerity of which cannot be questioned, and which on that account are entitled to respectful consideration,—I could not but foresee that any proposal for an increased grant to Maynooth was likely to encounter such an opposition as I have witnessed this day; and it was because we foresaw this, having to encounter difficulties of which we were fully sensible, but by which we were not deterred, we thought it our duty to take care that these difficulties should not be aggravated by a just allegation that we had concealed our intentions, and had taken the country by surprise. It was upon that account that, expressly and deliberately, I made the intimation to which I have referred in the course of the last Session, not in vague and equivocal terms, but in terms distinctly indicating that the probable result of the consideration which we were pledged to give to the position of the College of Maynooth, would be an improvement in the system, accompanied with an increase of the public grant. In fulfilment of the pledge thus publicly given, we have, during the recess, taken this great subject of academical instruction in Ireland into our consideration. I will say nothing now with respect to one portion of this question, which will be brought under the notice of the House at another period—I mean the extension of the means of academical education in Ireland apart from Maynooth. The observations I have to make on this day will be limited entirely to the question of Maynooth. The state of that College has undergone our deliberate consideration. We have reviewed the extent of any obligations, in point of honour and good faith, which past transactions and past acts of the Legislature might, in our opinion, impose upon the Executive Government and Parliament of the country in reference to this subject; we have considered the practical effect of the present system pursued at Maynooth, and the probable effect of any alteration in that system; and, having given to the whole subject the best consideration in our power, I now, on the part of the Executive Government, submit to the deliberate judgment of the House of Commons the proposal which we are prepared to make. Sir, it has appeared to us that we are at liberty to pursue one or other of three courses with respect to the institution of Maynooth. It is competent for us to continue without alteration the present system, and the present amount of the Parliamentary grant. It is competent to us to discontinue the grant altogether,—to repudiate all connexion with Maynooth, and, after providing perhaps for the protection of existing interests, publicly to notify that there shall hereafter be no connexion between Government and the College of Maynooth. That is the second course which it is possible to pursue. The third course is to adopt in a friendly and generous spirit the institution provided for the education of the Roman Catholic priesthood—to extend the Parliamentary provision for that purpose, and to attempt, not by interference with the doctrine or discipline of the Roman Catholic Church, but by a more liberal provision, to improve the system of education, and to elevate the tone and character of that institution. Any one of these three courses is open to us. With respect to the first—the continuance, without alteration or modification of any kind, of the present grant and the present system, it is our deliberate conviction, that of all courses that can be pursued, that would be the most pregnant with mischief. We profess to endow a national institution—we profess to make provision for the education of those who are to give spiritual instruction and religious consolation to many millions of the people of Ireland. We just give enough, by voting annually 9,000*l.* a year, to discourage and paralyse voluntary contributions for that purpose. Remove the grant altogether, and you will find on the part of the people of Ireland, I have no doubt, a disposition to make the pecuniary sacrifice, and to provide some, perhaps an imperfect endowment, by voluntary contributions, for the education of their priesthood. But the grant of 9,000*l.* a year, the undertaking on the part of the Government to endow an institution and to provide instruction, has the effect of discouraging the contributions of others, while the allotted amount is wholly insufficient for its professed object. What then is our position? If it be a violation of principle to provide instruction for the Roman Catholic priesthood, we are guilty of that violation of principle now. A grant of 9,000*l.* a year, professedly for the education of the Roman Catholic priesthood, is a violation of principle at least as great as any which I shall propose to the House. It is not merely that you make an annual grant to Maynooth: that is not the limit of your connexion with the institution. There are upon the Statute Book three Acts of Parliament, two passed by the Irish Legislature before the Union, and one passed in the year 1808, adopting and sanctioning this institution, for the support of which the annual grant is made. By the combined effect of these Acts of Parliament, you provide for the establishment of a College for the education of Roman Catholics only. You expressly use the phrase the "establishment" of a College. Whom have you appointed as the visitors of that College? Have you disclaimed connexion with that College? have you repudiated it as a guilty thing with which you will hold no communion? So far from it, you have appointed the Lord Chancellor and the highest judicial authorities as the visitors of this institution which you have so established. The Lord Chancellor and the Judges are the visitors of that College. You provide only, it is true, by an annual vote, for the president, certain officers, and professors of that College; but the Acts which have received your sanction expressly speak of "Fellows" of that College to be endowed. The Acts originally contemplated a perfect system of collegiate education, consisting of scholars, of masters, of professors, and of fellows. The president of the College must have the sanction of the Crown to his nomination. You have appointed a numerous body of Trustees for the charge and superintendence of this College. You commit to their hands an annual Parliamentary grant. The intention must have been to repeal the Statute of Mortmain in favour of the College. You have permitted the Trustees to purchase or acquire real property to the amount of 1,000*l.* per annum, for the purpose of providing for that College. By the Irish Act you permitted them in the whole to hold real property to the extent of 1,000*l.* a year. That was the result of the Act of the Irish Parliament; but in the year 1808 this Imperial Parliament recognised the institution so far as to make a further provision for it, enabling the Trustees to make compromises of certain suits at law then depending, and to hold a still larger amount of real property than had been contemplated by the Irish Parliament. You have enabled the Trustees, by express enactment, to provide and assign a chapel in which the rites of the Roman Catholic Church shall be celebrated by a chaplain to be appointed by the Trustees. These are the enactments which have received the sanction of the Legislature; and I ask whether I have not completely established that, if it be a violation of principle to recognise—to sanction—to provide for—the instruction of the Roman Catholic priesthood, that violation of principle has been deliberately committed by the Government and Parliament of this country? And what is the corresponding benefit which you gain? What is the practical compensation with which you counterbalance the moral evil? You cannot deny the fact, that you now endow professors teaching the doctrines of the Roman Catholic religion—training up candidates for the priesthood, for the inculcation of those doctrines. At Maynooth, supported by your grant, are ten professors—three of whom are professors of theology. Does it mitigate in any degree the violation of principle, that these professors are miserably endowed? that the maximum which they receive is 120*l.* per annum? Surely, if you consent to endow theological professors at all, it is good policy to make such a provision as shall insure the services of men of high character and attainments? I speak not with the slightest disrespect of any who are professors in that institution now—I am only arguing with respect to the general tendency of incompetent allowances. If men of high character and great attainments can be occasionally found ready, through zeal for their religion and for the interests of education, to devote their time to the cause of public instruction with incompetent salaries, that is no reason why we should not secure permanently the services of men of learning and ability by assigning that which is at least a decent provision for their maintenance. All I contend for now is, that we gain no compensation for our violation of principle by assigning so limited a pecuniary grant; that we provoke feelings of disgust and discontent at our parsimony in the minds of those to whom we commit the instruction of the Roman Catholic priesthood. In this institution there are now about 440 students, 250 of them we profess to maintain; the remainder are called pensioners, providing for their own maintenance. For the free students, namely, those on the foundation, an allowance is made from the Parliamentary grant of about 23*l.* per head. From this sum is to be provided the dress of the student, the scanty furniture of his apartment, and his commons; and from the aggregate balance that is left, the general expenses of the institution, the expenses of coals, candles, repairs, and such like charges, have to be defrayed. What is the state of the building of the College? and what are the feelings to which it is calculated to give rise in the minds of those young men who are educated there—feelings likely to survive in their after intercourse with the world? Nothing can be more desolate than the appearance of the building: it partakes more of the character of a deserted barrack than of a literary institution. With respect to the provision for the students, of whom there are 440 in some way or other receiving their education there, and professing to receive it through your liberality, I take it from the words of one who knows the fact from actual inspection, that it is impossible to assign to each of those students a separate room for his occupation—that in many cases several of them are placed in one room, and even in some instances in one garret. Sir, a representation upon this subject was made to the Executive by many, indeed I might with truth say, by almost the whole of the Roman Catholic prelacy; and I shall need no apology to the House if I read that statement. It was addressed to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland:—

"With sentiments of the most profound respect, we beg leave to state to your Excellency, that the Trustees of the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth have long been struggling under great embarrassments in directing the affairs of that establishment, on account of the inadequacy of its funds to the objects for which it was instituted. We beg to state that, for the purpose of carrying into effect, as far as they could, the benevolent object of the Government in the establishment of Maynooth College, the said Trustees ordered a rigidly parsimonious economy to be observed in the internal administration of the College, which not only reduced the salaries of the Professors and Administrators of it below the usual allowances for respectable clerks, but actually interfered with their comforts and conveniences to a degree unbecoming a public institution for the education of the ministers of religion. So urgent was the necessity of all possible retrenchment in order to compass the essential objects of the establishment, that the president has been frequently obliged to send home the students during the vacation, for the paltry but indispensable saving of two months' provision; which is attended with the great inconvenience of removing the students from the restraints of College discipline and superintendence, so necessary to be kept up during the short period of their ecclesiastical course, in order to render them proper and useful members of the priesthood; and, notwithstanding all this parsimonious management, a debt of 4,600*l.* has been contracted. We beg leave further to state, that the increasing distresses in the country during the latter years have so affected the condition of the middle classes of society, from which candidates for the Roman Catholic priesthood are usually presented, that there has been a very considerable reduction in the number of those who pay for their support in the College, and a far greater reduction is to be apprehended—they have found it so difficult of late to pay the usual pensions after having incurred the heavy expense of preparatory education and outfit for the College. This decrease in the number of pensioners has not only created the necessity of a proportionable increase of free places on the establishment, but has deprived the economy of the College of the profits arising from pensions. To instance the total insufficiency of the present establishment for the wants it was intended to supply, the prelates are in many instances obliged to withdraw their respective students from the College, who had entered on their enlarged course of studies two years before the completion of that course; frustrating thereby, very reluctantly, the wise and benevolent views of Government in establishing that foundation for the purpose of raising up a superior class of Roman Catholic priests, who would be qualified, by their talents and acquirements, to fill the vacant Professorships in the College and the higher offices in the Church. To such embarrassments are the Roman Catholic Bishops reduced by the inadequate supply of priests from the establishment, that they are frequently necessitated to call home students for the performance of clerical duties before they complete their ordinary theological course, which is already so short as to afford barely the knowledge essential for the performance of the clerical functions." (Signed by twenty-two Roman Catholic Prelates.)

Now, I ask whether I am not right in contending that you can take no course which is not preferable to a continuance of this state of things; that is, to a continued violation of principle—if it be a violation of principle—in undertaking to instruct a priesthood from whose doctrines you dissent, and yet, at the same time, making only this niggardly and inadequate provision for the maintenance of those for whose education you have made yourselves responsible? This subject is now brought under our consideration, and decide upon it we must. Will it be wise—will it be just, to say to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, "We are bound, it is true, by an inconvenient obligation, contracted by our predecessors, and that obligation we will respect; in a surly spirit, we will continue to give you the usual grant of 9,000*l.* a year; but there shall be no improvement in your buildings—there shall be no advance in the salaries of your professors—the Acts of Parliament shall continue unrepealed and unaltered—our implied sanction and encouragement, so far as Statute Law is concerned, shall remain; and though we do not withhold the annual grant, we continue it with the feeling that our conscience is violated, and we give it you only because we have to fulfil an odious contract into which others entered, and from which we cannot escape?" Any course is preferable to this. I come, then, to the consideration of another alternative. Shall we avow that our conscientious scruples are so violated in the maintenance of this system, that we will discontinue altogether the connexion with Maynooth; that the Vote shall, after some temporary arrangements, be withdrawn, and the burden of educating the priesthood shall be thrown upon the people of Ireland? ["Hear hear."] I infer that there are some who think that a desirable course. Before you adopt this course, I ask the House to listen to the statement I am about to make, and maturely to weigh the reasons which prevent me from counselling it. If this were a mere pecuniary engagement, from which you could not, without absolute injustice, stand released, you might possibly avoid the annual performance of it, by calculating the value of the annuity, converting it into capital, paying the amount to the Trustees of the College, and notifying to them that on religious grounds you absolved yourselves from all further connexion with this institution. Apart from the obligation of good faith—apart from all consideration of the mortified and irritated feelings which might arise from an avowal on your part that conscientious scruples prevented you from continuing this Vote; I do not hesitate to say, that I believe the absolute discontinuance of the Vote would be better for all purposes than the continuance of the niggardly allowance you at present grant; but I think I can assign reasons which, if as legislators and statesmen, you take into account, public feelings and considerations of public policy will dissuade you from taking that course, and from repudiating all connexion with this institution. When did your connexion with it arise? Under whose authority? How long has it been continued? For fifty years you have consented to continue the Parliamentary Vote for Maynooth. You commenced your connexion with it in the year 1795. The reigning Sovereign was George III.; the Minister of England was Mr. Pitt; the Secretary of State for the Home Department was the Duke of Portland, who afterwards filled the office of Chancellor of the University of Oxford. In the year 1795 the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Fitzwilliam, called the attention of the Irish Parliament to the state of education in that country. That was a critical period, the year 1795. In a speech made to the Irish Parliament, at the opening of the Session of that year, the Lord Lieutenant addressed them thus:—

> "We are engaged in an arduous contest; the time calls not only for great fortitude, and an unusual share of public spirit, but for much constancy and perseverance. You are engaged with a Power which, under the ancient forms of its internal arrangement, was always highly formidable to the neighbouring nations. Lately this Power has assumed a new shape, but with the same ambition, with much more extensive and systematic designs, far more effective, and without comparison more dreadful in the certain consequences of its eventual success; it threatens nothing less than the entire subversion of the liberty and independence of every State in Europe; an enemy to them all, it is actuated with a peculiar animosity against these kingdoms, not only as the natural protector of the balance of power in Europe, but also because, by the possession of a legal, humane, and rational freedom, we seem to reproach that false and spurious liberty which, in reality, is an ignominious servitude, tending to extinguish all good arts, to generate nothing but impiety, crime, disorder, and ferocious manners, and to end in wretchedness and general desolation. To guard his people from the enterprises of this dangerous and malignant Power, and for the protection of all civilized society against the inroads of anarchy, His Majesty has availed himself of every rational aid, foreign and domestic; he has called upon the skill, courage, and experience of all his subjects, wheresoever dispersed."

In that same speech, made at that eventful epoch, the Lord Lieutenant said to the Irish Parliament:—

> "Attached as you are to the general cause of religion, learning, and civilization, I have to recommend to your consideration the state of education in this kingdom, which in some parts will admit of improvement, in others may require some new arrangements. Considerable advantages have been already derived under the wise regulations of Parliament from the Protestant charter schools, and these will, as usual, claim your attention; but, as these advantages have been but partial, and as circumstances have made other considerations connected with this important subject highly necessary, it is hoped that your wisdom will order every thing relating to it in the manner most beneficial, and the best adapted to the occasions of the several descriptions of men which compose His Majesty's faithful subjects in Ireland."

These expressions were meant to have reference to the institution of the College of Maynooth. Like all speeches on such occasions, they are necessarily general; but before the address in answer to that speech was voted—an address moved by Mr. Grattan—Mr. Grattan, on the part of the Government, expressly said, referring to the paragraph in the speech relating to education:—

> "On this subject it is intended that a plan should be submitted for colleges for the education of the Catholic clergy, who are now excluded from the Continent."

He supplied, therefore, whatever might be doughtful and vague in the speech of the Lord Lieutenant; he told the House of Commons that it was intended to establish Maynooth; and with that distinct intimation of the intentions of the Government, the Irish House of Commons and the House of Lords responded to the speech of the Lord Lieutenant, and told him, in the spirit in which he recommended it, that they would consider the extension of education. Lord Fitzwilliam was succeeded by Lord Camden; and Lord Camden, as Lord Lieutenant, laid the first stone of the College of Maynooth. At the close of the Session, the College having been founded, the Marquess Camden, addressing the Parliament, and thanking them for their liberality, stated to them,—

> "My Lords and Gentlemen—His Majesty observes with the highest satisfaction that during the present crisis you have not failed to cherish and maintain the various sources of your internal prosperity. A wise foundation has been laid for educating at home the Roman Catholic clergy."

At the close of the Session of the year 1795, the Lord Lieutenant, who had presided at the inauguration of Maynooth, who had laid the first stone of the building, thus congratulated the Parliament on its wisdom in founding a plan of domestic education for the Roman Catholic clergy. In the course of that year, 1795, the Irish Parliament passed the first Act relating to Maynooth; and that Act was passed by the Irish Lords and Commons without a division, and without one dissentient voice. The prelates of the Protestant church were present in the House of Lords; the Parliament was exclusively of a Protestant character; and yet, at that period, at the instance of the Executive Government, that Parliament—without a division, without a dissentient voice—consented to this supposed violation of principle, voted the sum that was then thought requisite for the maintenance of the institution, and clothed the institution with a Parliamentary sanction. I need not repeat, that at this period George III. was the Sovereign, and Mr. Pitt was the First Minister of the Crown. In 1800, before the Union, another Act of the Irish Parliament was passed upon the same subject; and on the completion of the Union, the Imperial Parliament found this College established and supported by Parliamentary grants. Those grants were continued by the Imperial Parliament, and in the year 1808 an Act was passed, not interfering with the institution, but adopting and sanctioning it, and giving facilities for its further extension. The present year, 1845, completes the series of fifty years during which this Vote has been annually continued by the House—a Vote for the support of Maynooth. I know that there is a generally prevailing impression that the Imperial Parliament has hitherto done nothing more than adopt the Acts of the Irish Parliament—that they found the Vote established, and they have continued it without alteration, feeling themselves bound by the contract into which the Irish Parliament had entered. Now, I am about to prove to you that that impression is completely erroneous; that you have at two distinct periods granted additional sums in aid of the Vote; that you have not merely contented yourselves with adopting the Vote of the Irish Parliament, but that you have increased it on two specific occasions, and you are now annually passing the Vote increased by additions made by the British Parliament. In the year 1807, I think, the Vote was increased to 13,000*l.*, the increase being applied for additional buildings. In 1808 Mr. Percival declined to continue the additional sum to its full extent, but at the same time Mr. Percival lent his direct sanction to a permanent increase of the Vote. In the year 1808 Mr. Foster was Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer; and I find the following account of what passed in that year on the subject of the grant to Maynooth:—

> "Mr. Foster rose to move the Resolution for a grant to Maynooth College. The grant in former years, he said, had been 8,000*l.* Last year it had been increased to 13,000*l.*, for the purpose of enabling that institution to erect buildings capable of containing fifty additional students. It was his intention to move, in addition to the 8,000*l.* of former years, by which 200 students had been maintained, an additional sum for the maintenance of the fifty new students; he, therefore, moved, that a sum not exceeding 9,250*l.* Irish currency, be granted to His Majesty, to defray the expenses of the Roman Catholic Seminary in Ireland for the current year."

I turn then to the speech of Mr. Percival:

> "The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Percival) said, it was particularly desirable, after the establishment of the connexion of this country with the Irish Catholics since the Union, that the grant of the Irish Parliament should not be diminished. The fact was, that by the Vote then under consideration, that grant was to be extended to a provision for one-fourth more than were educated heretofore. It appeared, besides, that 111 others were educated for the Catholic priesthood in different parts of Ireland." . . . "On the whole, he thought, that the supply of 361 would be sufficient to meet the demand of the Catholic clergy, and therefore should vote for the proposition of his right hon. Friend."

Here is a proof that, in 1808, Mr. Percival being the Minister, the British Government consented to an extension of the Vote beyond that which had been made by the Irish Parliament, for the express purpose of providing education for fifty additional students; and Mr. Percival, in acceding to the grant, implied that if he had thought a greater number of students than 361 was required for the service of the Roman Catholic church, he would not have been unwilling still further to augment the sum for that purpose. Again, in 1813 there was an addition to the Vote; I can speak to it with certainty, because at the time I filled the office of Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant. This addition was of 700*l.* a year, to be applied to the better maintenance of the senior students, called the Dunboyne students. I have stated now to the House the circumstances under which this connexion has grown up. I have shown how it originated in 1795, and has been continued ever since, the Vote being increased and the connexion strengthened by the Acts of the Imperial Parliament. I ask you whether you are now prepared to declare to the Roman Catholic body—"During this half century we have been in error, we have been violating a conscientious scruple which we must now observe, and we give notice to the Roman Catholics of Ireland th t this connexion, after continuing for half a century, must now be abolished." Recollect that when it was formed the Roman Catholics were labouring under disabilities that excluded them from office and from Parliament; and that those disabilities did not constitute, in the view of the Irish Parliament, an objection to originating this grant. Those disabilities have been now entirely removed; the Irish Roman Catholics stand upon the same footing with ourselves in respect to civil privileges: shall we now turn to them and tell them in a harsh and unfriendly tone,—"We cannot act towards you in the spirit in which the Parliament of your own country acted? True, you were then labouring under exclusion which has now been removed,—true, you did not then stand on the footing of equal privilege,—true, the Parliament which favoured you was an Irish Parliament—was a Parliament exclusively Protestant; the scruples of conscience that Parliament did not feel, we feel; and the connexion with your religious education which, in the hour of peril, they established, we must repudiate and dissolve." Sir, I should deprecate such a step. It is not the amount of the pecuniary grant; what I deprecate is the animus it would indicate. We should never be able to convince those from whom the grant was withheld, that those scruples which were not felt by George III., by Mr. Pitt, by the exclusively Protestant Legislature of their own country, are now felt to such a degree by us, that we must abandon the connexion which was thus formed. Sir, I should deeply regret, not merely on account of the Roman Catholics, but on account of the general interests of the community, if we did feel ourselves under the obligation of making the declaration that we, who dissent from the doctrines of the Romish church—that we, who hold a faith which we consider more pure, and to which we are devoted—that we, on account of our devotion to that faith, are prevented from advancing any assistance for the propagation of doctrines from which we dissent. If we make that declaration, what a lesson shall we inculcate upon the landlords of Ireland! Take the case of a Protestant landlord, perhaps an absentee, who has an estate, from which he derives a large income; that estate is cultivated by Roman Catholic labourers, and occupied by Roman Catholic tenants. Must I tell him, on the authority of Parliament, that he will violate his duty towards his God, if, seeing dependants professing a faith from which he dissents, in need of religious instruction—in need of religious consolation—in want of the means of joining in the public worship of their Creator—he should assign some portion of the wealth derived from this estate to provide that instruction and that consolation in the only mode in which they can be available? Surely it would be forgiven to that landlord; surely he would not be acting in a spirit opposed to the precepts of his own faith, if he were to say to these humble dependants,—"I differ from you in religious doctrines, but still my wish is that in the hour of need you should receive spiritual instruction and consolation from the hands of those from whom alone you can derive them. I will give you a piece of ground for a chapel; I will contribute towards its construction; nay, more, I will contribute something towards the maintenance of that minister who is to inculcate doctrines which you believe, but which I cannot agree to." Take the example of the City Companies; they act in the most liberal manner towards the communities who live on their estates. They have done everything they could to promote the religious instruction of their Protestant tenantry — but they have not felt themselves precluded by conscientious scruples from allowing a small sum as a stipend for the Roman Catholic priest, and have contributed towards the expenses of repairing the chapel. Am I to advise Parliament to tell those Companies,—"You cannot continue that aid to a religious profession from which you dissent, without violating your own religious principles." So far for the case of the individual proprietors, and of the great City Companies. But what will be our own situation? The consequences of that declaration are far more extensive than at first they may appear. How shall we act when we come to the Vote for the Presbyterian Ministers in Ireland? Shall we continue that Vote? A portion of it is distinctly allotted to the support of men of religious principles which we totally repudiate. Again, what position shall we stand in with regard to our Colonies if we avow that an act of this kind is improper and irreligious? In what relation do we stand to the Roman Catholics of Malta, Gibraltar, Canada, the Mauritius, and various other of the possessions of the Crown? In all these cases we have found it impossible to act on that principle of disclaiming altogether connexion with and support of those from whose religious opinions we dissent. Nay, more, how shall we stand with regard to the Roman Catholics in Ireland? Shall we repeal the Act which provides Roman Catholic chaplains for prisons? By a recent enactment you have enabled the grand jury to appoint a Roman Catholic chaplain. You have compelled the grand jury to make the appointment upon requisition from the judge. You have required the grand jury to make provision for the services of that chaplain from the public purse; and you have prevented the assignment of unequal salaries to ministers of different religions, making them equal to the ministers of the Church of England, the Presbyterian, and the Roman Catholic. Again, will you repeal the Act which provides chaplains for workhouses? There again you have imposed the obligation of appointing Roman Catholic chaplains. You waved in this case of a prison and a convict the strict maintenance of the principle which is contended for. A noble and better feeling interposed, and relaxed the rigour of principle. You felt that there ought to be provided for dying men in their last moments, guilty beings about to suffer for their crimes, about to be ushered into the presence of their Creator, religious consolation from the only spiritual guide from whom they could receive it. You have taken the same course with respect to the wretched inmates of a workhouse, and you have distinctly provided that that faith which is not your faith, and those doctrines which are not your doctrines, shall be inculcated by Roman Catholic chaplains, for whom you have provided a salary. Can I then, after reviewing our course as to the Colonies, and as to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, seeing what has passed for the last fifty years, can I come to the conclusion to which some are prepared to come, that we are to refuse this grant upon the ground that it would be a violation of principle to agree to it? If that conclusion be not justifiable, I have disposed of two of the courses which it is competent for us to pursue — the entire repudiation of any grant to Maynooth, or the continuance of the present grant, and the present law, unaltered. There remains but one other course, and that is the course which we are prepared to take. We are prepared, in a liberal and a confiding spirit, to improve the institution, and to elevate the character of the education which it supplies. By improvement I do not mean such an interference with the course of education as would poison all the good that you might derive from liberality. I mean that we should treat that institution in a generous spirit; in the hope that we shall be met in a corresponding spirit, and that we shall be repaid for our liberality by infusing a better feeling into the institution, and by ensuring a more liberal system of instruction. We shall propose such an increase to the grant as shall provide a sufficient supply of well-educated ministers of the Roman Catholic Church. A mere addition of some 3,000*l.* or 4,000*l.* would really be worse than nothing. I exclude the idea of a small increase like that from my consideration altogether. If the religious objection to a grant is overcome, I cannot think that an objection on mere pecuniary grounds will be allowed to prevail. I will now, with the permission of the House, proceed to state the nature of the proposal which, on the part of the Government, I am instructed to make. I have said, that by the existing law the Trustees of Maynooth are expressly empowered to purchase and acquire land. The original Act gave them power to purchase to the extent of 1,000*l.* per annum. That power was increased by the 48th of George III., which Act enabled them to hold lands to the extent of 1,000*l.*, in addition to the land already possessed. That was the enactment; but the intended effect of it has never been realized, because the Trustees not being incorporated—although authorized to acquire land—can take no effectual grant of any to them and their successors. They cannot receive land on any other terms than for the lives of individual trustees. We propose to remedy that defect. We propose to incorporate the Trustees, and to make them a body politic, by the name of the "Trustees of Maynooth College." Thus we shall give them that power to hold land which it must have been intended to give them from the first; and we shall permit them to hold real property to the extent of 3,000*l.* per annum. If the members of the Roman Catholic faith are desirous—as I think they will be after you have improved the constitution of this College—to make provision for particular localities, or to contribute to the general expenses of the institution, I can see no objection to such voluntary contributions. We propose, therefore, to permit the Trustees so incorporated, to hold real property to the extent of 3,000*l.* per annum; and, of course, to legalize the conveyance of real property to the trustees by individuals to that extent. I next address myself to the provision to be made for the chief officers of the College. We propose that there should be a more liberal salary as compared with the present stipend of the president and professors. As I before said, the stipend of each individual professor does not now exceed 122*l.* per annum. Instead of defining exactly what shall be the amount paid to each professor, we propose to allot to the Trustees of Maynooth a certain sum, which shall be placed at their discretion, for the payment of the charges of the establishment in respect to officers and professors. That sum will admit of a payment of 600*l.* or 700*l.* per annum to the president of the College; of 260*l.* or 270*l.* to the professors of theology; and of 220*l.* or 230*l.* to the other professors. We propose, therefore, that a sum not exceeding 6,000*l.* shall be allotted to the Trustees for making provision for the officers of the institution. With regard to the students, I would remind the House that the College, generally speaking, is divided into two departments. The senior department consists of three senior classes of divinity students; and includes the persons from whom a selection is made for the Roman Catholic priesthood. In the subordinate division of the College there are four classes. In addition to those two departments are twenty senior students, who have passed through the College course with peculiar credit, called the Dunboyne students—a Lord Dunboyne having bequeathed *500l.* a year towards their support. They are selected by the president on the score of merit and good conduct; and allowed to remain three years after the completion of the ordinary College course. To each one is at present allowed *55l.* a year; of which sum *25l.* goes to the College for the student's support. There are at present about 440 students in the College—divided into these three classes—the Dunboyne students, the three senior classes, and the four junior classes. We propose to allot to each of the Dunboyne students, in number twenty, the sum of *40l.* per annum. We propose to make provision on the whole for 500 free students—250 students in the four junior classes, and 250 in the three senior or divinity classes. We propose that for the maintenance of each student, to cover the expense of his commons, attendance, and other charges consequent upon academical education, a sum shall be placed at the disposal of the Trustees, calculated on an average of *28l.* per annum for each student. We propose that to each of the students in the three senior classes the sum of *20l.* per annum for their own personal expenses shall be allowed in addition. This will require a very considerable sum. For the salaries of the professors, for the provision of a library, and for other expenses of that nature, a sum not exceeding *6,000l.* will be requisite. For the twenty Dunboyne students the sum of *800l.* The allowance for the maintenance of 500 students in the two departments, and of the twenty Dunboyne students, at *28l.* each, will amount to *14,560l.* The allowance of *20l.* each to the divinity students in the three senior classes will make *5,000l.* Thus we have a total for the annual charge on account of the establishment of *26,360l.* That will not be in addition to the present Vote, but including it. In proposing that such additional grant shall be made, it will be observed that the number of the students in the College is actually increased from 440 to 500; and it is intended that the building shall be so altered and improved as that one decent room shall be assigned to each student. We propose that the College shall be made in appearance, and in reality, more worthy, at least, than it is at present, of the purpose to which it is applied. We propose that proper provision shall be made for the accommodation of the president and professors, the repair of the hall and chapel, and of the building generally. To effect this object, a grant, not, of course, an annual one, to the extent of *30,000l.* will be requisite. We intend that a sum of money, so sanctioned by Parliament, shall be applied for the purposes I have described. We propose, at the same time, that the number of students supported by the public grant, shall not exceed 500; that there shall be no power of increasing the number to 600 or 700, by reducing the individual allowances. We wish to put the establishment on a liberal footing; so that the reminiscences of Maynooth may no longer be revolting. It is therefore that we propose to limit the number of students to 500. We propose also that the Board of Works shall undertake the repairs of the College, as they do of the other public buildings; in order that the charge for them may be conducted with the greatest economy. We do not propose to make provision in the Act for the annual expenses of the repairs; but that they shall be the subject of an annual vote, and be included in the annual estimates for the Board of Works, as in other cases. With respect to the visitorial power of the College, it is exercised, at present, for the ordinary purposes of education, by certain persons holding judicial offices, and by parties who either were originally appointed by the Act of 1795, or have been since elected to fill up vacancies as they have occured since that time. Now, our opinion is, that *ex officio* visitors are of little value. We propose that the Lord Chancellor and the Judges should be relieved from this duty; and that Her Majesty shall have the power to appoint five visitors, in addition to the elected visitors. But we do not propose that those visitors so appointed shall exercise any powers of visitation other than the present visitors do. We propose, however, that there shall be *bonâ fide* visitations; and that they shall take place, as a matter of course, annually, instead of triennially, as is now the case. We propose, also, that the Lord Lieutenant should have the power of directing a visitation whenever he may think proper. These visitorial powers are not to extend to any matter relating to the doctrine or discipline of the Church of Rome. We will not spoil this Act by any attempt at novel and ungracious interference with such matters. It would be utterly ineffective for any good purpose. The visitorial power in all matters connected with the doctrine or discipline of the Roman Catholic Church is now exercised, and can only be exercised, by three visitors specially selected for this purpose by the Trustees; which visitors must be members of the Roman Catholic Church. These special visitors are, I believe, at present, Archbishop Crolly, Archbishop Murray, and the Earl of Fingall. We leave the law as we find it in respect to the authority and functions of these special visitors. I believe that I have now stated the general outline of the measure which Her Majesty's Government have felt it their duty to bring under the consideration of the House. It is, I trust, conceived in the spirit to which I have referred — a liberal and confiding spirit. We have not introduced it without communication with the leading ecclesiastical authorities in the Roman Catholic Church. It has not been a subject of stipulation or contract with them. We have intimated to them our intention; and we have every reason to believe that they are satisfied with and grateful for the measure; that they will strongly recommend its acceptance; and that the great body of the intelligence and respectability of the Roman Catholic community will accept the measure as a liberal and efficient maintenance for the establishment at Maynooth. I commit this proposal of the Government to the deliberate consideration of this House; we are not insensible of the difficulties which we shall have to encounter; but, at the same time, after mature consideration, we are firmly convinced that this measure which I now propose, is nothing more than a liberal construction of those obligations which, in point of honour and good faith, are imposed on the Legislature of this kingdom. We introduce no new principle. That which we propose is the widening of the foundation of Maynooth in proportion to the increased demands for the services of the Roman Catholic priesthood; the providing of ministers for the performance of those services better instructed, and inspired with more kindly and friendly feelings towards the State. We feel that we can propose this, and can ask your assent to this without any violation of conscientious scruples. We believe that it is perfectly compatible to hold steadfast the profession of our own faith without wavering, and, at the same time, to improve the education and to elevate the character of those who—do what you will—pass this measure or refuse it—will continue to be the spiritual guides and religious instructors of millions of your fellow-countrymen. The right hon. Baronet concluded by moving,—

"That the Chairman be directed to move the House, that leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the Acts relating to the College of Maynooth."

Sir *R. H. Inglis* said, he felt more than ever the difficulty of rising to follow his right hon. Friend, because in the present instance not merely was the subject one of pre-eminent importance, but individually he was, as would be perceived by his voice, more unable than usual to address the House. But he trusted to that indulgence which he thankfully acknowledged had never yet failed him, while he endeavoured to meet the proposition of his right hon. Friend who had stated the views of Government on this occasion. His right hon. Friend stated at the close of his speech, as indeed he had stated at its commencement, that considerations of honour and good faith, however much the House might qualify them by the phrase of inconvenient obligations, still compelled them, in subsstance, to take the course which he recommended. On the question, then, of honour and good faith, constituting a contract or compact, must rest the decision of the Committee on the present question. Because, if that construction which his right hon. Friend had placed on the Statutes passed in Ireland, and on the custom which had followed them, were correct, he held that it would be impossible for any one—certainly it would be impossible for himself—to oppose the proposition of his right hon. Friend. It was because he felt a deep and solemn persuasion that there was no obligation in point of honour and good faith—as well as no obligation in the Statute Law of the Realm—that he felt himself not only called upon, but bound, to take the earliest opportunity of resisting the proposition of his right hon. Friend. In the first instance, he wished to notice that his right hon. Friend must have drawn a conclusion little favourable to the ultimate success of his scheme from the number of petitions which were presented, not only from this but from the opposite side of the House, against the measure, even when its provisions were imperfectly known to the House and the country. Another consideration which could not have escaped his practised ear was this, that almost all the cheers—with, he thought, two exceptions—almost all the cheers with which his right hon. Friend's speech was greeted proceeded from the Opposition Members. But if the feeling of the country, as manifested by the petitions now on the Table of the House, were to be regarded as eminently unfavourable to the future success of the measure, he could promise his right hon. Friend—though individually he had had no communication on the subject, yet he knew enough of the feeling of his fellow countrymen to promise his right hon. Friend—that his statement would excite a still deeper and more general feeling of opposition. His right hon. Friend had stated that he had not taken the House by surprise, and had reminded the House that, at the close of last Session, he promised to take into consideration the general question of academical education in Ireland. But did any person who listened to that speech for a moment anticipate the present measure? Did any one, on this side of the House imagine—he would not answer for those on whose support Her Majesty's Government would, on this occasion, mainly rely, for it was possible that it might have entered into the imagination or the judgment of some of those hon. Gentlemen—that Her Majesty's Government meant to introduce a measure like the present? Certainly it was not shadowed forth in the speech of his right hon. Friend when the question was raised last Session by the hon. Member for Waterford. In opening this measure to the House, his right hon. Friend stated that he desired to submit it to the deliberate consideration of Parliament; and in opposing the Motion, he must first take the opportunity of setting himself right with a few of his Friends. He desired to test the opinion of the House by a discussion and division at the present stage of the proceeding. He did so because his right hon. Friend said that he wished the decision of the House might be taken on the principle. The principle was raised in the present stage; and he had, therefore, no alternative but to divide the House. It was not whether he might or might not, as a question of tactics, think that expedient; but if he did not, the consequence would be that the House would be committed to the question; and therefore he held that, even though he had been requested by more than five Members not to divide, yet as every other person had urged him to divide—he felt that he was bound at once to take the sense of the House. His right hon. Friend had said that there were three courses open to Her Majesty's Government—either to discontinue, or to continue, or to increase the endowment of Maynooth; and he said, with regard to discontinuing, that, at any rate he was not prepared to submit that course to the House; as he had stated five years ago, in June, 1840, that he was not prepared to pledge himself to the withdrawal of the grant. This was all that passed at that time from his right hon. Friend with regard to the discontinuance of the grant. But did any hon. Member who heard that phrase which his right hon. Friend used when appealed to on the subject by the hon. Member for Kent, who pressed him to give a pledge that he would discontinue the grant—that being the year before his accession to office—could any person collect from that declaration that his right hon. Friend would propose not only not to discontinue the grant, but to increase it; and above all, to make such an increase as would practically amount to an endowment of the Church of Rome in Ireland. As the case stood hitherto, it was an annual grant, which Parliament reviewed in the ordinary course of discussions on the Estimates. Parliament was never pledged, he would not say from one Parliament to another—it was never pledged for more than one Session of Parliament. The Vote was open to renewal or rejection; and, as had been stated already, the amount had not been equal throughout. But his right hon. Friend was incorrect; he would pardon him for saying so, when he referred to the invariable practice of fifty years as warranting any thing like the present measure; because, in one instance, there had been an increase, and in another, which was a more important point, there had one year been no grant at all, which he begged his right hon. Friend specially to remember. It was a fact that the Parliament of Ireland in one year—and he spoke with a distinct reference to the Journals of the Irish House of Commons — consented to the grant in April, 1799; but the House of Lords in Ireland negatived the grant by a Resolution which was equivalent to the English form of moving that a Bill be read that day six months—by fixing some impossible time for reading the Bill; and practically, therefore, depriving the case of that formally strong ground which it might have had if it had rested upon an altogether unbroken custom. They were told that they ought to recollect the circumstances under which this grant was first bestowed, or rather to the circumstances under which the College was first established. He was very willing to refer to that period; he would not merely refer to it, but, with the permission of the Committee, would state, with somewhat more minuteness of detail than his right hon. Friend had done, the circumstances under which the establishment was first formed. The justification of any grant in the present instance, on this 3rd of April 1845, must rest either upon compact, made by express statute or upon a compact implied; or if they failed to prove either of these, it must rest upon grounds of expediency. Before entering upon the question of compact, he would call to the recollection of the Committee generally—and, if his right hon. Friend would permit him to address himself particularly to him, he would call to the recollection of his right hon. Friend what was stated by Sir Arthur Wellesley, when Chief Secretary for Ireland, on the 29th of April, 1808, and when that Bill was under discussion to which his right hon. Friend referred, as one of three Acts on this subject. Sir Arthur Wellesley then stated, "The fact was that when Maynooth was first established, it was not intended that it should be maintained from the public purse. A memorial was presented previous to the foundation of the establishment, which prayed that a charter might be granted to them, so that the funds for the purpose might be better collected and secured." They did not refer at that moment to a grant made from the funds of the nation, but they asked for a charter in order that their own funds might be secured to them. Let the Committee recollect the different state in which the Roman Catholics were placed in 1795, with that which existed at the present time. With regard to matters of policy and civil right, the Roman Catholics could now establish whatever they pleased at their own expense. But was that the case then? Not only was it a fact that the Roman Catholics did not establish institutions for the education of their children, but it was against the law that they should establish them; and the Roman Catholic Archbishop, Dr. Troy, in the memorial which he presented on the 14th of January, 1794, the very year before that mentioned in the Motion now before the House, showed that the object contemplated by the Roman Catholics was to be permitted to establish an institution from their own funds. Was that denied? Was it denied that, in point of fact, before Parliament resolved to interfere, the persons interested in the establishment presented a memorial to the Irish Government, praying that they might be enabled to establish the institution at their own expense? In the speech of the illustrious statesman whose name had been quoted by his right hon. Friend to-night—and which he could not refer to without bearing his humble testimony to the Christian simplicity and integrity of Mr. Perceval's character—he stated that the Catholics had prayed to be allowed to defray the whole expense; and though the Government and Parliament gave 8,928*l.* annually, that was no reason for giving any countenance to increased demands. But the point was not the mere amount of money. He repudiated any such consideration as actuating his own mind; and he was sure he was justified in stating that those who, with him, objected to the measure, would object with not less intensity of feeling whether the grant were to be doubled, or whether it were to be lessened by one half. Their objection was to the endowment of the Church of Rome. Their objection was to the adoption of the College—that was the phrase used by his right hon. Friend — and they considered that they violated no principle of toleration when they refused to become parties to a system of instruction which they distrusted, and which distrust he believed was shared by the great majority of his countrymen. He did not despair even that a majority of that House would be found to concur with the majority in the country. [Mr. *Ward*: Hear, hear.] Notwithstanding the ominous cheer of the hon. Member for Sheffield, he repeated that he did not despair of their being in the House a majority to represent the feelings of the great majority of the people of England. At any rate, he did trust if the measure should unhappily pass this House, that there would be found elsewhere sufficient principle and sufficient virtue to prevent its ultimate success. Even in that House they all knew the effect produced a short time ago when it was proposed to interfere, as he thought it was unreasonably considered by others —to interfere with the question of education. The success which attended that demonstration of public opinion, he trusted, would encourage its repetition, and that even in that House they would succeed in stopping the progress of the present measure. But he was about to state what induced the Government in 1794-5 to listen to the memorial of the Roman Catholic Prelates, and to establish the institution which they were now considering. It was stated that Mr. Grattan, whose authority had been already quoted, in advocating the home education of the priests, alleged that by such a system the priests would be taught at home to love their country and to revere its Government. But if the authority of Mr. Grattan were to be quoted with reference to the establishment of Maynooth, he would ask that it might not be forgotten what Mr. Grattan expected from such an institution, and whether any of his expectations had been realized?—Whether the priests in Ireland had been induced to revere the Government of their country, or to exhibit such an example of good order and obedience as would justify the House in desiring the extension of their influence, or, at any rate, justify the House in making itself the party responsible for their education? After all, that was the point to be decided by the country, not whether more Roman Catholics were to be instructed, but whether we were to be parties to their increase and instruction? The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Dungarvon, who was possibly at that moment in the House, had come down on the last discussion of this subject, five years ago, and spoken to the House, after the hon. Member for Kent and himself (Sir R. Inglis) had spoken, and after the then Chief Secretary for Ireland (Lord Morpeth) had also spoken. The learned Gentleman brought down a volume of Irish Statutes in his hand, and he created a great sensation, from which some of his friends had not recovered so speedily as they ought, by a passage something to this effect; indeed, he believed he quoted the learned Gentleman's very words:—"The case of Maynooth rests on a clear Statute, passed before the Union, and ratified by an Act of the Imperial Parliament." He was a good deal surprised that this Act was never quoted. What was the language of that Act? The right hon. and learned Gentleman had omitted to quote it for the House. No man, however, who read it would for a moment think of building on it such a superstructure as that proposed by his right hon. Friend at the head of the Government. It was the 35th Geo. III., the Irish Statutes, cap. 21, and it opened with this preamble:—

> "Whereas, by the laws now in force in this kingdom, it is not lawful to endow any college or seminary for the education of persons professing the Roman Catholic religion, and it is now become expedient to endow a seminary for that purpose, be it therefore enacted, &c."

The Act then names the Lord Chancellor and other functionaries as trustees for the purpose 'of endowing and maintaining one academy for the education only of persons professing the Roman Catholic religion;' the trustees and their successors being authorized to receive subscriptions and donations from Roman Catholics for the purposes of the establishment. Did this recognise any right on the part of the Roman Catholic population of Ireland to have their college maintained at the expense of the nation? He should be surprised if any Member of that House, reading the words of the Act, should contend that such a claim was maintained by it. The Second Clause adverted to the state of the law, by which a Romish priest was not permitted to officiate in any chapel, and gave them leave to officiate in the chapel of the proposed seminary. In the present day they could hardly conceive how a permission to officiate could be considered as a boon, but it was so then. He was not defending the old penal laws; he was only stating a fact. They could at the present time scarcely throw themselves back into the state of things existing fifty or sixty years ago, or to the earlier period, when it was declared, on the authority of the Irish Lord Chanchellor Bowes, that the law did not recognise the existence of an Irish Roman Catholic. Again, he said, he was not defending that state of the law; he was merely citing the fact to show that these points, which were now regarded with much indifference and contempt, had a real value to the Roman Catholics of 1794. In then asking the Government to grant them a charter for the establishment of an academy for the education of priests, they asked as much as the Government of 1794 could grant, and a great deal more than the Parliament and Government of Ireland would have admitted two short years before, for only two years before this period the petition of the Roman Catholics of Ireland praying for emancipation was actually kicked out of the Irish House of Commons by one of the most influential Members of that body. He certainly was surprised that the annual grant to the establishment then founded was now to be considered a national compact and made the basis—if not actually of an endowment of the Church of Rome, yet—of an ascendancy which could not have entered into the wildest dreams of Roman Catholics at the period of which he was speaking. In construing this Act of Parliament, they must look at the intentions of the parties who framed it; he held the passages which he had quoted to be conclusive that it was never intended by that Act to establish as an endowment to be maintained exclusively by the State a seminary for the education of Roman Catholic priests. He now came to the money part of the question. The sum granted by the Act of the Irish Parliament was 8,000*l.* per annum, to be paid " towards the establishment" of this academy: throughout the Act there was an impression that the subscriptions and donations of the Roman Catholic body, which up to that period could not be appropriated to such a purpose, should under the provisions of this Act be received by the trustees on behalf of the establishment. In the course of his inquiries on this subject he had been greatly aided in his researches by an excellent Friend, who inherited the honoured name of Percival, whom he had already quoted. Mr. Dudley Percival had investigated this subject with great labour and accuracy. In his judgment that gentleman had proved that the only pledge given on the subject was the one given at the Union. They would find in their own Journals for May, 1800, a Resolution to that effect,—

> " That a sum not less than the sum granted by the Parliament of Ireland on an average of the six years preceding the 1st of January, 1800, for the internal encouragement of agriculture, and for the maintenance of institutions for pious and charitable purposes, shall be applied for a period of twenty years after the Union to such local purposes in Ireland, in such a manner as the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall direct."

He admitted this pledge; but it was a pledge to the Protestant Charter Schools quite as much as to the Roman Catholic establishment; it was to be continued for twenty years after the Union; it had now been continued to that establishment for forty-four years (more than double the original period), and as far as that College was concerned the pledge had been amply redeemed. He was aware that the grant to Maynooth had been defended on the ground that it was a legacy from the Irish Parliament. He was also aware that the non-payment of the part of the same legacy to the Protestant Charter Schools of Ireland did not justify him, as an executor, in refusing the payment of the other part; but he contended that that legacy was only one of an annuity for twenty years, and it was now proposed to make a great increase in its amount, and give it a security second only to the income of the Crown itself, and equal at least to that of the Civil List—equal to that of the civil and judicial establishments of the country. They might be told that an Act of Parliament could be repealed to-morrow, just as any of the Estimates could be refused; but they knew too well, by the experience of the last twenty years, that when they once made concessions by establishing anything by Act of Parliament, their power was virtually lost. [Sir *R. Peel:* Hear.] His right hon. Friend cheered, as if he had listened to that observation; but he seemed to have forgotten, or not heard that it had been proved that Maynooth was not endowed by Act of Parliament, but only empowered to receive and subsist upon donations and contributions. He could assure his right hon. Friend, he did not want to suppress the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth. He had never at any period expressed anything so contrary to his convictions. Let the Roman Catholics educate their own priests, as the Dissenters did theirs. He did not propose to bring in any Bill to repeal the 35th, or the 40th, or the 48th of George III.; and he would in passing notice that the name of that Monarch had been used two or three times by his right hon Friend, implying that even so good a Protestant as George III. did not resist this grant. It was a kind of argument *ad verecundiam,* as if he were asking them, were they better Protestants than George III.? They might perhaps be better Protestants than Mr. Pitt; but it was wrong to suppose that the Protestantism of George III. was at all consulted in this matter. The original Act enabled the Roman Catholics to do what they desired, and he, for one, would not for an instant desire to prevent them from receiving the subscriptions and donations of their co-religionists. He would beg the House to recollect that the pledge of the 5th of May, 1800, extended as much to the Charter Schools and the other Protestant institutions which had been supported by grants from the Irish Parliament, as it did to Maynooth; and his complaint was, that they were now endowing the Roman Catholic Church, and withdrawing support from Protestant institutions. There was a society supported by some Roman Catholic, and by many Protestant Members of this House, but which he had never supported, as he thought it too liberal—he meant the Kildare Place Society; but from that society Her Majesty's late Government had felt it their duty to withdraw any public grant of money because it was of a proselytising character; and this, though the Secretary of the Admiralty under that Administration had been in early times the decided supporter of that institution. His right hon. Friend had also referred to the Colonies, and had asked him if he were disinclined to continue this grant, why should he support the Roman Catholic Church in the Colonies? He would tell him. In Malta, we maintained the Roman Catholic Church on the ground of a specific Treaty; on the same ground we maintained it in the Mauritius, and on the same ground we maintained it in Canada, after having withdrawn all support which the Protestant Church had there received from us. His complaint was, that the reciprocity was all on one side: the endowments were all for the Church of Rome, and the withdrawals were all from Protestant institutions. When he asked his right hon. Friend ten days ago what his intentions were, with respect to Protestant objects supported by Parliamentary grant, such as the Universities of Scotland, the Dissenters of Ireland, and the *Regium Donum*, and whether he intended to leave these to the tender mercies of an annual Vote of the House of Commons, his right hon. Friend did not notice the others, but fixed on the *Regium Donum*, and said a great part of the recipients of it were Arians and Socinians, and asked him whether he (Sir R. Inglis) would give them a permanent grant. He then replied, that if such a measure were proposed, he would not oppose it. He had stated his doctrine over and over again in this House, that he would not voluntarily pay any man for teaching what he believed to be—he would not use a harsh phrase—erroneous doctrines. If he were to be asked how could he, with this principle, justify the Church of England in demanding tithes, church rates, and endowments, he would reply now, as he always did, whenever he heard this objection, that tithes were the first charge on every man's property, and, whether in Tipperary or in Leicestershire, were equally due from the owner of the property to the holders; and whether he was an ecclesiastic or a layman, the principle was the same, and he had as much right to the tithes as the owner of the land had to it. And so with regard to church rates or any other receipt which a man of one religion had from a man of another religion; it was a payment, not in respect to creed or person, but in respect to property. He was, therefore, consistent in saying that he would pay no man for teaching what he believed to be wrong. The right hon. Baronet had made a passing observation, that from the poverty of some of the professors, and the indigence of the students, it would seem that they were not such persons as constituted the body of the priesthood in more favoured countries. He would say that, looking to the class of persons from whom the Irish priests were generally chosen, there was a strong probability that they were not such by birth and education as were likely to be most influential for good. But nothing could be wilder or more visionary than the idea that by means of this grant they would bring the great body of the people of Ireland into communion with the Church of England — actually convert the Roman Catholic people of Ireland over to the Protestant faith. [An *Opposition Member:* Who argues so?] That whisper was so audible that he could not avoid noticing it. He would then tell the hon. Member that that argument was lately put forward by one of the ablest writers whom he knew. He must say, that if he wanted to convert the body of the Irish people to his faith, he thought he should have a much better chance of succeeding in that object by leaving the priests in their present position, than by making them all Wisemans, Bossuets, and Bellarmines. What was the fact? In the last newspaper which he had read, it would be found that Mr. O'Connell had stated that the grant ought to have been 70,000*l.* when he supposed it was to be 20,000*l.*; and he apprehended, therefore, that if Her Majesty's Government thought to propitiate Mr. O'Connell by bringing in their present measure, they would be disappointed, and fail in the object as decidedly as in every other attempt that had been made to conciliate that learned Gentleman. Again, Mr. O'Connell alluded to the subject in that House on the 31st of September, 1831, when he said,—

> "He owned he did not feel flattered—Ireland did not feel flattered—by the importance attached by the right hon. Secretary (now Lord Stanley) to this grant. The amount of it was nothing; and if it were withheld altogether, and he should not mind if it were, the Roman Catholic priesthood could still be as well provided for."

Why that was the very doctrine of the Prime Minister of this country at the present day. The right hon. Gentleman, when he urged upon the House not to decrease the grant on account of the inconvenience and evils such a step would produce, said, "Don't suppose you would get rid of the institution. It would be supported as well by the people of Ireland then as it is now. If your object is to do away with Maynooth, do not consider that that object will be effected by the discontinuance of your Parliamentary grant." He hoped that he had not altogether failed in proving that if the proposed measure were to be defended, it was not to be defended on the ground of any compact expressed or implied by Act of Parliament, or by unbroken custom. Its defence, if it could be defended, must rest, as he apprehended, on the ground of expediency. And although he was not fond of that word, yet tried, as he thought it should always be, by considerations of principles as distinct from secular advantage, he could not but think that even on the ground of expediency the measure of Her Majesty's Ministers would fail as signally as it deserved. He did not object to the Roman Catholics having as full an opportunity of educating their own ministers as any other body of Dissenters; and he asked the right hon. Gentleman upon what ground he exempted the Roman Catholics of Ireland from the obligation to maintain their own ministers in the same manner as our Dissenting brethren did in this country? He believed there was no institution now in existence for the education of the ministers of any denomination of Christians, which was maintained by the State, except the Roman Catholics. And what, he desired to know, was the special ground for making that exception? In point of fact, by any support which incidentally and indirectly the State gave to the Roman Catholic Church, they were creating an antagonist principle to the Established Church; exactly in proportion as they multiplied the priests of the Church of Rome, educated at the public expense, they were providing foes for the nearer and he hoped dearer intitutions of our own land. These Roman Catholic priests could not be consistent and conscientious if they did not regard the Protestant Establishment, not merely as a nuisance in the sight of man, but as a great evil in the sight of God; and therefore not merely sordid considerations should induce them to endeavour to root it out of the land, but their duty to their Creator ought to compel them to combine to take the same course. Was it, then, consistent with the principles of the British Government to create a body of men, animated as they were known to be by feelings so natural as he had attributed to them? But it was also said, that the Roman Catholics ought to have a share in the fund granted by Parliament for the education of the people. Who prevented that? They came in under the Parliamentary grant, precisely as any other persons, either of the Church or of any Dissenting body. It was not, therefore, with repect to the education of the people that the Roman Catholic was entitled to have any pre-eminence; he had already a fair share of public money; and he (Sir R. Inglis) held that there was nothing in the character of the Romish Church or its people to entitle them to any pre-eminence or distinction. The folly of educating, by means of a State provision, a class of men whose views and whose Church were decidedly hostile to the State Church, was paralleled, so far as he could see, by nothing but the folly of the Dutch, who sold gunpowder to their enemies and besiegers. In proportion as we contributed to the multiplication of Roman Catholic ministers in any part of the kingdom, we were providing for the destruction of our own Church. He could not consent, then, in the name of God, to teach, or pay any other man for teaching, that which he believed to be contrary to the word and truth of God. No consideration would induce him to give his consent to any enlargement, he would not say of this system of error in particular, but of any known system of error. Had he been called on to agree to this grant at any time between the years 1800 and 1820, he might, perhaps, have been required to recognise the implied obligation; but that obligation no longer existed, and he felt entitled to oppose it. In regard to the conscientious objection to the grant, he was inclined to dispute one proposition which had been laid down, not in that House, but elsewhere, by one who, on the score of his public and private character, was entitled to the highest respect. He could not agree with that right hon. Gentleman, that any State could have what he called a State conscience. He believed in a certain individual conscience, and he thought that was sufficient for all purposes. On this ground, therefore, he most fully recognised the right of her Majesty's Government to propose the measure. He believed that they had no motive for doing so but the belief that they were doing their duty; but at the same time he also, in the exercise of the same right, felt most impressively called on to repudiate their course, and to resist their further progress in the measure. He was most anxious not to say anything that would be disrespectful to his right hon. Friend at the head of the Government; but he could not but feel that the greater part of the speech he had made on that occasion might, after all, have been made at a much earlier period of his political life. He hoped his right hon. Friend would excuse the observation; but it appeared to him that there was nothing in the facts brought forward by his right hon. Friend on that occasion that was not equally as patent to observation, and as stringent in its conclusions on any man's conscience, in the year 1813, when the right hon. Baronet was Chief Secretary for Ireland, as it was at the present moment. He was desirous of making these observations in a manner as little offensive as possible; but he could not also help wishing that the passage which he had already quoted from the speech of the right hon. Baronet on the 23rd of June, 1840, had been more distinct as to the measures which should proceed from him. And with regard to all the conclusions which his right hon. Friend had so inevitably drawn from the state of the legislation, the wants of the people, and the duties of their governors, he could not but wish that the country had been enlightened upon them by his right hon. Friend at an earlier period. He cordially agreed in the maxim, that to do right was better late than never; but in this case the question was, whether what they were about to do was right; and he had troubled the House to but little purpose if he had not shown them that that course was not only not right, but that it was specifically wrong. Therefore he was entitled to say, that he wished they had known the intentions of the right hon. Baronet at an earlier period. He could not help feeling that the House and the country had been taken by surprise by the right hon. Baronet. All our legislation was founded—he was not ashamed to avow it—on the Protestant Christianity of the country. For the last three centuries that had been the distinguishing character and essence of the Constitution. Little by little, we had seen the distinguishing marks of the Protestant Constitution shattered in the warfare of the last few years. The meteor flag, to which we had so long looked with admiration, had been shattered and torn, but the Protestant colours were still at the mast-head; and, so long as a single shred of the old flag lasted, he for one would endeavour to nail it to that mast, and he would fight as unflinchingly for it and under it as when, in brighter days, it waved entire and untorn over our Empire. With these feelings, and thanking the House for its patient and kind attention, he begged to conclude by giving a distinct negative to the proposal of Her Majesty's Government.

Mr. *Bernal Osborne* said, amidst the long series of struggles of which Ireland had been the subject, the only thing left there which was anything like a national institution was the Roman Catholic Church, which remained as a monument to all ages of the wickedness and folly of religious persecution. The right hon. Baronet seemed disposed to take the advice of the late Bishop of Killaloe; and as he found it impossible to turn 7,000,000 of Irish into Protestants, he was determined to do all he could to make them good Catholics. The right hon. Gentleman had given a history of the origin and progress of Maynooth; and, having done so, he was surprised to hear the hon. Baronet the Member for Oxford denying that there was any compact as to the College of Maynooth. The hon. Baronet, no doubt, was not aware that when an application was made for the establishment of Maynooth, it was intended that Protestants also should be admitted. The Irish Parliament answered the appeal made to it by allowing the College to be founded; but they prohibited, by Statute, any Protestant from entering the walls of the College. But when the Parliament made that prohibition, there was a lay college attached to the Catholic College. It so continued until 1801, when Mr. Abbott, afterwards Lord Colchester, objected to the lay college, which was subsequently discontinued. It was not, then, the fault of the Roman Catholics that this was made exclusively an ecclesiastical College. There seemed to be very general misapprehension as to the course pursued by the Roman Catholic authorities with regard to the teaching at Maynooth. It was not, perhaps, generally known that every student there was required to have a copy of the Bible; and notwithstanding the scanty funds of the institution, 300 copies had been distributed at a price reduced from two guineas to fourteen shillings. They had also suppressed all notes which could have any reference to the prejudices of their Protestant brethren. A great many remarks had been made about the low standard of education among the priests. He had even heard such remarks made by hon. Gentlemen and noble Lords in such language that he had required to know that they occupied such positions, or he could not have supposed it possible. If the Irish priest was sometimes wrong in his orthography, or committed a *lapsus linguæ*, he thought that specimens of similar errors might also be found among their accusers. He need only refer the House to one case—that of a noble Marquess, still, as at the time to which he referred, Lord Lieutenant of a county. He alluded to the letter of the Marquess of Westmeath, which had appeared in the papers, and was, no doubt, familiar to hon. Members. The noble Lord had some squabble with a Catholic priest about a right of way to a chapel; and it was thus the noble Lord wrote to the editor of the *Dublin Evening Mail*—a paper, no doubt, known to the hon. Member for Dublin (Mr. Gregory) that he saw opposite:—

> "Please to observe how Priest Carey spells—the word 'incroach' is a specimen; and I have just, on closing this, received a letter full of this sort of vituperation from Priest Carey, such as these amphibious creatures mistake for spirit; wherever he having to use the word 'precedent,' spells it 'pressident;' one s not being sufficient, he gives it two, with an i. I preserve the originals as a testimony of the state of education that precious seminary at Maynooth gives to the faithful clergy who have now got their unwashed feet upon the necks of this poor misguided and much-to-be-commiserated people. Of course I never should have thought of a correspondence with any of those emaciated vermin unless forced, as I was, to answer the application in the present case."

If the noble Lord who remarked upon the priest for being so prodigal of his *s s*, had only the slight advantages which the State gave to the clergyman, it was probable that the noble Lord's grammar would have been as vicious as his style. He was surprised that the hon. Member for the University of Oxford had not alluded to the low origin of the Roman Catholic priests; for some hon. Gentlemen seemed to think that fashion and gentility were necessary in a parish priest. On the same ground they might have objected to the apostles. Having paid some little attention to the subject, he thought that hon. Gentlemen who made such objections were ignorant of the genius and system of the Roman Catholic religion. It had always been part and parcel of the Roman Catholic policy to raise the great body of the clergy from the working classes; and for this reason—that in the middle ages, and even subsequently, the higher classes monopolized all the places of power and influence; and it was in the Church alone that the democratic energy could find an outlet for its ambition. To this policy they owed some of their most learned scholars, and the Church some of its most pious saints; and he would remind the hon. Member for the University of Oxford, that had it not been for this system, Luther himself would have remained a farmer-peasant. Let them look at the course pursued for the last fifty years. What was the evidence of Dr. Crotty, given before the Commission appointed to inquire into the state of Maynooth in 1826? He said—

> "Roman Catholic bishops are always anxious to procure young men of the most decent families to be members of Maynooth; but it is impossible to find a sufficient number to supply the wants of Roman Catholic ministers. The labours of a Roman Catholic clergyman are far greater than the public are aware of. They are frequently exposed to the most imminent danger of losing their health and lives in visiting, at night, the wretched hovels of the peasantry, where nothing is found but misery and contagious disorder. There are no temporal inducements for the children of the higher classes to become priests!"

He could himself bear testimony to the

exertions and privations of the much belied priests. Now, he had been forcibly struck with an observation of Mr. David Hume bearing upon this subject. In one of his Essays he said, that the provinces of absolute monarchy were always better treated than those of free states; and he instanced Ireland, as affording an illustration of the fact. Now, he would test this statement by the example of a neighbouring nation, the Government of which was an absolute monarchy; at least, the country was not in the enjoyment of the representative system—he referred to Prussia. The hereditary dominions of the Prussian Crown being Protestant, by the Treaty of 1815, the Rhenish States, in which there was a considerable Roman Catholic population, were annexed to the Prussian territory. The first step taken by the late King of Prussia, under these circumstances, was to found a Roman Catholic seminary at the University of Bonn. The next was, to place himself in communication with the Pope. In 1821, though no Concordat was signed, the Pope issued a bull, by which he empowered the Crown to direct the chapters to confer with it in reference to the election of Roman Catholic bishops. Nay, more, all the correspondence between the Pope and the clergy had to pass under the cognizance of the Government. If this arrangement answered in Prussia, why should it not here? It could hardly be supposed, when the Pope was on such a friendly footing with the present Government, that he would have the least objection to correspondence passing through their hands. Now, there were two classes of opponents to this measure. The first class, amongst whom were several friends of his own, consisted of those who were opposed to the grant because they objected to the principle of making a State provision for the members of any Church. The second class was represented by the hon. Member for the University of Oxford, who, thinking that he had got an exclusive monopoly of the truth, objected to what he called the endowment of error. Now, with reference to the first class of opponents, although he differed from them in opinion, he must confess that their arguments were comprehensible; but he would remind them that the Roman Catholics of Ireland were perfectly ready to repudiate any bounty of the State, even for the education of their ecclesiastics. It was difficult, however, to meet the objection of the hon. Member for the University of Oxford, who objected to the endowment of what he called "religious error?" He was here compelled to adopt the language of Mr. Burke, and to ask who was to be the proper judge as to what was religious error. Was that House to go into a Committee for the discovery of religious truth? The Treasury, he imagined, was of no religious persuasion—*omnes eodem cogimur*. The question was, after all, not whether there should be Roman Catholic priests in Ireland, but whether the priests should be good or bad, literate or illiterate, clergymen or demagogues. Were they prepared to enact the penal laws proscribing the Roman Catholic worship? Was there to be a kind of religious scale in reference to this matter? Every year they had had a sham fight; but if the sum were rather more than doubled, the Protestant religion was supposed to be in especial danger. Why, they had already endowed the Roman Catholic Church by empowering grand juries to vote money to be paid out of the county rates for the erection of Roman Catholic chapels; and those who objected to this measure after that belonged to the class who exhibited tremendous facilities for straining at gnats and swallowing camels. Since the period of the Union the Established Church in Ireland, whose members might be taken at 850,000, had received 5,207,000*l.*; the Protestant Dissenters had received 1,019,000*l.*: and the Roman Catholic Church, whose members constituted the bulk of the community, had received only 365,670*l.* Now, agreeing as he did with the policy of the right hon. Baronet's measure, the question arose in his mind from what fund this grant should be supplied? The right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel) having alluded to the probability of the Roman Catholic gentry contributing towards the furtherance of the object, he could not but express his own regret that they had not already contributed to a greater extent. It appeared that they subscribed the sum of 10,000*l.* a-year to the Society at Lyons for the Propagation of the Faith. Might he be permitted to suggest to them that it would be much wiser and more charitable to confine that sum to the education of their own people? But he must now revert to the question, whence were the funds to be derived for the endowment of the College of Maynooth? He could not but foresee that the Resolutions which they were about to pass involved the ultimate endowment of the Roman Catholic Church; and he, for one, was not prepared to take a large sum of money from taxes principally paid by the English people for the endowment of a creed to which they entertained very strong objections. But was there no other source from which the money could be obtained? He put it to the Chancellor of the Exchequer—the only Cabinet Minister whom he saw in his place—whether the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, acting under the Temporalities Act, were not at that moment possessed of a great deal of money of which they knew not how to make use? He very much regretted that his hon. Friend the Member for Sheffield had not on that occasion thought proper to move his Amendment; because he thought that, by voting this money from the Consolidated Fund, they would, in fact, be propping up the defective system of the Irish Established Church. When he considered the anomaly which that Church presented, the scanty congregations which attended its places of worship, while the despised chapels of the Roman Catholics were thronged, he certainly felt that it was vain to vote money to Maynooth in the manner proposed. Never would the question of the grievances of Ireland be finally settled until they made the Established Church of Ireland commensurate with its population, and not with its territorial wants. He was a sincere member of the Established Church; but he did not think that the starving peasantry of Ireland could look on the clergy of the Irish Established Church, "clothed in purple and fine linen," and "faring sumptuously every day," as the exponents of that religion the lowliness of which the apostles preached. He sympathized most warmly with the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel) in the difficult situation in which he was placed; but he must permit him to say that his difficulty was greatly increased by the peculiar reserve which had distinguished his political career in that House. He thought he would find himself in what the people of America vulgarly called "a fix." He recollected that on the right hon. Baronet's inauguration upon the Treasury Bench, when he (Captain B. Osborne) first entered the House, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Kent, with that remarkable solemnity which always marked his addresses in Parliament, and with great force and vigour, invoked a blessing on his head. He knew not whether that right hon. Gentleman was satisfied with the working of his incantation; but this he knew, that a great change had come over the spirit of the right hon. Baronet; so much so, that he thought they would be obliged to call to their aid those Custom-house officers who were able to discriminate between clayed sugars in order to detect any material difference between the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel) and the noble Lord (Lord J. Russell), who sat on his own side of the House. He (Captain B. Osborne) could respect the honest intolerance and the conscientious bigotry of those who had always sincerely opposed this grant; but it should be some consolation to the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government to recollect that the same cry that was now heard was raised when the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Dungarvon was appointed a Member of the Privy Council. What was now said of those noble Lords and right hon. Gentlemen who formerly exhibited to the constituencies wooden bibles and pasteboard crowns he would not pretend to determine. That was a question which he must leave to themselves.

Mr. *Gregory:* I am far from convinced by any of the arguments that have been employed by the right hon. Baronet this evening of the policy of carrying into law the Bill he has laid before the House. The original grounds, as he has himself stated, for granting a sum of money towards the support of Maynooth College, was to obviate the jacobinical tendency of a foreign education, and to provide instruction at home for the Roman Catholic clergy. In making that endowment, the Government of the day expected to see spring up a clergy not merely well-instructed, but loyal, peaceful, and devoted to the institutions of their country. The fallacy of these expectations we have lived long enough to experience. But, Sir, if in 1795 Mr. Pitt fell into an error, the mistake was most pardonable, and was one the wisest might have been betrayed into. He had had no benefit from experience—from bygone facts he could form no deductions. He and the Government of the day had every reason to expect a happy result from the experiment. Yet what is the state of the case—and what benefits has Ireland derived from the endowment? Mr. Grattan had been cited by the right hon. Baronet as the great advocate of this measure—but I will quote the words of Mr. Grattan in 1808, and ask the House have his expectations been fulfilled? He advocated the increase of the grant in that year, in the hope that by a home education at Maynooth, the Roman Catholic clergy would become a less political clergy, to the great danger of overthrowing the Government. I am unwilling to enter upon this dangerous topic —I am unwilling to rouse the bitterness of religious animosity. It is enough for me to say, that the experience of last year ought to convince any British Government that the endowment of Maynooth has not promoted the tranquillity of Ireland. What course, then, do Her Majesty's Ministers adopt? what remedy do they apply to this acknowledged evil? They propose to increase the grant; they understand how pleasantly the human mind is affected by specious parodoxes. Could we have a prettier paradox than the present Bill? To render evil impotent, we increase its powers; the very strength we grant will be the source of weakness; the stability we confer, bears within itself the elements of caducity; by paying a premium to agitation, agitation will be settled; by increasing the power of the storm, we are to lull the waves into tranquillity. I presume the preamble of this Bill will be worded something to this effect:—"Whereas the grant of money to Maynooth College, instituted from 1795, has not been attended with any beneficial effect to Ireland; and whereas the Roman Catholic priesthood educated at that seminary are most indisposed to British connexion; be it therefore enacted, that the aforesaid grant be increased from 8,000*l.* per annum to 26,300*l.*, in order that the power of that institution may be augmented, its influence more widely spread by the increase of funds." Why, Sir, this is the argument of the drunkard, after his debauch! He endeavours to cure the effects of his intemperance by having recourse to fresh and more copious draughts. We have heard a great deal this evening about the benefits of that increased grant; but it appears to me that the arguments employed in favour of it, have a remarkably Janus-like appearance—the one face ostentatiously proclaims to the Catholics of Ireland the liberality of this Vote, which exacts no pledge—institutes no inquiry—claims no reciprocity: the other face, however, looking to Protestant Ireland, declares that that Bill will be the most beneficial thing in the world for its interest—that instead of turbulent and political priests, we shall, in no short period of time, be blessed with a Catholic clergy, with more than the religion and zeal of their foreign educated predecessors, and with equal politeness, learning, and refinement. But even more than that is held out, to force the way for its reception, and to soothe the apprehensions of the alarmed. It is to be the grand instrument for the Protestantizing of Ireland. Such are the words ostentatiously committed to print in capital letters by a daily paper, supposed in some degree to reflect the opinions of Her Majesty's Government. The moment I read that paragraph a new light seemed to burst upon me. "Then," said I, "have we, the Protestants of Ireland, for the last four years been disquieting ourselves because the Government will lend no assistance to scriptural education—will not place a penny at the disposal of the Church Education Society, which, for old acquaintance sake, and the apparent sympathy that once existed between the occupiers of the Treasury Bench and the Kildare-place Society, we were credulous enough to imagine they would have done." But if that argument be true, it is quite evident they have acted very wisely, that their denial of funds has arisen purely from excessive zeal for Protestantism, and that both the increase of money to Maynooth, and the denial of money to Kildare-place, originate from the same anxious and affectionate regard for the Established Church. Give a grant to Maynooth, you will Protestantize Ireland; of course the contrary follows. Give a grant to Kildare-place, and you Romanize Ireland. Strange gold this Treasury gold, that is to transmute all it touches into its contrary—Romanism into Protestantism—Protestantism into Romanism. Unfortunately, however, there are two classes of persons in Great Britain who do hold by these opinions—namely, Roman Catholics, and those who are not Roman Catholics. But to confirm their reasoning, these arguers cry out, "Look at the unwillingness of the Catholic clergy to accept this boon—they see the danger of it—their eyes are not closed to their destruction; but their laity compels them to receive it." But will any one conceive the Roman Catholic laity to be so indifferent to the religion they profess, as to compel their clergy to any course likely to affect the stability of their Church? are they less clearsighted than ourselves? have penal laws alienated their affections? It is an absurdity on the face of it. This is a boon to them, a great concession, a concession of principle; an acknowledgment of their Church by the State—a union commenced by the Bequest Act, consummated by the present Bill. Such small acknowledgment as payment to the Roman Catholic chaplains of poor-houses and to gaol chaplains, which the right hon. Baronet alleges, and the like, are but minor inconsistencies. I am much puzzled and perplexed when I think how all this has come about. How can it be so? Have we not the most decided expression of opinion on the part of the Prime Minister, and that not long ago, against this identical union? Did not the right hon. Baronet oppose the Motion of the noble Lord the Member for Lancashire, for paying the Roman Catholic Clergy, expressly on this ground—that the Government would do nothing that looked like uniting the State in any way with Papacy? It seems, however, in 1845, that these scruples have disappeared—the ceremony may be performed — the objections formerly entertained against the charactér of the betrothed may be got over. True, he has been hitherto somewhat turbulent, somewhat given to agitation, not over respectful to his bride, nor over scrupulous in his remarks upon her character, and that of her relatives. But what matter—we are all liable to error. In married life he will, no doubt, settle down into a decent and reputable quiescence, and, the right hon. Baronet will prove how he has discarded his former suspicions and dislikes, and, overruling the first causes and impediments that interfere in the different readings of the bans, will himself join in indissoluble wedlock those hitherto discordant hands, and lead off in the grand epithalmic chorus which will wind up these proceedings and this debate. And may I, too, be allowed, although an unwilling spectator, to express my fervent hope that in the process of time, when the fruits of this union shall see the light, that the answer to our anxious inquiries may be —that the mother and child are both doing well. This is not a question as to whether the Roman Catholic priesthood should be educated or not. Never, never would I rise in my place an advocate of ignorance, and all its concomitant misfortunes. Let them be educated, and take that position in society and in public estimation which the holiness of their calling, as ministers of religion, undoubtedly proclaims it their right to do. But I do, without entering into particulars, protest against the fruits of Maynooth education: it has existed now for fifty years, and has it added one single constellation to the galaxy of Irish eminence? has it shed one gleam of light upon the dark surface of Irish history? and can it be supposed that among all those that enter into and issue from its walls, there be none upon whom Providence has conferred the *divinæ particulum auræ*—the learning and the eloquence, amid all her sorrows and distractions, Ireland's unalienated and unalienable heritage? You provide no adequate remedy by your Bill for the evils we complain of. Things are left precisely as they were; and one of the great faults of this system, Sir, what I condemn, is this, namely, its tendency to launch at once into action, into positions the most responsible for good or evil, young men, utterly unacquainted with the world, who have had no opportunities of forming their opinions, of divesting their minds of prejudice, and error, the sure offspring of seclusion and exclusiveness. Looked upon as a higher being, and invested almost with superstitious reverence by those under his charge, his previous mode of life renders the Catholic clergyman unwilling to enter into society, where he would be but on an equality, but where his presence would dispel many a distrust and misconception. The comparative moderation of the tone and language of the priesthood ministering in large towns—men daily accustomed to mingle in the society of their equals, is corroborative of what I have advanced. I do not see how the increase of this grant will remedy this defect. You may produce a higher standard of scholastic learning, but the tendencies will remain the same. Far better, in my opinion, would it have been that the right hon. Baronet should have adopted his second alternative —should have come down and proposed to do away altogether with the College of Maynooth, applying the funds hitherto voted for that Seminary, and as much more as he deemed amply sufficient for that purpose, for the establishment throughout the land of colleges for every persuasion, where Irishmen would have met Irishmen —where difference of religion would not produce hostility of feeling—whereby those dedicated to the holy calling would not enter upon it without some previous knowledge of mankind—where kindly feelings might be engendered, not unlikely to be extended from the individual to the class. I have looked upon that question almost entirely in a political point of view; I have opposed it mainly on that ground; but there are other higher, graver, and more important reasons which the House must entertain before that Bill passes into law. Into these I do not enter; I shall leave them to hon. Members who, both from their ability and high character, are far better calculated than myself to deliver them with the force and solemnity they deserve. They have been brought forward by the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of Oxford with his usual fearlessness and ability. And in conclusion, I trust, that in the remarks I have made, I have not been betrayed into any expression of religious or sectarian violence. It is far from my intention to have done so; I have no wish to give offence to Roman Catholic Gentlemen opposite, for many of whom I have the most sincere regard. Let them, therefore, attribute any unstudied word or unguarded expression, not to malice prepense, but to the great difficulties that a person so little accustomed as myself to obtrude upon the House must ever be subject to. But I have had a duty to perform, not merely to deliver my own sentiments, but that of the great constituency I represent. And I am bound to tell the House that that measure has excited a deep feeling of sorrow and resentment among the Protestants of Ireland. Nevertheless, Sir, I am not of that disposition to wish that my prognostications may turn out correct, if continued evil be the result. Far rather would I see my words gainsayed, my arguments overthrown, if by the result of this measure we shall see in a few years springing up amongst us a Catholic priesthood the advocates of order and tranquillity, not marshallers and leaders of an eager and excited peasantry, but commanding the respect and conciliating the good will of the highest as well as of the lowest, bringing their acquirements and their influence, not to sever, but to rivet the links of friendship and mutual interest, by which nature has intended our country and this to be indissolubly joined.

Lord *F. Egerton* said, that after the speech of his right hon. Friend, which had, he thought, entirely exhausted all the topics which could be alleged in behalf of this measure, it was not his intention to enter largely into the subject; but he was anxious not to allow the debate to go to a division without giving some brief expression to his sentiments; because he was cognizant and deeply sensible of the fact, that the vote which he was about to give would be at variance with the opinions entertained by many of those whose countenance and support in that part of the country which he had the honour to represent he had always regarded as the greatest honour, and as the only reward which he could look for in his political career. It was, therefore, with regret that he found himself obliged to encounter any difference of opinion with supporters such as those; but he could only say, that as he came into Parliament perfectly unfettered, in the free and independent expression of his opinions on all occasions, he felt bound on this occasion, as on others, to follow the dictates of his own judgment; and that if the result should be that he must quit his seat, he should be prepared to do that. He was anxious, therefore, not to give a silent vote, or a cold support to his right hon. Friend's proposition. He would not enter on the question whether we were called on to continue the establishment at Maynooth up to its present amount; it was clear that whatever contract there might be to maintain the present establishment, either in consequence of what passed in 1795, or at the time of the Union, or under the Administration of Mr. Percival, there was not a contract to increase the amount voted for it; and it was not on the ground of contract that he placed the question. But as to abolishing the contract altogether, as the hon. Baronet who had first spoken seemed to wish, in that he must say he totally differed from him; because that course seemed to him to be dangerous to the State; because that course would be considered as an insult and an injury to the Irish people; and because that course would prove, he firmly believed, only a peril the more to the Established Church, and not a benefit or a boon to that Church in Ireland. The course, therefore, that in his opinion Parliament had to adopt, was either to maintain the grant at its present amount, or to increase it as Parliament might think fit. Now, the sum at which his right hon. Friend (Sir R. Peel) had stated the cost per head of education there, was, as far as his short experience at the War Office went, about 3*l.* less than the cost to the country of each private soldier. He believed 25*l.* a year was the cost of each private soldier; while at Maynooth the cost of each student was 22*l.* or 23*l.* a year. He certainly, therefore, could not be deterred by the magnitude of the proposed grant from voting for the measure of his right hon. Friend. With respect to the speech of the hon. Member for Dublin (Mr. Gregory) he must say, and he thought the House would concur with him, that no Roman Catholic could have listened to it and taken the slightest offence at anything which fell from the hon. Member, who throughout had used the language of a generous opponent. It was now twenty years ago since he had the honour of inviting the House to assent to a rather larger measure; therefore, with reference to his constituents, he had nothing to reproach himself with on the score of consistency; but when he was told by persons whom he regarded with sincere respect, because he believed they were actuated by nothing but the most conscientious objections to this course, that this grant ought not to be made to a religion in which he and they did not believe, he acknowledged he had no argument to offer; he could only say that his religion did not prevent him from taking that course; and he would add, that he could not think professions of faith and religious dogmas were suited to the atmosphere of the House of Commons. He hoped his religion would not be tried by any other test than his practice; and he could only repeat, in answer to such objectors, that his religion did not prevent him from giving the vote he was about to record; he could only say that if, on coniderations so high and so uncontrollable as these, he were prevented from joining in this Vote, he should deeply regret it; for, if such considerations prevented him from making what on other grounds he considered to be a just and liberal grant—if, he said, believing from what he knew of Ireland, of the state of her wants, and of the state of public feeling on this subject, that it was not only a just and liberal, but a necessary grant, he were prevented by such considerations from participating in the Vote, he thought he should be obliged to go further; he thought he should have to say that he thought this country was incapable of maintaining her Colonial dominions on the principle on which alone it was possible for her to maintain them. In fact, he must go further still, if, with the knowledge he had of Ireland, and with the feelings he was possessed with and the desire for her good which animated him, he were prevented by the considerations he had mentioned from exercising this liberality towards her—he must go further, and must be led to the conclusion that it was impossible for him to say, that which he trusted he should ever say while life remained, that he was an opponent of the miserable proposition of a repeal of the connexion between the two countries. Leave England, he must in that case say, to her Protestant integrity, and do the best way you Irish can, and take your own affairs into your own management. He should have a difficulty in not coming to that conclusion if he were prevented and foreclosed by his religious feelings from coming to this Vote. With regard to the expressions which had fallen from his right hon. Friend on occasion of the measure of 1825, to which the hon. Member for Dublin (Mr. Gregory) had referred, he had certainly not a distinct recollection of the words which hon. Members had used in that debate; but he did remember that the Government of that day had made a proposition on the subject, and that proposition he had brought forward in the House; and he also well remembered the patience with which he had been heard by the House, and that the proposition had not met with opposition on any firm grounds of opposition to an increase of the grant, and be believed the question was decided by a small majority on that occasion. Now, he had never materially altered his opinions as to the expediency of the measure he then proposed; and if the majority of the people of Ireland were polled, and the majority of those who were acquainted with the true interests of Ireland were polled, he believed that that feeling would be found to be pretty generally shared in.

Mr. *Ward* [who had risen with Lord F. Egerton, but given way] was glad that he had not interposed between the House and the admirable speech of the noble Lord. He merely rose to state in the fewest possible words the reasons of the vote which he should give that night; but first, he might be permitted, as a man who had laboured conscientiously and earnestly for ten years in this cause, to express the heartfelt gratification with which he had heard many of the principles laid down by the right hon. Baronet; it might be permitted to a man who had looked for nothing in his political career but the triumph of truth, to express his joy at seeing the principles he had advocated stated so irresistibly as he felt them to have been that night by the right hon. Baronet; for, whatever the hon. Baronet (Sir R. H. Inglis) might say, the fact was, if the hon. Baronet stood a monument of Protestant consistency, he was also a monument of blindness to the interests the hon. Baronet considered as his own; and notwithstanding the forest of petitions of which the hon. Baronet had spoken, he believed that there was no one in this countr' who, when the speech of the right hon. Baronet came to be calmly reflected on, would find himself able to dissent from the principles there laid down. There was one part of the speech of the noble Lord in which he could not concur. The noble Lord said, that he had no argument to offer to those who pleaded their conscientious scruples against this grant. Now, in his opinion the noble Lord had every argument to offer against them; he had justice, an appeal to reason, our own past errors, and the calamities they had entailed, not on Ireland only, but on the Empire at large. The hon. Member for Dublin (Mr. Gregory) had spoken, he thought, especially considering the city with which the hon. Member was connected, with remarkable moderation, good taste, and judgment. But the hon. Member had referred to the measure of 1825, and spoken of the disappointment of the hopes that were entertained when the establishment at Maynooth was founded. But what grounds were there for that? They had professed to institute an establishment to teach the Roman Catholic priests; but they had assigned, many years ago, such salaries to the professors as the hon. Gentleman would not offer to his butler or his cook. How could they expect the students to leave that College with any feeling of respect for the Government? How could they expect those men to be animated by anything but a rankling feeling of hostility through life? He believed that if the House threw themselves on the generous feelings of the Roman Catholics, and if without spoiling the measure (to use the words of the right hon. Baronet) by any stipulations as to the mode of teaching, they agreed to grant it in full; if they dealt with them as men dealing with their fellow-subjects—they would reap their harvest in the cordial feeling they would find subsisting between the two creeds which had been so long unhappily separated—as he should always say—by the measures which had been pursued by the British Parliament. He did not believe that the attempt which had been made that night by the hon. Baronet (Sir R. H. Inglis) to revive feelings of animosity would succeed. He admired the consistency and the courage with which the hon. Baronet clung to what he almost admitted was a losing cause. The hon. Baronet seemed to look back with regret on the days when the flag of his cause waved in triumph—to the days of George III. and Mr. Percival—but still he said, that he had nailed his flag to the mast, and that he should take the sense of the House on the proposition. The hon. Baronet had asked why we should educate the ministers of the Roman Catholic religion rather than any other. He would tell the hon. Baronet why. Because we had confiscated to our own use the whole revenues of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, and one or two per cent. was all we returned them. The hon. Baronet had also asked, if these principles now put forward by the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel) were true, how they were not so in 1813? They were true then, and he (Mr. Ward) only regretted the right hon. Baronet had not seen their truth at that time; because he believed that if the right hon. Baronet had seen it then he would have had the moral courage to state his convictions; and he thought it a great misfortune to the country that the right hon. Baronet had not seen those principles in the same light at that time. He must do justice to the moral courage of a person placed in the right hon. Baronet's position; and in the sort of reception his proposition had met with from those behind him, and from the doubtful support of many before him, it was impossible to imagine a nobler confession of error on the part of a public man, or a nobler determination to make amends for that which he had done wrong. No doubt the principles which the right hon. Gentleman had laid down that evening were as true at the time of the Act as they were now; and although Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, Lord Grenville, and Earl Grey when he was Lord Howick, had all concurred in the absolute necessity of dealing upon a comprehensive and liberal principle with the Roman Catholics, they were overruled by what was now admitted to be the insanity of the King, and the interests of the country were sacrificed to a mere display of party contest in that House. The right hon. Gentleman had entered upon a wise course of liberty, and, he trusted, of peace; and, after the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, he confessed it was with the utmost reluctance that he felt it would be his duty to interfere at any stage of the progress of the Bill, by stating that it was not out of the general taxation of the country that this provision ought to be made. He gave—he could hardly call it his most cordial support, for he might say his most cordial tribute of admiration to the principles that had emanated from the Government in introducing this measure; but he thought they had mistaken the mode in which those principles ought to be carried out. As laid down by the right hon. Baronet, those principles went further than he was disposed to go now. Before they imposed a tax upon Dissenters, upon Presbyterians, and upon English Churchmen for the support of a creed to which they did not belong, they ought to make sure that there were not other funds at the disposal of the State from which the most secure provision for the Catholics ought to come; and therefore at a later period of the Bill he should think it his duty to bring that subject before the House. However, as to whether this Bill should be introduced that evening or not, he should give to the right hon. Baronet his most cordial and decided support, reserving to himself the right of stating the mode in which he thought the funds ought to be appropriated to the purposes of a measure that would give universal satisfaction to the Catholics of Ireland, and would be, he hoped, the forerunner of a better feeling between the inhabitants of this country and Ireland, and tend to produce conciliation and peace between them.

Mr. *Law* had no hesitation in avowing the reluctance with which he felt himself called upon to offer opposition to the measure proposed by the right hon. Gentleman. At the same time, he begged to express his obligations to that right hon. Gentleman for the extreme candour, the full notice, and liberal announcement of his intention, both at the close of the late Session and the commencement of the present. Whatever objection could be raised to the principle of the measure, no one could say that the country or that House had been taken by surprise. Towards the close of the late Session, and at the commencement of the present, a clear indication was afforded of the course on which the Government were entering; and which, though apparently trifling, gave in his judgment the clearest possible demonstration that the Government were prepared to enter upon a course, not only embracing the present measure, but extending to others, of equal, if not greater importance. He alluded to the Commission issued in reference to the Roman Catholic Bequests Bill, in which the names of right rev. Prelates of the Roman Catholic Church were not only associated in juxtaposition with the Primate of Ireland and the Bishops of the United English and Irish Church, but precedence was allotted to those eminent and respectable persons of the Roman Catholic persuasion, which gave them, as it were by anticipation, a position superior in rank and degree to Peers of the Realm. He did not complain of that course; on the contrary, he thought it was an act of candour and frankness in announcing that the present was but the commencement of a course of measures which were hereafter to be pursued in reference to the Roman Catholic establishment; and in derogation of the Established and United Church of England and Ireland. He felt that it was not dealing justly with this important subject, to regard it as determining the principle of education of the Roman Catholic priesthood for the future upon an enlarged basis, and by conferring a great additional fund; but he could not but regard it, whatever might be the immediate intention of the Government, as a precursor either in their hands or of others, of measures that would admit of the endowment of the Roman Catholic Church, and placing it so established in a co-ordinate position for a time with the United Church of England and Ireland. It was because he could discover no safety or resting-place ultimately between the present question and that not remote consequence that he had, after much deliberation and with great anxiety and regret, arrived at the determination that it was his bounden duty as regarded the Established Church, as regarded those whom he had the honour to represent, and the sincerity of his own opinions, to offer to this measure his decided opposition. His judgment was balanced for a very considerable period by the expectation, that inasmuch as the right hon. Baronet had announced at the close of the late Session, and had renewed it at the commencement of the present, that it was his intention not only to propose a liberal grant to the College of Maynooth, but to present to the attention of the House and to the consideration of Parliament some enlarged scheme of academical education that would embrace among the higher classes of society gentlemen of all religious sects and persuasions; and he had hoped, until the right hon. Gentleman had actually made his announcement, that the extension of the grant to the College of Maynooth would have been part and parcel of that general scheme, and would have been calculated to divest it of much of that which he felt objectionable in the proposal of the Government. When he was called upon to express his opinion, he trusted that he should not for a moment be supposed to impute any but the purest motives and intentions to the Government, who had felt it to be their duty, in their construction of the supposed obligation of Parliament, to submit this measure to the House of Commons. If he had arrived at the conclusion to which the Government had come, that that was a contract and obligation of which they could not in honour divest themselves, it ought not to be a question of money; and if the obligation rested on Parliament for the education of the Irish Roman Catholic priesthood, it ought to have a liberal and enlarged interpretation, and funds adequate to the purpose should be conferred upon that establishment to carry out those objects which the Government believed they were bound to maintain. However deeply too the public might be interested in the decision to which they might come upon this matter—however it might involve some of the greatest interests in this country, he did not feel, although he was unhappy enough to differ from the Government upon this, he admitted, momentous question, that he ought on that account to withdraw that general confidence in the Government which he had had the happiness for ten years to repose in those who had now for the benefit of the country the administration of public affairs. He only claimed in return, that if from want of judgment he had formed an erroneous conclusion, the same charity would be extended to him in the construction of the motives upon which he acted, and that if by error in judgment, or from any other cause, he regarded this important question in a diametrically opposite point of view to the Government, his sincerity might not be questioned, or his general disposition to repose confidence in the best Government this country had been enabled to possess since the passing of the Reform Bill, and to which upon most questions he had had the happiness of giving his humble support. He certainly felt a deep regret that the right hon. Gentleman had not divulged to the House the scheme he meditated in regard to academical education. The sting of this measure would have been materially extracted, if instead of the endowment of the College of Maynooth being a substantive and distinct arrangement—if instead of its being based upon an implied contract, and the fulfilment of that obligation — if instead of appropriating it exclusively to the education of the Roman Catholic priesthood, it had formed one of the colleges of an united university, open to all sects and demominations in Ireland —he could not but think that a system of more enlightened and liberal education in the eyes of the world, and the advantages of which would have rubbed off the prejudices that might be acquired in a monastic establishment, would have divested this measure of much of the objections that attached to it. With regard to the state of the question of academical education, they had in Ireland, Trinity College, Dublin, a Protestant endowment and establishment, but to which gentlemen of the Roman Catholic religion were freely admitted, and where they might graduate in arts and compete for all the honours of the University. They had also hitherto at Maynooth a separate and distinct establishment, presenting the greatest anomaly that ever existed in any country—established not at all upon the grounds which were now contended for its continuance, but which was established at the request of two persons of considerable eminence and influence in the Roman Catholic Church, in order that it might be the recipient of the bounty of, and be sustained by, those who were in communion with the Roman Catholic Church. It was perfectly true that the illustrious Minister to whom that request was made, not only granted the boon, but conceded a grant of money, in order, as it were, to found the establishment of Maynooth, and to place it in a position to be a recipient of the bounty and pious destination of property which persons in communion with the Roman Catholic Church might be disposed to give. But he would not fatigue the House in travelling through that chain of argument which his hon. Friend the Member for Oxford had followed in deducing the origin of this establishment, in showing that Parliament was never pledged to a perpetual continuance of that grant, and that the grant was subject to renewal and revision by Parliament, and depended on that condition which he contended was necessarily implied in the establishment of this College —viz., that it should be the means of educating better men, more enlightened Christians, and men more capable of performing the duties of their Church. Those were the grounds upon which the College in its infancy proceeded, and most truly, as the right hon. Gentleman had stated, that after the Act was passed in 1795, a further Act was passed in 1800, preparatory to the

Union; and it was also true that, although obscurely, endowments for pious and charitable purposes were stipulated for in the same tone and in the same spirit; yet it was left to a period of twenty years, now long since expired, since which time the alleged contract with Government, or rather the Legislature of 1795, was no doubt amplified by subsequent Statutes. In the result, then, he came to a directly opposite conclusion to the right hon. Baronet, that Parliament was under any obligation to continue this grant, beyond indeed giving notice of its intention to withdraw it, lest persons might be inconvenienced by the abrupt termination of the application of this fund to the College. If he could persuade himself that the reasoning of the right hon. Baronet were sound and unanswerable—if it became a question of an honourable engagement, he would be amongst the last to be guilty of a breach of that engagement, no matter at what cost, even if at the cost of an implied sacrifice of principle. But he did not feel that the Government were driven to the alternative of either entirely ceasing to contribute to the establishment of Maynooth, or to extend the grant to the amount which had been proposed. There was a great difference between an annual grant submitted year after year to the supervision of Parliament, and an enlarged and permanent grant recognised by Act of Parliament. One objection to the latter presented itself in the foremost rank—viz., that they would have parted with all power and control, if they should be disappointed in the expectations they had formed as likely to be the result of their conciliatory spirit. By rendering it permanent by Act of Parliament, they would also have afforded another Parliamentary construction of the original implied engagement; and sooner than disturb that engagement of such imperfect obligation—sooner than perplex the Government, they proposed to give the recipients of their bounty the opportunity of saying "You are now too late to deny the principle involved in it—you have conceded it by successive enactments." He remembered that, on the first day of the present Session, the noble Lord the Member for Liverpool (Lord Sandon), whose opinion carried great weight in that House, described this grant as an inheritance from the Irish Parliament, and intimated that this concession was proposed on account of the little opposition which had been offered to the annual grant. He (Mr. Law) feared from that declaration, that the Government might anticipate the support of the noble Lord to the proposition now under consideration. He (Mr. Law) could not deny that this proposal had been made by the Government in the most fair and candid spirit. He did not doubt the purity of their intentions; and he thought it extremely natural that, after the annual contests which had taken place on the subject in that House, they should feel some anxiety to adjust and set at rest a question which had been such a prolific source of contention. If the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel) could satisfy a majority of the House that they were indeed pledged to the continuance of this grant—if he could convince them that there was an obligation and a contract from which in honour they could not recede, then he (Mr. Law) was ready to admit, if Parliament arrived at such a determination, that it was desirable that the annual discussion of the principle on the proposal of the present grant should be avoided. If Parliament should be satisfied of the expediency and propriety of adopting the right hon. Baronet's proposition, and should pass this measure into a law, he was prepared to bow to their decision, and he would not needlessly revive the discussion of a question which had been adjusted after full and mature deliberation. He feared that he was trespassing upon the time of the House; but he felt it due to the constituency he had the honour of representing, to state his reasons for opposing this measure—and he might be allowed to observe, that he did not often claim the attention of hon. Members. He regretted that the Government had not disclosed the scheme of academical education which he understood it was their intention to propose; because he felt that, without such disclosure, the merits of this particular measure could scarcely be fairly dealt with, either as regarded the Government, or those of their supporters who were willing to believe that the increased grant would have a less mischievous effect than was anticipated in some quarters. He could not but think that the establishment of the College of Maynooth, as part and parcel of the scheme of general academical education in Ireland, would have been a much less objectionable course than that now taken by the Government. It was represented that, by the establishment of Maynooth, they had recognised the principle of providing for the education of the Roman Catholic priesthood, at least to the extent of the present annual grant. Assuming for the moment that such was the case, they had also, by a grant of no less than 75,000*l.* for elementary education, conceded the principle of its being the duty of the State to instruct and educate the humbler, poorer, and middle classes of society, at the public expense, and without regard to differences of religious opinion. In the one case there was what was called an obligation—but in his opinion a very imperfect obligation—to educate the Roman Catholic priesthood; and, on the other hand, they had distinctly recognised the duty of the State to provide elementary education for the middle and poorer classes of society in Ireland. It appeared to him that the education thus afforded to the middle and lower classes in that country should be extended to the higher classes in the form of academical education, which should comprehend all religious denominations, and embrace arts, law, medicine, and divinity. He considered that the only education recognised upon constitutional principles was first — the system of national education in Ireland, excluding the inculcation of the doctrines of any religious body; next, the education of the members of the United Church of England and Ireland in the doctrines of that Establishment; and lastly, the education of persons belonging to other churches or sects in the religious doctrines of their particular churches. All these objects, he conceived, would be attained by a scheme for general academical education. On a former occasion, when this subject was under discussion, the hon. Member for Waterford suggested the institution of a College or University for the exclusive education of Roman Catholics; but in his opinion a general University, affording education to all religious sects, would be far preferable—leaving Trinity College, Dublin, solely upon its Protestant foundation; and if Maynooth was still to be sustained, incorporating it with the establishment for general academical education. It was said that the Legislature of this country had already admitted the principle, that it was their duty to provide for the education of the Roman Catholic priesthood; that from that position they could not recede; but that they must advance, and render the establishment for the education of Catholic priests permanent, and endow it with funds commensurate with its objects. If that were admitted, the next and natural question raised would be this—how were the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland to be supported after they had acquired education at the public expense at Maynooth? One of the greatest evils in the original scheme was the fact that at Maynooth they educated men for an unendowed ministry; that they sent them forth in Ireland without any other resources than those they might acquire from their influence over the poorest and least-informed portion of the community. They thus afforded a stimulus—he might almost say a premium—to those men to excite and promote agitation, which might extend their influence over the lower classes of society, and thereby increase their means of support. But it must not be supposed that he advocated the endowment of the Irish Roman Catholic priesthood. No, on the contrary, he called upon the House to halt in the course of concession; for he was convinced that if they rendered the grant to Maynooth permanent — making that institution in some measure a national establishment — they would, before the lapse of many years, be called upon to provide for the support of the clergy educated there; and the next step—in contravention of the Fifth and fundamental Article of the Union—would be a proposal to render the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland an establishment co-ordinate with the Established Church. On these grounds he felt it his duty to oppose a proposal, the tendency of which was to render the Roman Catholic Church a national establishment, and to peril the safety of the United Church of England and Ireland.

Mr. *Bellew* said, this was a question in which he felt considerable interest, and he hoped to obtain the indulgence of the House while he addressed to them a few observations on the subject. The increased grant to the College of Maynooth proposed by Her Majesty's Government had been opposed on various and widely different grounds. Some hon. Gentlemen opposed the measure on the grounds of religious and conscientious feeling; others objected to the policy of the grant; some, again, objected to the course of education pursued at Maynooth; and another class contended that any amount of money devoted to the support of that institution should be taken, not from the public funds but from the revenues of the Established Church. The hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Ward) had intimated his intention of submitting to the House a Motion relative to the Established Church in Ireland; and he (Mr. Bellew) was anxious to avoid mixing up the present question with that of the Church Establishment. The hon. Member for Oxford University (Sir R. Inglis) the great Coryphœus of the party opposed to this measure, had to-night repeated those opinions which he and the hon. Member for Kent (Mr. Plumptre) had frequently expressed in that House, although he had heard the hon. Baronet indulge in still stronger on former occasions. That hon. Baronet had at different periods presented petitions to the House praying for the exclusion of Roman Catholics from Parliament; and on those occasions he had accused Members of that Church of idolatry and other crimes. He (Mr. Bellew) saw not long ago, in an Irish paper, a report of a meeting in Ireland, at which it was proposed that the present Ministers should be excluded from office, and that their place should be supplied by the noble Lord the Member for Dorsetshire (Lord Ashley), the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of Oxford (Sir R. Inglis), the hon. Member for Kent (Mr. Plumptre), and the late President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Gladstone). Those were the results at which the opponents of the measure arrived—such were the consequences with which they threatened the country, if the principle of Catholic endowment were carried out. That the adversaries of that species of endowment told the world, that it had not been carried out, and that it never should be carried out; that, on the contrary, the principle of exclusion was the only principle worthy of a great country and a wise Administration. Yet, after all, it did not appear to him that this principle of exclusion possessed much vitality or strength. As one of the most convenient proofs within his reach of the violence into which the inherent feebleness of that principle betrayed those who professed it, he should just say that he held in his hand an Irish paper, which asserted that "the policy of Sir R. Peel was against the religion of Jesus Christ." Could there be a more extraordinary mode than that of maintaining the interests of any creed or party? The same journal, in another part of those lucubrations which it contained, asserted that "the devil had entered into the policy of the present Government, and that statement was as true as if the inspired historian had recorded it." After that specimen of the feeling which prevailed in Ireland, he should call their attention to the petition forwarded to that House from Trinity College, Dublin—a learned body, which he thought might easily find better employment than inditing such documents, The petitioners stated that they had heard with deep regret of the intention entertained by Her Majesty's Government, to propose to Parliament to grant a further sum for the endowment of the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth. The petitioners said that they conceived it to be inconsistent with the duty of a Christian, and, above all, of a Protestant people, to give their consent to a plan for endowing an institution, the object of which was to educate the ministers of a church opposed to the true religion established in Ireland. That was the effect of the petition, which proceeded from Trinity College, Dublin. If the principle asserted by those petitioners were ever acted on, persecution must be the result—toleration must then become quite a matter of degree, for such a principle would let in the Inquisition, and all the tyranny of Philip II., the *Dragounades* of Louis XIV., and the Statutes of William and Anne. He would ask was the uniformity of religious belief in that House so complete and perfect as that they were entitled to lay down to others the religious principles which ought to govern their creeds? There were in that House Members of the Established Church, and Members whose creeds ranged between Popery and Calvinism, and others who vacillated between Calvinism and Arminianism. There were also Members of the Scottish Church, who differed amongst themselves on almost all points of doctrine and of discipline; and why should there not be all those differences? It was the great boast and pride of the Protestants, that they took the Bible alone for their rule of faith and their code of discipline. But when they made that boast, it was hardly fair of them to insist not only as to the right of private judgment as regarded the interpretation of the Bible, but also to claim for themselves all the advantages derivable from authority in determining what was right and what was wrong. It might fairly enough be said that the time for all this had gone by. More than fifty years had elapsed since the practice of Catholic endowments had commenced. In the year 1774, there were endowments in the Canadas for Catholic purposes; and in every new Colony there were similar endowments, without any objection being urged against them on any ground of their being anti-Protestant. England never refused to receive Colonies because the population happened to be Catholic; there were endowments for Catholic purposes, therefore, in the Spanish settlement of Trinidad, and in the Dutch Colony of Demerara—all these acquisitions were welcome to England. From India to Newfoundland, British Colonies possessed Catholic endowments. It might be perfectly true that those endowments were small and inadequate, but the principle was the same; they might be penurious, but that was a matter of degree. The principle of endowment was the same throughout the forty-one British Colonies. In the United Kingdom, the earliest instance of this species of endowment was that of the chaplains of militia regiments. This was followed by the appointment of chaplains to gaols; and that latter class of chaplains were the priests of the parishes in which the gaols were situate, or else persons appointed by those priests. But there was a still stronger case—that of the chaplains of workhouses; and in those cases the Catholic chaplains of this class were not only paid, but they were more largely paid than the Protestant chaplains to workhouses. Yet all these arrangements had been made at a time when bigotry was young and robust. If the priests themselves were paid for teaching the laity, what objection was there to pay professors for teaching the priests? There were as many as thirty or forty depôts of militia regiments, every one of which had a Roman Catholic chaplain. There were 130 poor-houses, each with its chaplain; and these, together with the chaplains of gaols, made a total of not less than between 200 and 300 Roman Catholic chaplaincies in all Ireland. Then, how could it be considered rational or consistent to make so much talk about 30,000*l.* a year for giving a useful education to the religious instructors of the people of Ireland? At the time of the original endowment of the College of Maynooth, there existed in the breasts of the English Government an intense apprehension of what were called French principles; but they had not the heart to endow Maynooth in such a manner as would bind the people of Ireland to a connexion with this country. Hon. Members might probably not be aware that in other parts of Ireland, and abroad, there were means for carrying on the education of about 200 of the Irish priesthood. This practice, in his opinion, should not be allowed to continue. In a matter of such paramount importance, the State should be everything or nothing. The education of the religious instructors of the people should be made a great national object, or it should not, in any respect, be interfered with. The scheme should be large and extensive, or there should be no scheme whatever. He did not think it necessary then to enter into any theological details, but he might refer hon. Members to the Report made by the Commissioners in the year 1825. It had been, he regretted to observe, the practice to talk rather slightingly of the system of education pursued at the College of Maynooth; but he humbly apprehended that the evidence given before those Commissioners by the professors of moral and dogmatic theology ought to set that question completely at rest. He might add, further, that the Commissioners in their Report stated, that the result of their examinations into the system of education pursued at Maynooth, enabled them to affirm that the tenets impressed on the minds of the Roman Catholic youth trained at that seminary had the strongest tendency to produce a due regard to their civil duties, and a strict observance of the obligations which they owed both to the State and to their fellow-subjects. That was the only point of view in which the Legislature had a right to regard the system pursued at Maynooth. The doctrines taught there were those which the whole Catholic world recognised; they were the doctrines taught at the Sorbonne in Paris, and none of them contained a single principle inimical to the true interests of the British Empire. He should trouble the House with only one or two further observations. It must be well remembered by all who were accustomed to hear the Maynooth system disparaged, that its adversaries were accustomed to dwell with extraordinary complacency and approbation upon the character of those who were called the old priests, he meant the ecclesiastics who were said to have received their education on the Continent. They were described as perfect gentlemen, as scholars, men of refinement and elegance. He would take the liberty of reading two short extracts from one of the most enlightened, philosophical, and eloquent Members which that House had ever possessed; he alluded to the celebrated Edmund Burke.

The language which that distinguished man used was as follows:—

> "It has been the custom of poor persons in Ireland to pick up such knowledge of the Latin tongue as, under the general discouragements and, occasional pursuits, and hunting down of the magistracy, they were able to acquire, and, receiving orders at home, were sent abroad to obtain a classical education. By officiating in petty chaplainships and performing, now and then, certain offices of religion for small gratuities, they received the means of maintaining themselves until they were able to complete their education. These persons afterwards, by being sunk in the most abject poverty, despised and ill treated by the higher orders amongst Protestants, and not much better esteemed or treated even by the few persons of fortune of their own persuasion, and contracting the habits and ways of thinking of the poor and uneducated among whom they were obliged to live, in a few years retain little or no traces of the talents and acquirements which distinguished them in the earlier periods of their lives."

Such was the description given by Burke of that class of Irish priests which it had been the fashion so much to extol. But he requested the House to hear a little further the opinions of Mr. Burke, which he begged to lay before them in these words:—

> "When we are to provide for the education of any body of men we ought seriously to consider the particular functions they are to perform in life. A Roman Catholic clergyman is the minister of a very ritual religion, and, by his profession, subject to many restraints. His life is a life full of strict observances, and his duties are of a laborious nature towards himself, and of the highest possible trust towards others. The duty of confession alone is enough to set in the strongest light the necessity of his having an appropriated mode of education. The theological opinions and peculiar rites of one religion never can be properly taught in Universities founded for the purposes and on the principles of another which, in many points, are directly opposite. If a Roman Catholic clergyman, intended for celibacy and the function of confession, and strictly bred in a seminary where those things are respected, inculcated and enforced as sacred, and not made the subject of derision and obloquy, he will be ill-fitted for the former, and the latter will be, indeed, in his hands, a terrible instrument."

It was impossible for him to conclude the few observations which he had taken the liberty of making without bearing testimony to the manner in which the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government had brought this question forward. Next to the measure itself, the language by which it had been recommended, called for the gratitude of the country. He believed and trusted that in Ireland the proposition would be received in the spirit in which it had been proposed; he rejoiced to say there was nothing to detract from the satisfactory circumstances under which it had been brought forward; and he ventured to persuade himself, that amongst the beneficial results attendant on its enactment would be, that in future the Catholic and Protestant landlords would be found uniting in acts of charity and munificence. The right hon. Baronet had expressed his determination not to spoil or to weaken the effect of the grant to Maynooth by any unfair restrictions. He was glad to hear such language from the right hon. Baronet. He believed it was the province of the present Government, under that right hon. Gentleman's guidance, to bring the people of the two countries into more friendly relations, and to bind them together in one common bond of unity. He thought he could perceive such an intention on the part of the Government. He saw that better feelings were springing up. The measures of last year, which were brought in with reference to Ireland, more particularly that which related to the Board of Education in that country, had plainly evinced a stronger inclination in the right hon. Baronet towards the Irish Roman Catholic clergy than had been manifested by others in his position; and, wishing as he did that the effects of the measures which the Government were disposed to take might produce the full amount of good that was expected from them, he would conclude by expressing what he considered to be the sentiments of the whole Roman Catholic community when he stated, that the right hon. Baronet had his hearty good wishes in the course which he was pursuing.

Viscount *Sandon* stated, that on account of the peculiar position in which he stood in relation to the question now under consideration, he hoped he might be excused if he sought an early opportunity for stating the reasons which induced him to give to the proposal of the Government his humble, but earnest, support. He had already stated that, in the first instance, he looked upon the question as one of compact—not, indeed, of narrow, legal, compact, founded upon a definite legal instrument, the fulfilment of which might be enforced in a court of law—but a compact in that large and liberal sense, founded upon the acts of one nation, and the well-founded expectations of another, which, in the intercourse between countries in the relative position of England and Ireland, ought to be held at least equally binding with any such instrument. He would not rest the obligation upon the Act of Union itself; for he did not think that it was directly touched by it, or embraced within the purport of its provisions. He did not believe that the grant to Maynooth was protected by that clause, or embraced within its provisions, by which, for twenty years, the Imperial Parliament came under an obligation to support certain charitable institutions, which had received grants from the Irish Parliament. He looked at the discussions which had arisen in respect of this grant in 1808, soon after the Union passed, and in which parties took part who were thoroughly acquainted with the intentions of that Act—Mr. Percival and others; and in none—although such an allusion would have been most natural and apposite in their arguments—in none did he find either the maintenance of the grant at all, or its limitation to any particular sum, rested upon a reference to that clause in the Act of Union by which, to a certain amount, and for a certain period, the grants to Irish charitable institutions were secured. Nor, indeed, if the language of that Act were examined, could this grant come within its provisions; for the sum therein secured as the mininum, was to be the average of the six years previous to the Act; and the Institution of Maynooth not being six years old at the time of the passing of the Act, could not, therefore, have been included within its shelter. He did not, therefore, place this grant under the protection of any strict legal obligation, limited in amount, and limited in period; he placed it on the broad grounds of the circumstances under which the grant was first made, and under which it had been continued; of the length of time for which it had been continued; and the peculiar circumstances of Ireland, and of England in relation to her. Now, let Gentlemen look only at the lapse of time—at the simple fact, that for fifty years, beginning before the Union with Ireland, this grant had been continued. He should like to ask any man, whether if, for fifty years after the conquest of Canada, without any express treaty stipulation, we had continued any such grant as this to the Roman Catholic clergy of that Colony, we should have thought ourselves at liberty—we should have dared to withdraw it at the present day? And if only one answer could be given to that question, he should like to ask next—were we at liberty to do in respect to Ireland what we could not do with respect to Canada? He verily believed they would not do with respect to the smallest of our Colonies what they had done, and were asked to do, with respect to Ireland. But let them look next to the circumstances under which the grant was originally made—under circumstances of peril and alarm, when it was thought important to knit the hearts of the inhabitants of all parts of the Empire in closer bonds, and to unite them more cordially in the common struggle for existence in which England was then engaged; and having offered the boon under such circumstances, can we feel ourselves now, when that time of peril is over, at liberty to withdraw it? But let them look also to the circumstances under which the grant had been continued for this lapse of time—let them look to the various Administrations—the various shades of opinions which they professed—the strong anti-Catholic feelings under which some of them had been constituted—and then observe, that not one of them had ever proposed to touch this grant—indeed, that for nearly forty years it never had been questioned; and that, when questioned, no Administration or leading statesmen had ever refused their support to it. Did these successive and continuous facts constitute no virtual obligation on our part? Was the House entitled now to withdraw a boon—an act of justice he believed it to be—granted originally under such circumstances, continued under such circumstances, and continued for such a lapse of time? If not a legal engagement, did not these circumstances constitute something more, if we looked to the relations in which England and Ireland stood to each other, and to the principles and feelings which alone could give strength and permanence to their connexion? He had dwelt at some length on this part of the subject; and on this and on other occasions had dwelt on what he considered the virtual compact or engagement which he considered to exist, in the hope that this consideration might weigh with many who, if the question were an entirely new one and disembarrassed of such considerations, would be indisposed to the proposition.

But for himself he did not need such inducement. He needed no compact to induce him to do what he looked upon as a simple act of justice. He had on every occasion, from the first moment that he entered that House, supported every proposition for what was called Catholic Emancipation—nay more, he had supported his noble Friend the Member for North Lancashire in his proposition for an endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland; and he should be prepared to repeat that vote on any proper opportunity. He did not feel that any religious principle stood in the way of such a proposition. He respected most truly and most deeply the feelings of those who entertained such views, and who felt that difficulty, and he could fully understand them; but he could not concur in their conclusions. He did not see how it was possible upon their views to conduct the affairs of that vast heterogeneous mass of people who now constitute the British Empire. They were certainly not the views which we practically had attempted to carry out. Let them look to our Colonies. Was no faith supported and endowed by the State there, but that of the predominant majority of England? Were not the endowments in the Colonies that we conquered left in the possession of the several communions in whose hands we found them? and did we not, as in the case of Roman Catholic Canada, still add to them from the Imperial Exchequer? In the Colonies of our own plantation, were not various communions endowed? Nay, in Ireland itself, let them look to the endowment of the Presbyterians by the *Regium Donum*—let them look to the Roman Catholic chaplains endowed and distributed all over that country, and in our military service—and then say whether we attempted to carry out this principle of exclusive endowment of our own faith in other cases; and if we did not, whether we could feel ourselves entitled or enabled to apply it to this single and sole case, in which the feelings, the interests, and the expectations of between 6,000,000 and 7,000,000 of our fellow-countrymen in Ireland are so deeply engaged. If they did lay down this principle, they must not confine its application. They must be prepared to pull out one after another many a peg which now holds together the widely-extended frame of our mighty Empire. But were there no circumstances which gave Ireland a peculiar right to consideration in this case? When England reformed herself, purified her own faith, and separated from the Church of Rome, she carried with her, as she had a right to do, the endowments of the national religion; for the people—the great majority of the people—stood in these convictions, and the Church property rightfully went along with them. But was that the case with Ireland? Did the people of that country share in the general movement towards a Reformation; and was the Church property transferred by reason of it? Was not the contrary notoriously the case? Was not the Church property of Ireland transferred from Roman Catholic to Protestant hands, merely by the will of England, merely because England, not because Ireland, had become Protestant? Was ever any pains taken subsequently to make Ireland Protestant, to make the Protestant practically the faith of Ireland? Are there not on record expressions and acts which show that concessions even were discouraged, lest the number of victims to English oppression should be diminished? He could not forget those circumstances; the appropriation of all the Church endowments of Ireland, while you left the people still Roman Catholic, and made no provision for the priests to whom you left them; and looking at these things, he could not for his part look at this question as one of simple and common endowment, he could not but look at it in the light of a restitution. Nay more; when we had deprived the Roman Catholics of all the ecclesiastical property which they had enjoyed, we refused them permission, by private charity and munificence, to raise fresh foundations for themselves at home. We drove them for such purposes into foreign countries, away from the protection of English laws; we compelled them to place such property in peril, and when by reason of such peril that property was pillaged and confiscated; and when after the peace of 1815, indemnity for all other British property was extorted, did England extort indemnity for those Roman Catholic endowments? On the contrary, had not England refused to recognise it, as entitled to her protection, and rejected the claim, and had not indemnity been refused? Looking, then, in the first instance to the original endowments, which had been wrested from their communion, or to the endowments of private benevolence, which we had refused to protect, and which had consequently been lost—he still found that England had been the cause of that condition of the Irish Roman Catholic clergy, which compelled them to come to this House, and which in his opinion gave them a peculiar title to consideration. With these views and feelings he, therefore, could not feel those difficulties as to granting an adequate endowment to Maynooth College, which were felt so deeply by many of his Friends. He believed that the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government had stated the case most fairly. He had told them that the grant might either be abandoned, that it might be continued on its existing footing, or that it might be placed, as he proposed, on a more extended basis; such as by its liberality might make it probably more efficient for the great objects for which it was originally intended. He, for his part, for the reasons which he had already assigned, could not think it possible to abandon it; nor, after the picture which the right hon. Baronet had drawn of the unsatisfactory state of the College, of the restricted education which hurried them, owing to their necessities, before they were half educated, to the control of distant parishes, ere they were well imbued with that general and liberal education which enlarges the character and softens the asperities of religious and national differences; with such a picture, could he think it possible to leave things as they at present stood? and if he did, should he meet the conscientious objections of the country by such a course? Could they be obviated by continuing the vote of 9,000*l.* and refusing that of 30,000*l.*? The one was as much an act of free will as the other. You had no specific obligation to that particular sum under which you would shelter yourselves; your consciences must take the same responsibility in either case; if there were sin, and if there were guilt, it could only be obviated by complete abandonment. If it was not to be abandoned, the question really was whether you should leave the College in a state not to be efficient for its purpose, or with a chance of becoming so. For his part, he considered the proposition of the right hon. Baronet liberal; but not too liberal for the great work which it had to do, to furnish at least a large portion of the clergy of between six and seven millions of people, with an enlarged and liberal education. He respected deeply, as he had said before, the feelings of those who took a different view from him upon this question; but he could not see how consistently with such views the affairs of this country could be carried on; he was not prepared, and he had not yet heard that they were, to carry them out to their full extent; and if he were not, he was not prepared to apply them to this case only. We, at least, were not prepared to withdraw in all our Colonies the support granted by the State to other communions than those of the Church of England, or to that of the Church of Rome specifically. If it were morally and religiously wrong, surely no treaty could bind us to it in Canada; surely we were at liberty and rather bound to give up Canada altogether. He reluctantly differed from friends with whom he had agreed for so many years, and with whom on religious questions he so largely agreed; but he could not, for the reasons which he had assigned, refuse his best support to the proposition of the Government.

Mr. *Plumptre* said, that the noble Lord who had last addressed the House, had satisfied himself on the ground of a compact that it was his duty to support the present proposition; but he believed the notion of a compact had been recently more deeply searched into, and had been entirely dissipated, and that this notion formed no good ground of objection to the rejection of the present measure. He had ventured to say, when Her Majesty's Government announced their intention on the first day of the Session to increase the Vote to Maynooth, that such announcement would excite no ordinary sensation throughout the country; and the result must have satisfied them that the words he had ventured to utter were founded in truth. What had recently taken place must have convinced every one of the deep feeling of the country on this subject; but he would venture to go further, and would say, that the speech which the right hon. Baronet had made that night in opening this subject, instead of allaying the excitement in the country, would be read with great trepidation. It was very painful to him to oppose Her Majesty's present Government; and he trusted they would give him credit when he said that in the opposition he gave on the present occasion, he was not desirous of showing any general opposition, because he confessed that of the general measures of the Government he readily approved. If, however, they had observed his course since he had been in Parliament, they would know that his opposition to this measure had been uniform and general. It was not to the proposals of the Government that he was opposed, but only to the unhappy measure now brought forward; and the reasons which had always operated with him against the grant to Maynooth, were as strong and powerful now, but not more strong or more powerful than they had ever been. What was the measure which Her Majesty's Government proposed? He confessed that though he had expected a large and liberal measure, it had even exceeded the bounds of his expectation; and although he always listened with pleasure and instruction to the speeches of the right hon. Baronet, and generally thought the reasoning most conclusive and unanswerable, yet he confessed he thought the speech of the right hon. Gentleman on the present occasion to possess anything but those qualities. This was a subject of vital importance; and he asked the House and the Government to consider what was the nature of the opposition that had been made to this measure. He had himself presented very many petitions against it. That day he had presented about sixty, and he had more than that number at home, which he could not present that day, because he had not had time to write his name on them. One of these petitions was signed by the archdeacon and eighty of the clergy of that one archdeaconry, and to every other petition almost there were the names of the clergy and ministers of every denomination; and in all their objections were most strenuously stated against the grant. He now asked the Government whether they were prepared to throw off the respect and confidence of such men as these, because he was very much afraid that by urging this measure the Government would alienate, in a great measure, their respect and affection. Who, generally speaking, were the parties who opposed this measure? They were not men who took up a subject lightly; they were some of the best men the country possessed, who, with their Bibles open before them, and after fervent and unfeigned prayer to God, saw in this measure great evils. They could not suppose that it could be on religious grounds, and they thought it ought not to be on public grounds, that they should be called upon to pay a religion they believed to be wrong. He knew these were the feelings of those who had presented these petitions to the House; and if the House sanctioned a measure of this kind, they might expect the Divine judgment upon them. He asked the Government whether they were ready, on slight grounds, to treat with disrespect the great majority of their Protestant fellow-subjects and the petitioners, who were not inconsiderable in numbers or in interest? And he asked further, for what they were doing this? For what were they treating with disrespect the opinions, the entreaties, the fears, the anxieties, and the claims of the religious portion of the community? Had the Government been pressed to take this step by large bodies of Her Majesty's subjects? So far from that they had not been pressed by any class of the community whatever. He believed that the Roman Catholics themselves, if they spoke openly and honestly their opinions, cared very little for this increased grant; and as for supposing that they prized it as a boon, or that it would prove a measure of conciliation to the Roman Catholic population of Ireland, there never was a greater mistake, if they were to be at all guided in their views of the question by the past history of that country. Then where was all this to stop? If they were to take under their care and entirely support the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth, to increase the number of its students, and to give a liberal support to its President and Professors, would not these concessions prove stepping-stones to something further? Could the Government doubt, if these things were granted without application, without their being urged, that in a short time they would be urged to grant something more? They would be urged perhaps to consent to the payment of the priests. He was sorry to be obliged to oppose the present proposal of Her Majesty's Government; but he did it in no bitter spirit, although most strenuously and most conscientiously. He believed it to be most mischievous; that it would not answer the ends for which it was designed; and that it would lead to still further, louder, and more unreasonable demands. He thought the Government might just as well call upon the House to pay the priests of the majority of the people of India, or to support the Mahomedan religion. He felt it was a matter which went to the hearts of the people, and which was opposed to the honour and the interests of this country.

Lord *John Russell*: No one, Sir, I am sure, will call in question the perfect sincerity of feeling by which the hon. Member who spoke last is actuated in the opposition he has offered to the proposal of Her Majesty's Government. At the same time I beg leave to represent to him, that although he has opposed the Motion now brought forward by the right hon. Gentleman, as he has opposed the grant to Maynooth in former years, yet much of his opposition to the present proposal can hardly stand upon such grounds as he has put forth. I do not mean to argue, as has been done by other hon. Gentlemen, the question of compact, or whether it would be wise or prudent after fifty years, during which this grant has been made, to stop suddenly, and to declare that you will advance no further sums from the public purse for the purpose of educating the priests of the Roman Catholic religion. But at the same time, I will say, that if you found you were doing that which was mischievous to the community, and that the religious scruples of the community would not allow of the continuance of this grant, or, with reference to civil and political reasons, you found that those you meant to be the teachers of religion, had become the leaders and conductors of rebellion—if, I say, you found for any of these causes that there was ground sufficient to refuse this grant—then I can see no valid reason why any compact should restrain you, or why, upon strong grounds of this kind, the House would not be justified in declaring that it would give no further allowance. But if it be admitted, that you should proceed in the manner in which the majority of this House have hitherto proceeded—that you should grant a certain sum of money amounting to 9,000*l.* a year, and no more, to the sustentation of the College of Maynooth — I think then that all these reasons to which the hon. Gentleman has appealed, reasons founded upon religious scruples—reasons founded upon the repugnance of the people of this country to support the priests of the Roman Catholic religion, are reasons beside the question upon such an issue. Because you now grant 9,000*l.* a year, and if it be true, as I think the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government has very clearly proved to-night, that that sum is not sufficient for the adequate maintenance of the College of Maynooth as a college of religious instruction—that the comforts of the students are not sufficiently attended to—that the means of scientific instruction cannot be adequately supplied—that the sums paid to the professors are miserably scanty;—why, upon all these points there can be no question of religious scruples arising against the increase of the grant. I can understand hon. Gentlemen saying, as the hon. Member has said, "I denounce this grant altogether, as I have done from year to year, and I will not partake in the sin and guilt of joining in a vote for the maintenance of the Roman Catholic religion." But if you are to consent to this grant in any way whatever, then for a man to come forward and say, "I object to chemistry being properly taught; I object to physical astronomy being properly taught; I object to the student now having 22*l.*, receiving 28*l.*, in order that his diet and comforts may be better cared for; I object to the building being kept in proper repair, and I will not have the carpenters and plasterers sent for to remedy its defects"—does not, as I think, constitute a ground of religious scruple upon which to rest his opposition to the increased amount of grant proposed by the right hon. Gentleman. If you say "I insist that there shall be no grant whatsoever of this kind," that is a ground, a consistent ground of opposition which I can understand. But for those who at any time concurred in this grant, and are prepared now to concur in it again if proposed in the usual and ordinary manner, they, as it appears to me, have no ground for resistance upon religious scruples to a grant of 26,000*l.*, if they are prepared to grant 9,000*l.* upon the same principle. But then I come to that objection, difficult to deal with, almost impossible to discuss in this House—that religious feeling which the hon. Gentleman alluded to, and which he says a great part of the people of this country entertain, that the Roman Catholic religion in a religion connected with idolatry, and that the Protestant people of this country ought not to grant any money for the support of that religion. I feel myself unable to enter into tha argument, and speak of the character of the Roman Catholic religion in an assembly of this kind. I can do little more than follow the noble Lord the Member for South Lancashire, and say upon that subject, that I do not think the people of this country have a right to have that respect paid to their feelings which is claimed for them by the hon. Gentleman, so far as that this sum should be refused to the Roman Catholic College, because if we were interfering with the people of this country, with the profession of their religion, or with the maintenance of the Protestant faith in this country, they might then say, "You shall not make a grant of this kind which so interferes with our religion." But we must all know, as has been stated by the noble Lord the Member for Liverpool, that the great majority of the people of Ireland profess the Catholic faith—and belong to that most ancient branch of the Christian Church. And I believe that that people, retaining, as they had an undoubted right to retain, their adherence to that faith, will listen to no spiritual instruction but that which is conveyed to them by priests of their own religion. And I believe that that instruction will tend to make them more religious, more moral, better men, aye, and better Christians than otherwise they would be. If that be the case, then, it is not the question whether I can promote the Catholic or the Protestant religion in Ireland. No increase of grant to the Protestant Establishment would induce the great majority of the people there to listen to the clergy of that communion. I should be more satisfied if I supposed that the people of Ireland would listen to the clergy of the Protestant faith; but that I know is contrary to their persuasions. What follows? I must deal with them as I find them—as Roman Catholics united to this country, and I must pay that respect to their religion to which they are entitled. I think the noble Lord right in saying that the people of England, descended from Catholic ancestors, had liberty to make their religion, as they thought, more pure. But the people of Ireland did not change their faith. They adhered to the religion of their ancestors; and I do think that a grant of this kind may well be termed, as the noble Lord described it, rather of the nature of a restitution than of an original grant in favour of that religion which the hon. Gentleman opposite and the majority of this House do not profess. I think the right hon. Baronet, in his opening speech on this subject, showed very clearly the grounds for this grant; but I must confess when hon. Gentlemen who oppose it urge the argument that, both in the proposal itself of settling the grant by a Bill making it a permanent endowment, and in the reasons the right hon. Gentleman gave, as the organ of the Government for that endowment, there is the indication of further measures than he himself has proposed to-night, or than the measure itself contains, that I am inclined to say I agree with them in that opinion. That is a ground of opposition with them, but a ground of concurrence on my part. The right hon. Gentleman stated very truly, at the end of his speech, that do what you will, the priests so brought up in the Roman Catholic faith are to be the spiritual guides of the great majority of the people of Ireland; and he told you most truly and unanswerably that if that be the case, it is your interest that their education should be as good as may be attainable; that the doctrines taught them should be of a nature to exalt and elevate their minds; and that the whole education should be calculated to improve as far as education can improve, the character of that priesthood. In that argument, I fully and entirely concur; and upon that ground I shall be most willing to give my concurrence by my vote with the Government to-night. But I must also say that it is impossible to hear such arguments without bearing in mind the whole condition of Ireland—the whole condition of Ireland in respect to this country. I am not now going to argue the question whether, with respect to this particular question, the House should or should not adopt the Motion of which the hon. Member for Sheffield has given notice; but this I say, that the arguments which are so sound, and, as I think, so incontrovertible, to induce this House to found an endowment for the education of the Roman Catholic priesthood, will prove upon another occasion as sound and as incontrovertible with respect to an endowment for the maintenance of that priesthood. For my own part, preferring most strongly, and more and more by reflection, a religious establishment to that which is called the voluntary principle, I am anxious to see the spiritual and religious instruction of the great majority of the people of Ireland endowed and maintained by a provision furnished by the State. I do not hesitate to give that opinion. I will not give this vote to-night without so saying; but I am committing no person by expressing that opinion. I am speaking individually for myself, but I will not by my vote mislead any one. If a question should be proposed in a manner that could be practically and properly carried into effect for the payment of the Roman Catholic priesthood, I should not think the reasons on which I shall vote to-night less conclusive to induce me to concur with that proposal. The noble Lord the Member for South Lancashire has referred to a Motion he made twenty years ago, involving such a proposition; and I had the honour of voting with him in a majority of this House upon that occasion. I am glad, for my part, that such is not the proposition of the Government now. Others may disagree with me on that point; but having ascertained, as I have no doubt they have, that the heads of the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland would be willing to accept a grant of this kind, with no further conditions than those we are already familiar with, I think the Government have done better to make the proposal they have now made, than to bring forward a large and comprehensive scheme for the future payment of the Roman Catholic clergy. But while I say this, I think it is a step—for I concur with the petitioners against the grant in entertaining the opinion that it is a step—towards a further and more comprehensive measure. It may seem ungracious towards the Government, who are proposing a measure in which I entirely concur—and respecting which, indeed, I stated, in the course of my speech of last year, when I brought forward the question as to the state of Ireland, that it was a vote in which I should concur—it may seem ungracious on my part to refer back, but I cannot altogether refrain from referring back to the long opposition that was given in past times to measures intended to promote the rights and condition of the people of Ireland. I deeply regret that there is not even now existing that harmony, that good feeling, that concord between the people of England and the people of Ireland which we all ought to desire. I regret to see vast meetings of the people called in the towns of Ireland for the purpose of proposing a Repeal of the Union—a measure which, in the opinion of the majority of this House, would be followed at no distant period by the separation of the countries. I regret that when the leader of the people, the man who is known to be at the head of this movement, is coming forward with that proposal, he should be attended by thirty or forty thousand persons crowding with approbation at his heels, and applauding both his proposals and the agitation which he is carrying on. I think, not only of late years, but for the last twenty years, that there has been too much of a disposition both to attack the religion which the majority of the people of Ireland profess, and to brand by contumelious names the great multitude of the people of Ireland themselves. I think that if in 1825, when the noble Lord made the Motion to which he has alluded, there had then been a wise and at the same time a kindly spirit among the leading Members of all political parties in the two Houses of Parliament, the present difficulties of Ireland would have been indeed of a far inferior description. The men who then came forward said that they would never agitate Repeal; that they would never seek a separation, if the Parliament would grant Roman Catholic Emancipation, and at the same time make a provision for the Roman Catholic Church. My belief is, that those men would have been steady to those engagements, and that at this period you would no more have been inquiring with respect to agitation in Ireland, than you would have been talking of agitation in Yorkshire or in Middlesex. But much time has been allowed to elapse; political conflicts, to which I will not further allude, have unfortunately taken place; and much exasperation has been the consequence. I shall be happy if Her Majesty's Government at the present time are about to begin a new course. I shall be happy to find that they are about to enter upon a wiser and a more gracious policy; and that, indeed, so far from conciliation having reached its limits, there is now an endeavour to be made to give conciliation a new beginning; and that the Executive Government in Ireland is to look hereafter to the benefit of the people, and not to the advantage of a small, though a powerful, minority in that country. I, Sir, shall be most happy if the Roman Catholics of Ireland, increasing as they are in wealth, eminent as many of them are in talent, belonging as they do to a portion of the Christian Church which has produced men as famous for their piety as they have been excellent for their learning—if, I say, the people of Ireland, belonging to that Church, shall feel united with us—shall feel that we, on our parts, are ready to do them justice; that we are not led by any narrow prejudice, that we are not led—and I trust the hon. Gentleman who spoke last will not think I mean it offensively—but that the people of this country are not led by a spirit of religious bigotry to refuse that which is just to them; and that they may look at this measure, not as a final measure, but as one of a series of measures, by which we may hope to unite the two countries in an enduring bond.

Mr. *S. Wortley* said, he was anxious to state the reasons why he wished to support the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Peel). The question for the determination of the House was, whether they would make up their minds to withdraw the grant to Maynooth altogether, or increase it. He was not prepared to take the former course, and, feeling that it was impolitic to leave the institution in its present state, he saw no alternative but to adopt the course recommended by the head of the Government. The hon. Member for Oxford did not show his usual accuracy when he said the Act did not authorize the institution to do more than receive subscriptions. The Tenth Section of the Irish Act of Parliament gave power to the parties in charge of the institution; but the latter part of the section stated that "any sum not exceeding 8,000*l.* should be paid by the Commissioners, or any three or four of them, towards establishing," &c. What could these words mean if they did not imply a compact on the part of Parliament to give a certain sum to Maynooth College? That College was first established by the Irish Parliament, and afterwards by the Imperial Parliament, and supported by a series of grants. This proposition had been met by the hon. Member with arguments which it was impossible to reply to, because to a person who felt the necessity of supporting this proposition on those grounds, he would not only say, that whilst he respected such opinions, he could not participate in them. Although he entertained a strong attachment to the Church to which he belonged, he did not consider it inconsistent with that attachment, nor with the duty which he owed to the persuasion that he held, to express his concurrence in the propositions of his right hon. Friend. With respect to the condition of Ireland, they should recollect that a great responsibility rested on them with respect to that country. It was impossible that they could legislate for a portion of the population of that country as if they were outcasts. Now to what did the argument of his right hon. Friend the Member for the University of Oxford amount? Why to this, that the State should rather see subjects under its care Infidels, Atheists, or any other persuasion than see them Roman Catholics. He did not concur in that view. He thought that it was the duty of the State to recognise the responsibility placed upon them, and feeling his share of that responsibility, he was desirous to support the proposal of his right hon. Friend. At that late hour he would not go further into the discussion. With respect to the amount of the grant, he did not think that his right hon. Friend could have proposed less, and he trusted that it would be found sufficient for the end in view. With these opinions he gave his cordial support to the proposition.

Mr. *Cumming Bruce* said, that, concurring as he did with the right hon. Gentleman who had brought forward this proposition, whilst he sat at the other side of the House, and having, since that right hon. Gentleman came into office, given to his measures a candid, steady, and independent support, it was with great regret that he saw him now bring forward a measure which he feared would be looked upon by many, both in and out of the House, as a heavy blow and a great discouragement to the Protestant Church in Ireland. He deeply regretted to be compelled to come to this conclusion, and to be forced to oppose a Government on this occasion with whom he had generally concurred. It appeared to him that the measure now brought forward was not in accordance with those principles which ought to regulate their conduct as Ministers of the Crown. If he looked to this question as one of expediency, he might be disposed to wave his own convictions in favour of the respect which he had for the abilities and integrity of those who brought this measure forward; but he could not regard this measure as being in accordance with those principles which should guide those Ministers in the exercise of their official responsibility. This State was a Protestant State. The Crown of this country was a Protestant Crown; and he held it incompatible with the duty of the Ministers of this country to propose measures for the support of a priesthood who, whatever might be their loyalty to the person of the Sovereign, showed every hostility to the Protestant religion, and who had sought and would seek every opportunity not only to discourage but to supplant that religion. Neither did it appear to him that the present measure was one called for by any particular necessity. However, he believed that the right hon. Baronet had brought forward this measure from the highest and purest motives. He believed, moreover, that the right hon. Baronet had made as a statesman as great sacrifices as any statesman had ever made to that which he believed to be for the interests and happiness of the country. He believed that his motives now were not less pure and laudable; but notwithstanding his conviction of all this, he believed that the present measure was at variance with the principles of the Protestant constitution of this country. He believed that the measure now proposed would be practically more dangerous than if it had been proposed before the passing of Roman Catholic Emancipation. He believed that the right hon. Baronet would fail in his attempt, and would not succeed in the objects which he sought in proposing this measure. The proposed grant of 28,000*l.* or 30,000*l.*, would not succeed in satisfying the Roman Catholic priesthood of Ireland. He was persuaded that, on the contrary, it would only whet their appetite to demand more. The noble Lord the Member for London, with the boldness and candour that always distinguished him in that House, had pointed out the consequences of this measure, and had shown that it must lead to the payment of the Roman Catholic priesthood of Ireland. He thought that there was a course which the Government might have pursued which would have avoided all this evil. He thought that if the Government were determined to introduce a sound, moral, and Christian education into Ireland—not confined to the priesthood, but embracing the entire population, such an object would be deserving of general concurrence; and even if a much larger grant were proposed for such a purpose as that, he would be happy to concur in it. If the Government followed that course, showing their determination to maintain order, and uphold the supremacy of the law, and to punish and put down, as they had recently successfully done, all who attempted to violate it; if the Government pursued a course of this kind, showing themselves at the same time favourably disposed to the people of Ireland, such a course of conduct would command general support; and he believed that, by so doing, they would materially contribute to the preservation of the tranquillity and happiness of Ireland.

Colonel *Sibthorp* said, as both the hon. Member who had just sat down, and the hon. Gentleman who preceded him, had referred to the hour as being too late to warrant them in trespassing on the time of the House, he could not, after that declaration had come from men of such great consequence in that House, and of such talents, on that important question assume to himself the vanity of intruding with his opinions for more than a very few moments. He would reserve himself for future stages in the progress of this Bill, when he would, perhaps, be more fortunate in catching the Speaker's eye than he had been on that evening. He was one, who, for the sixteen or seventeen years that he had the honour of a seat in that House, had invariably given the weight of his humble name against the appropriation of any part of the public money to the maintenance of the College of Maynooth. He did so not from any unchristian feeling towards his Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, but from a sense of the duty which he thought he owed to that Church of which he should acknowledge he was an unworthy son. [*Laughter.*] He was not surprised at the merriment which was exhibited on the opposite side of the House. When his hon. Friend the Member for Kent rose in his place, and alluded to the archdeacons and the clergy, his remarks were ridiculed by hon. Gentlemen opposite. Nay, even the noble Lord (Lord John Russell) who might be called the child of the Church, did not think it beneath him to join in the exhibition. That noble Lord expressed his approval of the observations which had fallen from the noble Lord the Member for Liverpool, respecting this measure being one of restitution. But he wished to ask the noble Lord, would he restore to the Roman Catholic Church some of the extensive ecclesiastical property held by his family? Would he endow a new Maynooth at Woburn or at Tavistock? Why did not the noble Lord stand up and say, that he recommended his family to adopt a course of that nature? and when he did so, he would give him credit for his sincerity. He should not, he confessed, be surprised at a proposition like the present being brought forward by the noble Lord; but he was surprised—he would go further, and say he was disgusted—that such a measure should originate with a Protestant Minister of the Crown—one, too, who had been educated at Oxford, and who, he was ashamed to add, had been at one time the Representative of that University in Parliament. It was painful to make these allusions; but he rejoiced to think that that University was now much more efficiently represented by the hon. Baronet near him (Sir R. H. Inglis)—a man far more deserving of such an honour than the right hon. Baronet, who had in his statement on that night shown himself more regardless of, and more indifferent to, the interests of religion, than any individual who had ever held his high office. They had heard a great deal from the right hon. Baronet that night about conciliation, and about the hopes which he entertained of the results of his measure. He had told them that he hoped to conciliate the Roman Catholic clergy; but some indications had proceeded from that side of the House which would show that a very different feeling existed on the point throughout the country. These indications emanated from gentlemen for whom he entertained as much regard as for his right hon. Friend—he begged pardon, he meant to say the right hon. Baronet. [*Laughter.*] He was not surprised at the laughter which proceeded from hon. Gentlemen opposite, for there was an old saying, "Let those laugh who win." He did not doubt but that hon. Gentlemen opposite dreamed—nay, that they were certain—of being successful in carrying this Motion proposed by the right hon. Baronet; but he, for one, would not be among those who joined in offering this insult to the Sovereign, for he considered it to merit even that character. He thanked the House for having given him an opportunity of expressing his opinion on this Bill, and he should only add, that he should vote against every stage of this detestable and abominable proposition.

Mr. *Sheil* said: It were most unjust—it would be to the last degree ungenerous—on the part of any Irish Catholic to withhold a tribute of his unqualified panegyric from the great measure proposed by the right hon. Gentleman, and from the spirit in which it is proposed. He can have no motive but the honourable one of doing service to both countries. He will, I trust, secure the gratitude of the one, and notwithstanding a temporary clamour, his objects will, ere long, be justly estimated by the other. The grant to Maynooth is large and generous. The substitution of a permanent legislative endowment for an annual Parliamentary donation, is attended with two advantages: first, the periodical recurrence of a discussion in which religious antipathies find a vent will be avoided; in the next place, there is a great advantage in giving "fixity of tenure" to a Catholic ecclesiastical establishment. You convert Maynooth into an institution. You are taking a step in a right direction. You are advancing in a career of which you have left the starting-post far behind, and of which the goal, perhaps, is not far distant. You must not take the Catholic clergy into your pay, but you can take the Catholic Church under your care. You can build houses of worship, and grant glebe houses, upon a secure and irrevocable title. The perfect independence of the Catholic clergy is indispensable. A stipend at pleasure, and which the Crown could call back, would be odious. An honourable relation—a relation honourable to both—may be established between the Catholic Church and the State, but you must never think of exacting from that Church an ignominious complaisance. I am well aware that there exists in this country great objections to Maynooth; but those objections are in a great part connected with defects, of which the correction is not difficult; those defects, indeed, arise in a great degree from the niggard spirit in which you have doled out a wretched pittance to Maynooth, utterly incommensurate with its wants. I am not astonished that a Scotch volunteer should entertain an antipathy to Maynooth: but it is matter to me of some surprise that it should be an object of antipathy to an English Conservative in the true sense of a phrase often misapplied. Maynooth was founded in a great measure at the suggestion of the apostle of order, the great Edmund Burke. Let him be assured that he has made great progress in the art of governing Ireland, by whom the works of Edmund Burke are perused with admiration. That sagacious man saw that it was not the interest of Protestant England that the priesthood of Catholic Ireland should be educated in France; he thought that evils could arise from a French and Irish ecclesiastical fraternization; he did not wish that French principles should be imported into every Irish parish; and he denounced the introduction of a Gallo-Hibernian establishment into Ireland. Edmund Burke was of opinion that the Irish Catholic priesthood should be educated by the State for the State. It has been sometimes observed that the Irish priest of the old regime had, by his continental education, acquired a deportment of a superior kind. I believe this notion is, to a great degree, a mistaken one. There were, of course, several ecclesiastics of the old school, of accomplished manners; but Farquhar, an Irish dramatist, who knew his countrymen, represents Father Foigard as a graduate of the University of Louvain. The priests of Maynooth are not the coarse-minded men which they have been represented to be; many of them are superior to the dignitaries of your own Establishment; but we do not want fine gentlemen for the hard services of the Irish Catholic Church. I have heard it observed that the deportment of the Irish Catholic priesthood has occasioned the alienation of the Irish Protestant proprietors. That alienation, however, has its origin in political far more than in social causes. As long as the priest was subservient at the hustings, he was welcome in the drawing-room. The separation of the gentry and the priesthood arises from a succession of political struggles—from the Catholic question, from the tithe question, from the municipal question, from the registration question—a question of which the settlement cannot be final, unless it be just. Give the Catholic priest and the Irish Protestant proprietor a common interest in maintaining the institutions of their country, and their reconciliation will be immediate and complete; indeed the only danger to be apprehended is, that their alliance may become too unqualified and too compact. Sir, I conceive it to be clear that the maintenance of Maynooth is matter of contract—of contract to be explained in the spirit of legislative equity, and not of scholastic disputation. Maynooth is sustained by two Statutes which preceded the Union, ratified by forty-five years of annual grant. If it be matter of contract, the question at once arises whether the sum hitherto voted is adequate to the purposes for which it is designed. That question is to be tried, by considering the extraordinary change which the country has undergone—a change to be always kept in mind by those who consider the principles upon which the Government of Ireland is to be carried on. I do not know of any instance of so great a national metamorphosis. Population is doubled; but the increase of population does not afford a just measure of the astonishing moral and political transition through which the country has passed. When Maynooth was founded, there were not more than two or three Catholic barristers in Ireland. We have seen a Catholic Chief Baron, a Catholic Master of the Rolls, and four Roman Catholics holding the high office of Attorney General in Ireland. When Maynooth was founded, no Roman Catholic was admissible to Parliament. The majority of Irish Members are now returned by Roman Catholic constituencies. When Maynooth was founded, there was not a single Roman Catholic in an Irish corporation. We have now the preponderance in almost every corporation in the country. When Maynooth was founded, the great mass of the people were destitute of the elements of education, and now you can scarce meet a peasant upon a public road who cannot read, and write, and count; and men who read, and write, and count, cannot fail to think. Under these circumstances of marvellous mutation, is the Catholic priest to remain stationary in instruction? and in the great revolution through which the country is revolving, shall not the Catholic Church be carried on with it? If it be clear that the augmented grant to Maynooth is just, it seems to me to be equally clear that it is in the highest degree expedient. It will be essentially beneficial to Ireland, and whatever is beneficial to one country must be serviceable to the other. Great ability will be allured into Maynooth—gold for genius has a magnetic power. The professorships of Maynooth will be filled by men of great talents, and great erudition. The improvement of the Catholic priesthood will be the necessary result. Locate in every parish an educated Catholic priest, whose mind has undergone the process of literary refinement, and you will accomplish much in the work of national amelioration. But the advantages resulting from this measure are so obvious, that it is perhaps better that I should address myself to the objections which are pressed against it. It is said that Catholics and Protestants are to be educated together. With respect to the laity, that observation is, perhaps, a just one; but in every country in Europe, men destined for the Catholic Church are educated in ecclesiastical seminaries, and educated apart. The strictest discipline —habits of subordination almost passive —and a total abstinence from sensual indulgence of every kind, are indispensable amongst those who are educated for the priesthood of the Catholic Church. Four years passed in Trinity College, Dublin, would constitute a bad apprenticeship for the confessional. The Catholic priesthood are now not only pure, but unsuspected; and where interests of such importance are at stake, no empirical experiments should be tried. It has been alleged, that at Maynooth students of very humble parentage are gathered in a mass of unmixed rusticity; and each individual contributes his quota of contamination. It is a great mistake to imagine that the students of Maynooth are men of such low origin; it is to the middle classes that they generally belong; as is stated in the document read to-night by the right hon. Baronet, and which emanated from the Catholic Bishops of Ireland. For my part, I am not anxious to see the younger sons of the Catholic gentry enter in large numbers into the Catholic Church. The duties of a Roman Catholic priest are so severe, that men cradled in luxuries are scarcely fit for their discharge. It ought to be borne in mind, that some of the greatest ornaments of the Catholic Church have always come from what I might call the Apostolic order. The Catholic Church has a sort of ennobling influence; and the consciousness of spiritual authority often imparts dignity to those who are not highly born. How often, in the olden time, did the mitred plebeian stand erect before the Norman Baron, and, in the cause of the serf and of the peasant, with the crosier turn aside the lance. It is the boast of your own Anglo-Catholic Pontificate, that some of the greatest of your divines have risen from the humblest gradations to the highest episcopal dignities. A man as lowly born as Wolsey may, under your reformed system, become the Archbishop of Canterbury, and take precedence of men who to the Conquest of England trace back their descent. The last objection to which I shall advert is the familiar one, that you ought not to become contributory to the propagation of what you take upon yourselves, with some assumption of infallibity, to be the untruth. It should be remembered by those who make this objection, that principle is entirely independent of amount. If to grant 26,000*l.* is a mortal sin, to grant 9,000*l.*—even in the opinion of an Oxonian casuist—ought not to be considered as a venial offence. The same observation applies to all the contributions annually made for the maintenance of the Catholic Church in our Colonial dependencies; and to which the First Lord of the Treasury referred with so much distinctness. But, independently of these considerations, is it not most injudicious, and, what is far worse, is it not most anti-Christian, to tell 7,000,000 of your fellow-citizens that their religion is idolatrous, and their creed is but an avenue to perdition? For my part, I hear these unchristian imputations with Christian forbearance; for when I consider the grounds upon which my religion rests—when I see that for so many centuries its apostolical succession has been preserved unbroken—when I see it resuscitated in those countries in which it was supposed to have been deeply interred—when I see it spreading itself to the remotest regions of the earth—undivided, universal, and eternal—it is not with a feeling of resentment, but with one " akin to love," that I listen to the contumelies that are cast upon the Catholic religion. I most certainly will not retaliate; and I will even add, that I see in the English Church many incidents—many noble coincidences—from which my admiration cannot be withheld. But, Sir, it grieves me to see men engaged in an assault upon the character of the Catholic religion; because Christianity itself is wounded through its sides; and those who attack the religion professed by the vast majority of Christians, supply sophistications to those wretched men who seek to propagate infidelity—the enemies of human hope, and the harbingers of despair. But even supposing the Catholic religion to be a tissue of errors, it is clear that you cannot convert us by abusing us. The Catholic Church in Ireland is " an accomplished fact;" you cannot get rid of it; you cannot uproot it; but you may give a useful direction to its branches; and, if I may so say, by training them along the legalized institutions of the country, make it productive of what you yourselves would be disposed to acknowledge to be useful fruit. You must take Ireland as it is; and you must adapt your policy to the condition of the people, and not to your own peculiar religious feelings. A statesman has no right to found his legislation upon his theology; and the policy by which Ireland should be governed, is entirely different from that which the antagonists of Maynooth recommend to the adoption of the First Minister of the Crown. What is the policy worthy of him? In the great position which he occupies an answer to that question is to be found. How great is the height to which the Chief Minister of England is exalted! From that great moral height, nothing little should be discernible. Everything diminutive should vanish. Nothing but the large, the lofty, and the noble, should be seen. When, from that surpassing elevation whence the British Empire, over whose destinies he exercises an influence so signal, is disclosed to him, and in taking that vast survey he turns his eyes to the island which is immediately contiguous to your own, what should he behold? Not, most assuredly, a miserable arena for scholastic controversy—not an appropriate field in which the Protestant and the Catholic and the Calvinist should engage in a theological conflict. Shall I venture to tell you what he should behold — what Bacon — what Spenser and Bacon beheld more than two centuries before him—what Pitt, what Burke, and Fox beheld in latter times—one of the finest islands in the ocean, peopled by millions of men, bold, and brave, and chivalrous—whose very imperfections are akin to virtue, and who are capable of the noblest amelioration—an island blessed with a fortunate climate, a soil inexhaustibly fertile, a point of contact between the Old World and the New, and opening in its coast harbours that could contain the fleets of both—an island to which Providence has been lavish in its gifts, and from the development of whose incalculable resources an incalculable benefit might be conferred upon the Empire; and by the statesman by whom that great work shall be accomplished an imperishable fame shall be won. And if such be the spectacle which Ireland presents to his contemplation—in the contemplation of such a spectacle what emotions should he experience, what desires should he derive from it, and with what aspirations should his heart be lifted up? Should he think—should he for one moment give himself leave to think—of making such a country subservient to the indulgence of any sectarian prejudice, or of any religious predilection? To assert the purposes of Providence, to carry out the designs of which, wherever we turn our eyes, we behold the magnificent manifestations—to repair the misrule of centuries—to pour balm into a nation's heart—to efface pernicious recollections—to awaken salubrious hopes — to banish a splendid phantom—to substitute a glorious and attainable reality—to induce England to do justice to Ireland, and to make Ireland appreciate the justice of England, and thus to give an everlasting stability to this great and majestic Empire—these are the objects to which a man should direct his whole heart and his entire soul, who feels conscious of the sacred trust reposed in him by his Sovereign, and that God has given him the high capacity to fulfil it; and he should turn with a disdainful smile away from the men who associate their politics with their polemics—who deduce the narrow maxims of their Government from the dogmas of their presumptuous divinity—and whose principles, if carried out to the conclusions to which they irresistibly tend, would lead you back to the restoration of that fatal ascendancy of which we have already had an experience so calamitous—and he should be prepared to fling the seals of office to the winds rather than permit himself to be stopped, or even to be retarded, in the completion of that work, of which the foundation has been laid, of which the structure has been in part erected, with which every consideration that can address itself to his heart and his understanding should induce him to proceed, and of which a perpetual honour will attend the consummation.

Mr. *T. Duncombe* could not allow this question to go to a division without stating that it was his intention to vote against the Motion proposed by the right hon. Baronet; first, because of the permanency of the vote; secondly, on account of the source from which the grant was to be derived; and, thirdly, on account of the purposes to which the grant was to be applied. It was all nonsense, after what they had heard that evening, for hon. Gentlemen to deceive themselves by supposing that this vote was intended for any other purpose than to endow another Church. He had opposed the question of church rates whenever there had been a proposition for their abolition. He had supported such a proposition on the same principle that he should now oppose the Motion of the Government. When he looked at the million which had been given to the tithe-owners in Ireland, and when he called to mind the exemption of the Irish from the payment of the Property Tax, he could see no sufficient reason why the people of England should be still further taxed for the benefit of the sister kingdom.

The Earl of *Arundel*, as an English Roman Catholic, expressed his hearty thanks to Ministers for this proposition.

Mr. *Grogan* objected to the Motion, and declared that he would vote against it.

The Committee divided:—Ayes 216; Noes 114: Majority 102.

List of the Ayes.

Acland, Sir T. D.
Acland, T. D.
Adare, Visct.
Adderley, C. B.
Ainsworth, P.
Aldam, W.
Alford, Visct.
Arundel and Surrey, Earl of
Baillie, Col.
Baird, W.
Baring, rt. hon. F. T.
Baring, T.
Baring, rt. hon. W. B.
Barnard, E. G.
Barrington, Visct.
Bellew, R. M.
Bentinck, Lord G.
Blandford, Marq. of
Boldero, H. G.
Borthwick, P.
Botfield, B.
Bowes, J.
Bowles, Adm.
Bowring, Dr.
Bramston, T. W.
Brotherton, J.
Browne, hon. W.
Brownrigg, J. S.
Bruce, Lord E.
Buller, C.
Buller, E.
Busfeild, W.
Butler, P. S.
Byng, rt. hn. G. S.
Campbell, Sir H.
Cardwell, E.
Carew, hn. R. S.
Carew, W. H. P.
Carnegie, hon. Capt.
Cavendish, hn. G. C.
Cavendish, hn. G. H.
Chapman, B.
Childers, J. W.
Clay, Sir W.
Clayton, R. R
Clerk, rt. hn. Sir G.
Clifton, J. T.
Cobden, R.
Cockburn, rt.hn.Sir G.
Colborne, hn. W.N.R.
Colebrooke, Sir T. E.
Collett, J.
Collins, W.
Coote, Sir C. H.
Corry, rt. hn. H.
Cowper, hon. W. F.
Craig, W. G.
Cripps, W.
Dalmeny, Lord
Damer, hon. Col.
Dawson, hon. T. V.
D'Eyncourt, rt.hon.C.
Dickinson, F. H.
Divett, E.
Dodd, G.
Duncan, Visct.
Duncombe, hon. A.
Dundas, Adm.
Eastnor, Visct.
Ellice, rt. hon. E.
Emlyn, Visct.
Escott, B.
Esmonde, Sir T.
Etwall, R.
Ferguson, Col.
Fitzmaurice, hon. W.
Flower, Sir J.
Forster, M.
Fremantle,rt.hn.SirT.
French, F.
Gaskell, J. Milnes
Gibson, T. M.
Gordon, hon. Capt.
Gore, M.
Gore, hon. R.
Goulburn, rt. hn. H.
Graham, rt. hn. Sir J.
Granger, T. C.
Grey, rt. hn. Sir G.
Guest, Sir J.
Hamilton, W. J.
Hamilton, Lord C.
Harcourt, G. G.
Hatton, Capt. V.
Hawes, B.
Heneage, G. H. W.
Herbert, rt. hon. S.
Hervey, Lord A.
Hill, Lord M.
Hogg, J. W.
Hollond, R.
Hope, hon. C.
Hope, G. W.
Houldsworth, T.
Howard,hon. C.W.G.
Howard, hn. E. G. G.
Howick, Visct.
Hutt, W.
Ingestre, Visct.
James, Sir W. C.
Jermyn, Earl
Jocelyn, Visct.
Johnstone, Sir J.
Labouchere, rt. hn. H.
Lambton, H.
Lascelles, hn. W. S.
Lemon, Sir C.
Lennox, Lord A.
Lincoln, Earl of
Listowel, Earl of
Loch, J.
Lowther, Sir J. H.
Lyall, G.
Macaulay,rt. hn. T. B.
Mackinnon, W. A.
Macnamara, Major
McGeachy, F. A.
McNeill, D.
Mangles, R. D.
Manners, Lord J.
March, Earl of
Martin, J.
Martin, C. W.
Milnes, R. M.
Mitcalfe, H.
Mitchell, T. A
Morison, Gen.
Murray, A.
Napier, Sir C.
Neville, R.
Nicholl, rt. hon. J.
Norreys, Lord
O'Conor Don
Ord, W.
Oswald, A.
Paget, Col.
Pakington, J. S.
Palmerston, Visct.
Parker, J.
Patten, J. W.
Pechell, Capt.
Peel, rt. hon. Sir R.
Peel, J.
Philips, G. R.
Pigot, rt. hon. D.
Plumridge, Capt.
Praed, W. T.
Pringle, A.
Pulsford, R.
Pusey, P.
Rawdon, Col.
Repton, G. W. J.
Rice, E. R.
Roebuck, J. A.
Round, J.
Rous, hon. Capt.
Russell, Lord J.
Russell, Lord E.
Russell, C.
Russell, J. D. W.
Rutherfurd, A.
Sandon, Visct.
Scott, R.
Seymour, Sir H. B.
Sheil, rt. hon. R. L.
Shelburne, Earl of
Smith, J. A.
Smith, rt.hon. T. B.C.
Smythe, hon. G.
Somerset, Lord G.
Somerton, Visct.
Somerville, Sir W. M.
Sotheron, T. H. S.
Staunton, Sir G. T.
Stewart, J.
Stuart, Lord J.
Stuart, W. V.
Strickland, Sir G.
Strutt, E.
Sutton, hon. H. M.
Tancred, H. W.
Tennent, J. E.
Thornely, T.
Towneley, J.
Traill, G.
Trench, Sir F. W.
Trevor, hon. G. R.
Tuffnell, H.
Tuite, H. M.
Vane, Lord H.
Villiers, hon. C.
Villiers, Visct.
Wall, C. B.
Warburton, H.
Ward, H. G.
Wawn, J. T.
Wellesley, Lord C.
Williams, W.
Wilshere, W.
Wood, Col. T.
Worsley, Lord
Wortley, hn. J. S.
Wynn, rt.hn. C.W.W.
Wyse, T.
Yorke, H. E. T.
Yorke, H. R.

TELLERS.

Young, J.
Baring, T.

List of the Noes.

Ackers, J.
Acton, Col.
Allix, J. P.
Antrobus, E.
Archdall, Capt. M.
Ashley, Lord
Bagge, W.
Bankes, G.
Baskerville, T. B. M.
Bateson, T.
Beckett, W.
Beresford, Major
Blackstone, W. S.
Bouverie, hon. E. P.
Bradshaw, J.
Brisco, M.
Broadley, H.
Bruce, C. L. C.
Buck, L. W.
Buller, Sir J. Y.
Burroughes, H. N.
Chetwode, Sir J.
Christopher, R. A.
Codrington, Sir W.
Cole, hon. H. A.
Colquhoun, J. C.
Colvile, C. R.
Compton, H. C.
Copeland, Ald.
Darby, G.
Deedes, W.
Denison, E. B.
Dick, Q.
Disraeli, B.
Douglas, Sir H.
Douglas, J. D. S.
Duncan, G.
Duncombe, T.

Duncombe, hon. O.
Du Pre, C. G.
Eaton, R. J.
Egerton, Sir P.
Ellice, E.
Entwisle, W.
Farnham, E. B.
Feilden, W.
Filmer, Sir E.
Ffolliott, J.
Forman, T. S.
Fox, S. L.
Fuller, A. E.
Gore, W. O.
Gore, W. R. O.
Goring, C.
Greenall, P.
Greenaway, C.
Gregory, W. H.
Grogan, E.
Hamilton, J. H.
Hamilton, G. A.
Hampden, R.
Hanmer, Sir J.
Harris, hon. Capt.
Hastie, A.
Henley, J. W.
Hepburn, Sir T. B.
Hillsborough, Earl of
Hindley, C.
Hodgson, F.
Jolliffe, Sir W. G. H.
Jones, Capt.
Kemble, H.
Knight, F. W.
Law, hon. C. E.
Lefroy, A.
Lockhart, W.
Long, W.
Mackenzie, T.
Maclean, D.
McTaggart, Sir J.
Mainwaring, T.
Marton, G.
Masterman, J.
Maunsell, T. P.
Maxwell, hon. J. P.
Morris, D.
Mundy, E. M.
Neeld, J.
Newdegate, C. N.
Newry, Visct.
O'Brien, A. S.
Packe, C. W.
Palmer, R.
Palmer, G.
Pollington, Visct.
Rendlesham, Lord
Richards, R.
Round, C. G.
Ryder, hon. G. D.
Sanderson, R.
Sibthorp, Col.
Smith, A.
Smyth, Sir H.
Spooner, R.
Stuart, H.
Taylor, E.
Tollemache, J.
Turner, E.
Turnor, C.
Tyrell, Sir J. T.
Verner, Col.
Vyvyan, Sir R. R.
Waddington, H. S.
Wyndham, Col. C.

TELLERS.
Inglis, Sir R. H.
Plumptre, J. P.

Resolution agreed to.

House resumed. Resolution reported. Bill ordered to be brought in. Bill brought in, and read a first time.

House adjourned at a quarter before two o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, April 4, 1845.

MINUTES.] BILLS. *Public.*—$3^{a\cdot}$ and passed:—Property Tax.

PETITIONS PRESENTED. From Winborne Minster Agricultural Society, for Protection to Agriculture.—From Proprietors of Stroudwater Canal Navigation, for regulating Railway Charges for Conveyance of Passengers and Goods.—From Leeds, for Abolishing the Traffic in Hill Coolies.—From Cork, against the present system of Levying Rates (Ireland), and for transferring Criminal Business to Quarter Sessions.—By Lord Brougham, from John Loveridge, of St. John's Wood, complaining of great hardship with regard to Operation of Income Tax, and praying for Inquiry.—From Cork, for Revision of Secondary Punishments.—By Bishops of Bangor and St. David's from Clergy and others of Lleyn and several other places, against the Union of St. Asaph and Bangor.—From Clergy and others of Tamworth, against the Union of St. Asaph and Bangor, and in favour of the Appointment of a Bishop to the See of Manchester.—From President and others of Liverpool Guardian Society for Repeal of 57th Clause of the Insolvent Debtors Act Amendment Act, except as to Debts not exceeding 5*l.*—By Duke of Buccleuch, and Earl Clare, from Lochmaben, and 6 other places, for Improving the Condition of Schoolmasters (Scotland).—By Bishop of Lichfield, from Clergy and others of Newcastle-under-Lyne, and several other places, against any further Grant to Maynooth.—From Brailsford, and 2 other places, for adopting measures for the better observance of the Sabbath.—From Aston, for Encouragement to Schools in connexion with Church Education Society.—From Prisoners in Queen's Bench Prison, for the Abolition of Imprisonment for Debt.

IMPRISONMENT FOR POOR-RATES.] Lord *Brougham* said, he had two petitions to present, to which he called the particular attention of his noble Friend on the Woolsack, complaining of a grievous injury inflicted under colour of the law by two magistrates of the town of Leicester, whom he would abstain from naming, but whom he understood to be men of the most respectable character. One of the petitions was from a poor man named Thomas Lukin, and the other was from Ann Ward, who was a poor widow 58 years of age. One had been called upon to pay a poor rate of 5*s.* 4½*d.*, and the other a rate of 3*s.* 4*d.*; in default of payment an order was made for a distress on their goods; but as they were only lodgers, there were no goods on which to make the levy; after that failure to levy, an order was made (and he admitted legally made) for the commitment of those persons for non-payment of the several sums they were required to pay. The order for committal, be it observed, made no mention of costs. On going to the gaol some benevolent person paid the amounts of rate for them; consequently they were discharged, and the whole force of the caption and of the order for imprisonment was spent. But he begged their Lordships to observe what followed. The same magistrates, in order that the costs should be paid, which they ought to have directed in the first instance, and made a part of the original order, then made a second order on each of the parties for the payment of 20*s.* for costs. Twenty-shillings costs!—six times the amount of the one sum, and four times the amount of the other, in order that the justices' clerk might be paid his fees, which he had not been paid before. Whereupon those two unhappy individuals were summoned, and both being penniless, and having already been proved the one unable to pay 5*s.* 4½*d.*, the other 3*s.* 4*d.*—they were both called upon to pay 20*s.* for costs. As a condition precedent to being heard in their own case, they were asked to pay 20*s.* each, on the assumption that parties who could not pay 5*s.* 4½*d.* and 3*s.* 4*d.* could produce 20*s.* "We have not got that sum," they naturally said. "Then," was the reply, "you must go to prison" (for they had the order of the justices made without hearing the parties), "and be imprisoned in the house of correction for one calendar month, and kept to hard labour." It was the first time he had ever known that imprisonment for debt was to be accompanied by a sentence to hard labour: these parties, however, were sentenced to hard labour, which no person in this land could be made to suffer even for a breach of the law and a criminal act, unless it were an act of so infamous a character that it was taken out of the common class of misdemeanors. But undoubtedly there was a Statute—he did not deny that the 18th Geo. III., cap. 19, gave a general power to justices to imprison a person in the house of correction, and keep him to hard labour for a term not exceeding one month, and not less than ten days, if the costs of any complaint made before justices were not paid. But by the Statute the costs were directed to be paid to "the injured party," which seemed plainly to indicate that the Act applied only to cases of wrongful acting; nevertheless here the justices held their clerk to be the injured party; and by that ample, extensive, and liberal construction of the Act, the sentence was pronounced of imprisonment for one month—the maximum extent of punishment, with hard labour, on these poor penniless persons. They might have committed many misdemeanors of a serious nature, and not have been imprisoned; but their only offence was their poverty. First, he made no complaint against the magistrates for ordering the levy in the first instance. Secondly, he did not complain of the month's imprisonment which they had ordered in the exercise of their judicial discretion; and however he might think they were entirely wrong—however completely he might feel that he himself should have been utterly incapable of pronouncing such a sentence—though he should have shuddered at passing such a sentence upon this poor old pauper man and woman, who were living absolutely upon nothing, because they could not pay 20*s.* each for costs to the clerk—he repeated, that though he should have shuddered at the very thought of such a sentence, still he would not call it an inhuman sentence, nor did he doubt the legality or propriety of it. These magistrates were acting judicially, and they might have acted lawfully and humanely—if it were not bitter irony to talk of humanity in such a case. They might have mistaken the law—magistrates were always candidly construed in their conduct when they made legal errors; but one thing he would take leave to say, and it was that they had no right to issue their order for imprisonment without having heard the parties. He was told that they were men of high respectability. They might be so; but they would be pleased henceforth to learn, if hitherto they had not learned the lesson, that no respectability could enable a man or a magistrate to place himself above the law. Not only the law of the land, the Statute law, or the common law, known only to the learned lawyer, and not to the layman, but a law which was written in every man's heart, be he lawman or layman, had decreed that before you decide you must hear; before you condemn, you must see the party; and that the grossest outrage that could be committed by any judge was to dare to sentence a man without hearing him in his defence. He would now leave the case in the hands of this noble and learned Friend the Lord Chancellor, who would inquire into the particulars of it. He (Lord Brougham) knew that these men had confessed the whole of what he had stated. They had confessed it by their clerk, for whose behoof the act was done of which he complained. They did not deny it at all. They did not pretend that the order for the costs was made in the first instance; they did not pretend that they saw the parties before they committed them, much less did they pretend to deny that the one month's imprisonment with hard labour to which these parties were sentenced, had almost expired, when the wise and prompt humanity of his right hon. Friend at the head of the Home Department the very instant he heard the statement which he (Lord Brougham) had made, interposed and liberated them from what remained of the sentence, unhappily but a couple of days. He handed over these two justices, not to their Lordships, but to his noble and learned Friend on the Woolsack. If he thought they were men fit to continue in the administration of justice in England, he should be satisfied that they did so remain; but with the feeling of satisfaction he might, perhaps, also have the feeling of astonishment.

The *Lord Chancellor* said, he would inquire into the case to ascertain the facts, and if he found that these magistrates had conducted themselves in the manner stated by his noble and learned Friend, it would be his duty to remove them at once from the commission of the peace. But he must make the necessary inquiry. He understood, however, that these parties had been released by his right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department.

Lord *Brougham:* Immediately.

The Duke of *Richmond* had been asked to second the Petition which had been presented to the House by his noble and learned Friend, and he begged to suggest to their Lordships, whether, after his noble and learned Friend on the Woolsack had investigated the case, their Lordships should not inquire whether there was not some legal remedy against the men who had so illegally committed these poor persons to prison, because he considered that if there was no law to give these parties redress against the constable who took them to prison, without their case having been heard, the sooner the law was amended in that respect the better.

The *Lord Chancellor* said, there was no doubt that if these individuals had been improperly imprisoned, without the necessary proceedings having been gone through, they would be entitled to damages.

Lord *Campbell* said, that for the honour of the law of the land, if a case of such hardship as had been stated were made out, the parties would be redressed by the verdict of a jury.

THE OREGON TERRITORY.] The Earl of *Clarendon:* I yesterday gave notice that I should bring the subject of the Oregon Territory under the consideration of the House; and I did so in those terms, not because I propose to enter into the question, or to occupy the time of your Lordships at any length, but because it has recently appeared to be the wish of your Lordships, in compliance with a suggestion which proceeded from the noble Duke opposite, that the practice of putting questions to the Government, or, as it was termed, of making speeches not meant to conclude with a formal Motion, should be abandoned; and I have no intention of departing from any rule which your Lordships may see fit to adopt upon this subject although I myself can see no inconvenience in the practice. On the contrary, it seems to me the most simple mode of obtaining the information which your Lordships are justified in asking of the Government, or the country has a right to possess, upon matters of public interest, with regard to which Papers or Correspondence may not exist, or when their production might be inconvenient. If, however, my noble Friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs prefers, either in conformity with what is to be an established rule of this House, or because it would be more satisfactory to your Lordships and the country, that Papers should be laid upon the Table, I shall be prepared to move for them; but whether or not this course be adopted, I am sure your Lordships will consider that we should not be performing our duty if we did not avail ourselves of the earliest opportunity of calling the attention of Her Majesty's Government to the Inaugural Address of the President of the United States, and of asking from my noble Friend such information as he may think it consistent with his duty to give upon that part of the President's Address which has a direct and immediate bearing upon British interests. With respect to the annexation of Texas, announced in the President's Speech, as it may be said to bear but remotely upon British interests, and as our rights in a case so unprecedented, and the obligations of Texas towards us may not as yet be clearly defined or understood, I shall not think it necessary to trouble your Lordships at the present moment, beyond the expression of my surprise and deep regret that a body of men so just and enlightened as those who usually compose the Senate of the United States should have sanctioned a measure which was brought about by such unwarrantable means, which will be so deeply injurious to the cause of humanity, and which may at no distant period endanger the peaceful relations of the United States: for the restless and encroaching people by whom Texas is henceforward to be inhabited will not long be content without gratifying the national taste for a boundary quarrel, or establishing a case for war with Mexico, which they may rest assured will, in this quarter of the world, not be viewed with indifference. It is, however, with the Oregon Territory that we are immediately concerned; and it is most important we should know in what position we really stand in reference to that question; and what course Her Majesty's Government will be prepared to adopt under circumstances which seem but too probable from the extraordinary tone of the President's Address, and the apparently studied neglect of that courtesy and deferential language which the Governments of different countries are wont to observe when publicly treating of international questions. It is hardly possible to believe that any negotiations upon this subject are pending, or that they have ever been commenced or even proposed, if we are to draw from the President's Speech the inference which it must naturally suggest; for not only does he not make the slightest allusion to them, but he formally announces that the right of the Americans to the Oregon Territory is clear and unquestionable: and it is consequently difficult to understand upon what ground he could justify to the citizens of the United States the right of their Government to negotiate at all upon a matter not doubtful; for whatever predilection they may have for acquiring what does not belong to them, they certainly exhibit none for giving up what is indisputably their own; and if their Government accordingly did consent to negotiate, it would seem that it could only be upon the basis that England was unconditionally to surrender her pretensions to whatever might be claimed by the United States. In short, the whole question is treated by the President as one completely settled—as if all negotiations were concluded, or none had ever been contemplated; and he announces that the wives and children of their citizens are now on their way to occupy the territory. I say this is the only deduction which it would be possible for a person ignorant of the circumstances—and the great majority of the people of this country are ignorant of the circumstances—to draw from the President's Speech; but on the other hand it is so much more impossible for us here to believe that Her Majesty's Government should have neglected this question, knowing as they must its importance, and the excitement which for a long time past has prevailed upon it in the United States; it is so impossible that they should not have used their best endeavours to bring it to a satisfactory and amicable adjustment, that I am sure my noble Friend will be desirous either now on the present occasion, or by the production of such correspondence as he may think proper, to satisfy the people of England that their rights have not been neglected, and that they will be upheld. As regards the past and the future the public are entitled to this information; and it is for the purpose of obtaining it, and satisfying the great and natural anxiety which prevails upon the subject, that I have taken the liberty of occupying your Lordships' time for a few moments. I do not consider this a fitting opportunity for discussing the justice of the British claims to the Oregon Territory; but I will, with your Lordships' permission, say a very few words upon them, in order to render more intelligible the nature and extent of the President's assumption. In the first place, as far as discovery can be said to constitute a claim, ours is clearly the indisputable one; for Sir Francis Drake first visited that part of the country in 1578, and found all the land north of the thirty-eighth parallel of latitude unappropriated; he took possession of it, and gave to it the name of New Albion. This, however, cannot really be said to constitute a claim, as we made no settlement there till the year 1792; when, after the dispute respecting the British vessels seized by Spain at Nootka, it was agreed by the Convention of the Escurial in 1790 that the subjects of the respective contracting parties should not be molested in navigating, fishing, or making settlements in parts not already occupied. In 1792, Vancouver took possession of the country adjacent to the thirty-ninth parallel of latitude, and of the Columbia river, which he is believed to have explored for 100 miles from its mouth. In 1813, the North West Company was established at Fort St. George, and an authorized Colony of British subjects, governed by British laws, occupied the country on the River Columbia; it was the first of a national and legal character recognizable as such by foreign nations, and it continues there to this day. Now the claim of the American Government is derived originally from the sale of Louisiana by Napoleon to them in 1803 for eleven millions of dollars. France had nothing but Louisiana to sell; but nevertheless there was inserted in the Treaty—having for its object to define the boundaries of Louisiana—a reference to a perfectly undefined line to the Pacific, having no definable boundary to the north or south or on the east. In the Treaty, however, with Spain in 1819, called the Florida Treaty, this undefined line was then defined to run from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific to the forty-second parallel of latitude (Spain never having occupied any point north of Cape Mendocino, in latitude forty-one degrees); and a sweeping clause was introduced by which Spain ceded all claim to territory lying north of such boundary, which had never belonged to her; and the Americans then contended that we had no right to territory north of the forty-second degree of latitude, because Spain alone had a right to cede it, although we had formally taken possession of it in 1792 under our Treaty with Spain and the North West Company, and a legally established Colony had been in the occupation of it since 1813. In 1818, a Convention was ratified between Great Britain and the United States, by which a northern boundary line was agreed upon, and that the country westward—I beg your Lordships to mark this—of the Rocky Mountains, should be free and open for the term of ten years to the vessels and subjects of both Powers, without prejudice to the claim of either country; and in 1827, another Convention was signed, renewing the provisions of the one of 1818, and extending it for an indefinite period until either party should annul it on giving a year's notice. Yet it is in this state of things—and I say nothing of subsequent or pending negotiations—that the President of the United States, by the very first act of his administration, thinks himself justified in announcing that it is his duty to assert and maintain the right of the United States to the territory which lies beyond the Rocky Mountains—that their title to the country of Oregon is clear and unquestionable—that the people are already preparing to perfect that title by occupying it with their wives and children—and that to the Government belonged the duty of adequately protecting them, and extending to them the jurisdiction of American law and the benefits of republican institutions in the distant countries which they have selected for their homes; and which by the increasing facilities of communication must soon be brought within the sphere of the Federative Union. I rejoice to think that the whole question is viewed in a far different spirit here—that we are influenced by no desire for territorial aggrandizement; but that we are actuated by a sincere love of peace, and the most friendly feeling towards the people of the United States. As far as I am acquainted with the circumstances, I believe no assertion is made that our own case is free from all doubt, and I am sure there will be no want of readiness to concede whatever can be justly claimed by the Americans; but on the other hand I am equally sure that the people of this country will be determined not to yield their own undeniable rights to encroachment, or clamour, or menace; and although I doubt not that my noble Friend will leave no efforts untried to bring the question to an amicable issue, yet if those efforts should unfortunately prove ineffectual, I trust that Her Majesty's Government will not shrink from adopting that course which may become necessary for vindicating the national honour and protecting the national interests.

The Earl of *Aberdeen:* My Lords, I think it is perfectly natural that in such a conjuncture as the present, the noble Lord should reasonably expect to receive such information from Her Majesty's Government as they in the discharge of their duty may feel it possible to give. And I am far from objecting to the course of putting questions to Ministers upon any matter of public importance—certainly not on one of such paramount interest as this. My Lords, if I followed my own inclination in this matter, I should be disposed at once to lay on the Table of the House every part of the negotiation which has taken place upon this subject from the period of the Treaty of Washington up to the present day; and I am sure that, if I did so, I should not only receive from the candour of my noble Friend opposite an opinion approving the course which has been pursued, but I might fearlessly appeal to the public at large, and to the whole of Europe, for its confirmation. A time may come when such a course may possibly be necessary: at present, it would clearly be unsuitable and impolitic. I could wish for an opportunity of explaining a little more at length the state of this question, as affects the interests and the claims of Great Britain to the disputed territory. The noble Lord has cursorily described the claims of this country and of the United States with sufficient accuracy, as far as he has gone. They, however, would admit of a much more detailed examination; and although I might now enter into that examination without injury to the public service, I feel that I could not do it without inconvenience to your Lordships; and this also I think it better to defer to a future occasion. I shall, therefore, only address myself to the inquiry of my noble Friend. I wish to state, that the negotiation which has taken place, and which is still pending, upon this subject, was commenced immediately after the signing of the Treaty by my noble Friend near me, commonly called the Treaty of Washington. Without, of course, explaining to your Lordships any of the steps that have been taken in the progress of that negotiation, I wish to draw your attention to the last act of the late President of the United States before his resignation of office. The Senate of the United States having addressed Mr. Tyler so long ago as the month of December, requesting him to communicate with them and inform them on the progress of this negotiation, Mr. Tyler, in his answer, which was not delivered until the 19th of February, makes this statement. After reciting the resolution and request of the Senate, he says,—

> "In my opinion, as this negotiation is still pending, the information sought for cannot be communicated without prejudice to the public service; but I deem it, however, proper to add, that considerable progress has been made in the negotiation, which has been carried on in a very amicable spirit between the two Governments, and that there is reason to hope that it may be brought to a close within a short period. I have delayed answering the resolution of the Senate, under the expectation expressed in my Annual Message, that the negotiation would be terminated before the close of the present Session, and that the information called for by that resolution might be communicated."

I am bound to say, that I think the late President took somewhat too favourable a view of the state of the negotiation when he made that answer to the Senate; at the same time, as an indication of a friendly feeling, and of a desire to bring it to an amicable termination, such a declaration must be highly satisfactory. My Lords, in a fortnight after the delivery of this answer to the Address of the Senate, the new President made the Inaugural Speech referred to by my noble Friend. I wish to observe that this speech is not an address made to Congress—it is a speech made to the public, the Congress not being sitting. Undoubtedly, no speech of such a nature could be made by the President of the United States without drawing towards it the most serious attention. Nevertheless, it does not possess the importance of an official message, forming part of the legislative proceedings. I do not mean to undervalue its importance; but I must observe, that it has not quite the character of an address made to the Congress as the foundation of any legislative measure. I have already mentioned that that declaration of the late President is the last act of which we have any knowledge, as far as the negotiation is concerned. The new President had no Ministry at the time he made his speech; his Administration was not formed, and no communication had taken place between Her Majesty's Ministers and those of the Government of the United States since the resignation of the late President and of his Administration. We therefore stand precisely in the position in which we stood at the time of the answer of the late President, with the exception of such a character as the relations may have received from the speech pronounced upon his inauguration by the new President. My Lords, I wish also to state, that our position is precisely such as it has been for the last eighteen years with respect to our rights, under the Treaty which was made in 1827, renewing, or rather continuing, the Treaty of 1818, which was for ten years. The Treaty of 1827 continued that Treaty for an indefinite period, but with the provision that either party might terminate it by a year's notice. There is nothing whatever, therefore, to prevent the Government of the United States or Her Majesty's Government, if they thought proper, from terminating that Treaty of 1827, by giving a year's notice for the purpose, which, however, the President has not said he means to give; but if he does mean it, he cannot effect his purpose without a Vote of the Congress authorizing him to exercise that power. The Congress will not meet, unless specially called together, until the month of December; and even then the Treaty cannot expire without a year's notice being given from the time at which the President receives the necessary authority to give such notice. Your Lordships will see, therefore, that in point of time the matter is not so urgent as might be supposed. I need not say, that Her Majesty's Government will continue to avail themselves of the intervening period which may be thus afforded, in the hope of bringing the negotiation which is still pending to an amicable conclusion. The negotiation was founded upon the principle of an amicable adjustment by the mutual concession of extreme claim on both sides; and on that principle, as far as we are concerned, it will be continued. My noble

Friend has by no means expressed any censure of the mode of proceeding that Her Majesty's Government have adopted in this matter; at the same time, I may say that I have seen, in other places, some intimation of an apprehension of too great concessions—of an abandonment of what is called the "high tone" which this country ought to maintain. I am accustomed almost daily to see myself characterized as pusillanimous, cowardly, mean, dastardly, truckling, and base. I hope I need not say that I view these appellations with indifference; I view them, indeed, really with satisfaction, because I know perfectly well what they mean, and how they ought to be and are translated. I feel perfectly satisfied that these vituperative terms are to be translated as applicable to conduct consistent with justice, reason, moderation, and with common sense; and I therefore feel, as I said before, really not indifferent, but positively satisfied, when I see such observations. I believe I may conscientiously say that no man ever filled the high situation which I have the honour unworthily to hold, who felt more ardently desirous than I do to preserve to the country the blessings of peace, or who would be disposed to make greater sacrifices, consistent with propriety, to maintain it. [*Cheers.*] My Lords, I consider war to be the greatest folly, if not the greatest crime, of which a country could be guilty, if lightly entered into; and I agree entirely with a moral writer who has said, that if a proof were wanted of the deep and thorough corruption of human nature, we should find it in the fact that war itself was sometimes justifiable. [*Cheers.*] It is the duty, and I am sure it is the inclination, of Her Majesty's Government to preserve peace: at the same time, there are limits which must not be passed; and I say that, without attaching too much weight to questions of national honour—for I think, fortunately for this country, that we need not be very sensitive on these matters—it is not for us, God knows, to "seek the bubble reputation at the cannon's mouth," or anywhere else; our power, our character and position, are such as to enable us to look with indifference on that of which other countries might be, perhaps, more jealous. [*Cheers.*] But our honour is a substantial property that we can certainly never neglect, and most assuredly we may owe it to ourselves and to our posterity to adopt a course contrary to all our desires—to all our inclinations. My Lords, from what I have said, your Lordships will perceive an earnest of the spirit of peace which shall pervade this matter, if I continue to conduct this negotiation; and I cannot bring myself to think that at this day any civilized Government would desire to see any other course pursued; and I hope, therefore, and fully believe, that we shall have the happiness of seeing this important question brought to a satisfactory because an amicable conclusion. [*Loud cheers.*] Should it be otherwise, I can only say that we possess rights which, in our opinion, are clear and unquestionable; and, by the blessing of God, and with your support, those rights we are fully prepared to maintain. [The noble Earl resumed his seat amidst loud and general applause.]

PROPERTY TAX BILL.] The Earl of *Ripon* rose to propose the Third Reading of the Property Tax Bill, and said, that when he had introduced the same Bill to the House in the year 1842, he had then felt it to be his duty to explain the grounds on which Her Majesty's Government had proposed that measure to Parliament; and the measure was altogether so important in itself, that at that time he had thought it necessary to make a very lengthened statement with reference to it. On the present occasion he should have to request their Lordships' indulgence whilst he stated to them the reasons which warranted the Government in calling upon Parliament to give to this Act a further continuance. On that former occasion he had stated that this measure had been introduced for the purpose of remedying the acknowledged evil of a deficiency in the Revenue of the State. The remission of a great number of taxes subsequent to the passing of that Bill, had rendered some such measure as the present necessary; otherwise it would be inconsistent with the Revenue and the interests of this country to remit so large an amount of taxation as had been taken off. He did not think that he was called upon to enlarge upon the importance of preventing as much as possible the dangerous practice of having a continued deficiency of Revenue; neither did he deem it necessary to state to them the importance of reviewing their fiscal regulations, which had grown in the course of years into such a state as to be neither beneficial to the Revenue nor advantageous to the country; nor did he deem himself on the present occasion called upon to state the reasons why he believed nothing but an Income Tax could enable them to meet the deficiency in the Revenue. In 1842 that House passed the measure, and he believed that they would not have passed it if they had not regarded it as the only certain and efficient mode of overcoming the evil with which they had to contend. He should state to their Lordships, however, why the Government felt called upon to propose a continuance of this tax; and he must, therefore, put their Lordships in possession of the present state of the Revenue, as compared with its condition at the time when the tax was originally proposed, and compared also with what they must expect it to be if their Lordships should not concur in its temporary continuance. The Act was proposed in 1842, and was to last for three years. At that period the state of the Revenue and Expenditure was as follows, viz.:—On the 5th of April, 1842, there was a deficiency of 2,139,000*l.*, and it was against that deficiency that they had asked Parliament to provide by consenting to the Income Tax; and at that time alterations were contemplated in our fiscal system, which it was calculated would further reduce the Revenue by between 1,400,000*l.* and 1,500,000*l.* The consequence of these alterations was, for the moment, still further to aggravate the diminution of income as compared with the expenditure. It was obvious that for the first year the full benefit of the Income Tax could not be experienced, while by the repeal of these duties the income for the year would be still further reduced. Accordingly, on the 5th of April, 1843, in consequence of the whole of the Income Tax not having been received, the great object of attaining a surplus had not been obtained, and there was on that day a deficiency of Income as compared with Expenditure of 2,421,000*l.* In the year ending April the 5th, 1844, however, the picture was reversed, for the Property Tax had then been collected during four full quarters, and it had produced considerably more than the estimate of the Government; for whereas the Government had estimated it at 3,750,000*l.*, it did actually produce 5,356,000*l.*, and that gave them a surplus of 2,950,000*l.* In the course of last year it was thought advisable, proceeding on the principle of diminishing duties, to apply it to the various important articles of trade, amounting to between 200,000*l.* and 300,000*l.*, so far presuming upon the success that had attended the scheme of 1842. On the best information which he had been able to gain, founded upon the expenditure and receipts up to the latest moment, he believed he was warranted in stating that the surplus on the 5th of April, 1845, would, including everything, considerably exceed the sum of 5,000,000*l.* It would, he believed, exceed the amount of 5,800,000*l.*, including 5,200,000*l.* from the Property Tax, and 600,000*l.* from the China indemnity. Their Lordships would see, then, that they had secured that surplus of revenue over expenditure which it was the object of the Bill of 1842 to effect. They had at the same time been able to reduce taxation to a considerable amount —to the amount, he believed, of between 1,400,000*l.* and 1,500,000*l.*; and he should, notwithstanding, be able to show to their Lordships, that during these two last years the Revenue had been in a state of progressive, and he might say, of remarkable improvement. It would be necessary, however, to state what would be the condition of the country if the Property Tax were not renewed. For the year ending the 5th of April, 1846, the estimate of the expenditure of the country was 49,645,000*l.*, including the Debt and all the Supplies voted. The ordinary receipts of the country would amount to 47,900,000*l.*, so that there would be a deficiency in the year ending the 5th of April of 1,745,000*l.* There were, however, two quarters of Property Tax to be received in that year, and there would be 600,000*l.* from China; so that they would find, that in the year ending the 5th of April, 1846, there would be a surplus of 1,457,000*l.* But that surplus would be entirely owing to what remained over uncollected from the Property Tax, aided by the 600,000*l.* from China. In the following year, therefore, supposing the Property Tax expired, they would have no further source except the same 600,000*l.* from China; and the consequence would be, that they would have in 1847 to contend against the very same species of deficiency, with all its evils, which in 1842 had induced Parliament to impose this tax upon the country. It appeared to him, then, necessary that they should take this opportunity, by a renewal of the tax, of maintaining a surplus of revenue over expenditure. He was quite sure that it would be impossible to meet the evil by a diminution of expenditure, for he was certain that the present Government had endeavoured, and had succeeded, in curtailing the expenditure of the country to the very lowest point. In almost every branch reductions had been made, though there were some branches in which it was felt that at present reductions could not with safety be effected. It was felt, for example, that in the present position of affairs our Navy should not be neglected; and it was clearly the interest of this country not to allow other States to outstrip her in steam navigation; an increase had, therefore, been proposed in the number of seamen to man our Navy. Her Majesty's Ministers, then, proposed to renew the tax upon Property and Income for a period of three years—the same period for which it had originally been imposed. Should Parliament accede to this proposition, the effect would be, that, in the year ending the 5th of April, 1846, there would be a surplus of 4,056,000*l.*, which would be a great means of realizing the object they had in view, that of equalizing the Revenue to the Expenditure of the country. But they had thought (and he confessed he had never had the slightest doubt on the subject) it would be wise, and he would go further and say it was necessary, to combine, as had been done in 1842, with the Income Tax, a further attempt to rectify the anomalies existing in our import duties, and to apply a portion of that surplus revenue to the relief of other duties that were onerous and objectionable in every point of view; and, accordingly, they had proposed to Parliament—and the measure was in the course of discussion in the other House—to make a very considerable reduction in the duties upon a great variety of articles, some of the greatest importance. In the first place, it was proposed to repeal absolutely almost all the duties (with only one or two exceptions) chargeable upon the raw materials of our manufactures of every kind. The total amount of relief on a very great number of articles, too minute to detail, would be 320,000*l.* Their object was to enable us successfully to compete with foreign markets, by cheapening the cost of production—that was the principle upon which they (the Ministers) proposed to proceed. Amongst the articles the duty on which was reduced was glass, a most important manufacture, the duty on which was of large amount, though a great quantity was lost in the way of drawback. The amount was 680,000*l.*, but the real amount of the Excise duty collected on glass was far beyond that. The public had to pay double the amount, besides the nuisance of an Excise officer attending the manufacture, which was necessary if any duty existed. Some said, "Why take off the duty on glass; why not remove the duty on soap?" But equally good reasons might be given why the duties on other articles should be removed; and with respect to soap, he should be very glad to get rid of it. The next item he would notice was cotton wool, the duty on which was very productive, yielding 650,000*l.*; but no doubt it was a duty which sinned against every principle; it amounted in effect to from 5 to 7 per cent. upon the price of the raw material of an immense manufacture, and nothing but necessity could justify the keeping up of that tax. The next article he should touch upon was sugar. He was not going upon this occasion to renew the controversy of last year as to whether the policy of the Ministers with regard to sugar was wise or not; that was a fair subject for argument and discussion. But he was entitled to say that the reduction they proposed to make in the duty on sugar was in itself an immense benefit to the consumers of the article, amounting at the very least to 12*s.* or 13*s.* per cwt.; and this would make such a reduction in the price of sugar as to bring it within the power of consumption of a number of poor people who at present, in consequence of the high price of sugar, were deprived of what some called a luxury, but which was in fact a necessary of life. Therefore, whether their policy in dealing with sugar was right or wrong on principle, a great and substantial benefit would be conferred on the people of this country, and, as he understood, had been already felt. It was calculated that the loss to the Revenue from this item would be not less than 1,300,000*l.* Another article was the duty on auctions, 300,000*l.* Much had been said about this duty, and it was a fair matter for discussion. The difference, therefore, between 4,056,000*l.* and 3,020,000*l.* would be a surplus in April, 1846, of 836,000*l.* Now, that was their scheme in figures. But he had some observations to make before he concluded. It might be said, in objection to this scheme, that by reducing so much of our indirect taxation, they would be compelled again to apply to Parliament to prolong the Income Tax. That was the argument used, and it was a very plausible one; and whether used with a view of recommending or of depreciating the scheme proposed, he was not surprised that it had been used. But he hoped that the financial condition of the country at the end of the term for which the continuance of the Income Tax was proposed, would be such as to enable us to dispense with the Income Tax; and the general aspect of our commercial affairs led him to think that there were very auspicious circumstances connected with them which should not be kept out of sight in forming any speculative conclusions. In the first place, he would request their Lordships' attention to the condition of the Public Debt. Every one knew that the charge for the Public Debt constituted one-half of our annual expenditure; its diminution, therefore, was an object of immense importance, though of great difficulty. The state of the Debt as it stood now (or would stand in 1846), as compared with the year 1842, was as follows:—In 1842, the charge for the Public Debt, funded and unfunded, permanent as well as temporary, or terminable, was 29,452,000*l.*; and the amount of the charge for the Debt which will be incurred (including the same items) in the year ending April, 1846, will not be more than 28,365,000*l.*, showing a reduction of charge, between April, 1842, and April, 1846, of no less than 1,087,000*l.* This was a permanent diminution of charge. Another circumstance, equally satisfactory, was this, that the balances in the Exchequer, which on the 5th of April, 1842, were 8,857,000*l.*; on the 5th of April, 1844, had increased 2,235,000*l.* He could not tell what would be the amount of balances on the 5th of April, 1845; but he had shown that the amount had increased in April, 1844; and they were a great resource at periods of sudden difficulties, charges, and embarrassment. He would next call their Lordships' attention to the great improvement which had taken place in the trade and commerce of the country, and the state of some of the principal branches of our exports as compared with what they were in former periods. He had an account which had been laid before Parliament of the real value of the exports of the principal articles of British produce and manufactures for three years, 1842, 1843, and 1844. The principal articles of export were coals, cotton manufacture, earthenware, glass, linen manufacture, lead, tin, salt, yarn, &c. &c. In the year 1842, the real value of all these articles exported amounted to 40,785,000*l.*; in 1843 they were 44,720,000*l.*; and in the year ending January, 1845, they amounted to no less than 50,614,000*l.*, being an excess beyond the year 1842 of no less than 9,829,000*l.*, and over the second year no less than 5,894,000*l.* He would for a moment advert to certain articles of import, in order to show the increased power of consumption on the part of the people of this country. First, he would mention coffee. The duty on coffee was greatly reduced in 1842, and had been further reduced in 1844. What had been the result? He had an account of the quantity of coffee which had paid duty for home consumption in the last five years. In 1840, the quantity was 28,664,000lb.; in 1841, 28,307,000lb.; in 1842, 28,519,000 lb.; in 1843, 29,979,000lb.; and in 1844, 31,394,000lb. The quantity of chicory had increased in the same proportion. It might be said that the increase in the consumption of coffee had been at the expense of the consumption of tea; but that was not the fact. The quantity of tea which had paid duty for consumption was, in 1840, 32,852,000lb.; in 1841, 36,725,000 lb.; in 1842, 37,353,000lb.; in 1843, 40,293,000lb.; and in 1844, 41,366,000lb., being an increase of 4,722,000lb. in 1844 above the average of the first three years, and above the year 1840 of more than one-fourth. With regard to sugar, there was one advantage attending the reduction of duty which he had not mentioned; it would have the effect of putting an end to the adulteration of sugar by means of an article which he should not have thought of being employed for that purpose—namely, the flour of sago. One circumstance connected with this prosperous condition of the country—for he considered it was manifest, from the facts he had stated, that the country was in a prosperous condition—he had never heard it denied as a general proposition—one circumstance connected with it was, that it had not arisen in any degree whatever from an undue extension of the currency. Not only was it clear that this improved condition of the country had taken place without any increase of the currency, but that the practical effect of the improvement of the trade and commerce of the country had been to render such an increase next to impossible. He would, therefore, venture to say, at the hazard of being charged with taking too sanguine a view of the financial affairs of the country, that it by no means followed that those apprehensions which other persons entertained, that at the end of the next three years the Property Tax would be proposed to be made a permanent tax, were correct. On the contrary, he believed if Parliament would keep steadily in view the objects which the Government had been aiming at in their general plan of finance, at the termination of the three years, there would be no necessity again to impose upon the country this painful, he must call it, and in some respects ungracious, sacrifice; for so, even now, he would designate it, if the object for which it was made were not worthy of the sacrifice. If they persevered in the system they had adopted, he trusted to Providence to keep us out of the situation in which circumstances (for he would cast blame on nobody) had involved us; and a perseverance in it would confer a great benefit upon all classes of the community. There was a remark which he could not refrain from making before he sat down; and that was, with reference to the complaints that had been made of agricultural distress. Now, though he did not mean to deny that, owing to causes which he would not then enter into, a considerable degree of distress existed amongst the agriculturists in some districts, he must beg to state that this complaint was not general throughout the kingdom, for there was no distress in the parts of the country with which he was connected, and which he knew best. But what he wanted to know was, the species of relief which it was expected the Government could afford the agricultural interests, or what scheme they themselves would propose to be adopted for having their distress mitigated, with reference to the fiscal revenue? With respect to the agricultural interest, he wished to know by what scheme, connected with our fiscal system, particular benefit or relief could be given to that body? But it was said, that the Government ought to have expressed some sympathy for the distress under which a great part of that class was labouring. If such sympathy had been expressed, and not accompanied with any practical scheme to give effect to the words, he suspected the Government would have been accused of insult and mockery. Feel for the distress of the agricultural interest! Of course they did. Who were the Members of that House? Were they not connected with the agricultural interest? Who were the Members of Her Majesty's Government? He believed all, both in that and the other House, were connected with that interest. How could any one suppose, then, that even in regard to their own interests — their selfish interests — they could be insensible to the distress of the very class to which they were especially attached? But it was of no use to make a parade of sympathy; and he thought the Government had performed their duty best to that very interest by abstaining from that which would have been useless, and doing at the same time their utmost, by proposing to Parliament that which would be useful to all interests. His Lordship concluded by moving the third reading of the Property Tax Bill.

On the Question being put,

The Marquess of *Lansdowne* justified his having moved that their Lordships be summoned for this evening by the deep importance which attached to the subject. Familiarised as they had unfortunately been with an Income and Property Tax, the present proposition was essentially new to the House and to the public. They knew the various reasons by which a Property and Income Tax had been recommended to favour. Such a tax might be proposed, as it had been formerly, under the pressure of a formidable war, or of domestic disturbances, as indispensable for the safety and best interests of the country. It had been proposed by Lord Liverpool, at the end of a war, to wind up the finances of that war, but refused, because not called for by urgent necessity. A second ground upon which an Income Tax might be proposed was, that of providing for the public faith; and at a time when no other means presented themselves for that purpose, he should be prepared to give his assent to such a proposal. Upon such a ground he conceived Sir R. Peel to have proposed the Income Tax in 1842. But that proposal had now arrived at another stage, which brought him to the consideration of the third ground upon which an Income Tax might be proposed. That was a distinct preference for that mode of taxation over others. Notwithstanding what had fallen from his noble Friend opposite, looking at this tax, and coupling it with the other measures with which it was accompanied, however desirable he might consider the repeal of any tax to be—however judicious he might think the selection of those to be repealed—it was impossible not to observe the omission of any measure calculated to increase the revenue within the next three years, and the inevitable consequence of such an omission in the shape of the greater difficulty in parting with this tax. That which he regarded with the greatest anxiety, but to which the smallest part of the argument of his noble Friend had been directed, was the means by which the Government, not professing to prolong this tax beyond three years, expected the revenue was to be increased during that time, so as to enable them to fulfil their expressed wish of dispensing with the tax. There had been an increase in the Naval Estimates, and there had been an increase in other Estimates, small indeed in amount, but great in principle, and of the highest importance as regarded its remote consequences, and its effects in future ages—an increase to which he not only gave his unqualified assent, but which he had long thought it the duty of Government and of Parliament to adopt, as essential to the peace of the country—an increase now made at a cost to the public of not more than 20,000*l.* or 30,000*l.*, for the purpose of making better provision for the education of the Roman Catholic priesthood. He had merely alluded to this in passing; but what he wished to say was, that with increased Estimates the chance of ultimately getting rid of the Income Tax seemed to be indefinitely diminished. Supposing the Estimates to be retained as before, and that there was no increase of taxation, the deficiency would not, according to the Papers he held in his hand, be more than 600,000*l.* or 700,000*l.*—a deficiency which it obviously would be most easy for Parliament to grapple with without the imposition of a Property Tax. When he saw the Government increasing the Estimates, though in a manner the propriety of which he might admit in some instances, and although he might admit the prudence of relieving production and industry from the pressure upon them, he had a right to call upon the Government to show, by the taxes they removed, that it was their intention to provide the means of reducing and parting with the Property Tax at a future period. His noble Friend had utterly failed to show that any one of his measures was calculated to effect that object. If it were a matter of choice and wish to keep the Income Tax in preference to other taxes, the Government were at liberty to select the taxes they would repeal; but if their first object were, as he contended it ought to be, to get rid of the Income Tax, then they ought to frame every one of their measures with reference to that object. He saw no evidence of any such intention, although he might claim the existence of it from the speeches both of the right hon. Baronet and almost every other Member of the Government. The noble Duke had stated that an Income Tax ought to be reserved for cases of urgent necessity; and no one had expressed the same opinion with greater authority than the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government, who now proposed an Income Tax, and expressed it too under very similar circumstances to the present. In 1833, when it was proposed that the malt tax should be taken off, what was the ground of opposition taken by the right hon. Gentleman who had then occupied the highest official situations in the country? He said that it might lead to the imposition of a Property Tax in time of peace, and that they would be encountering inconveniences by imposing a tax unequal in itself, and afterwards by the introduction of modifications which would disturb its efficiency, and that, above all, it would be necessary to impose the tax upon Ireland, which could not be done. That was the opinion of Sir Robert Peel in 1833. Afterwards, in 1840, the right hon. Baronet, being then on the threshold of power, commanding, or at least influencing, one of the greatest parties in this country, having had seven years for reflection, and there being then a deficiency of 2,500,000*l.*—a deficiency far greater than now—said that he did not consider it would be justifiable to attempt to raise that sum by a Property Tax. If the right hon. Baronet had been induced to take a new view of this subject, he (the Marquess of Lansdowne) could not, therefore, be deprived of the sanction of the right hon. Gentleman's name and authority, and he cordially agreed with the opinions of Sir R. Peel in 1833 and 1840, and to which no less weight and importance were to be attached than the authority of the right hon. Baronet now, in allowing the measure to be introduced. The right hon. Gentleman could only have introduced the measure in consequence of his having adopted that principle which he (the Marquess of Lansdowne) deprecated—namely, the preference of the Income Tax to other sources of revenue, and he could now only argue that tax with reference to those considerations which applied to it as a permanent duty. He understood that there were persons calling themselves philosophers—persons wiser than other men—who preferred this tax, and avowed that they not only wished it to be perpetual, but desired it to be carried out further on account of what they called its justice and simplicity. What were the justice and simplicity of this tax as imposed upon the various classes of society? First, it was imposed upon persons of all professions. If there was one thing more uncertain than another, it was a profession; and if any tax more unequal than another, it was a tax imposed upon all professions, without reference to the nature of any. Some professional incomes were derived from sources certain to continue during life; others arose from casual sources, which might at any time cease; others were only practised at particular seasons; others were dependent upon contingencies; some might be practised without injury to health and vigour during a whole life; others were destructive or injurious to them. Was a tax just and equal, therefore, that was indifferently applicable to all? But the philosophers had a remedy for that inconvenience. They would exempt professional incomes altogether, and provide for the deficiency so arising in another way. Then came the tax falling upon the manufacturers. But what was more unequal than the sources of income arising from different descriptions of manufactures? In some the expenses were greatly and frequently increased by the additions to or alterations of machinery rendered necessary by the improvements in science, while in others no such expenses might be required. Some were dependent upon fashion, caprice, or taste; others were not. Could that be a just or equal tax which applied to all alike? But leave out the manufacturers, and consider the annuitants on the public funds. Could there be a greater difference than that existing between the state of a person having a terminable annuity, and one enjoying the stipend for life?—or than the difference between a person whose funds had been made the subject of settlements, and one free to enjoy them without limitation? Could that, therefore, be a just and equal tax which called upon all these parties for a like contribution? Then some persons said, "Leave out the fundholders altogether; come to the landed interest, and make them pay." He objected to that exceedingly. He thought the landed proprietors ought not to be made the sole contributors to that or any other tax. But if you confined the tax to them, you would not find that it pressed upon the landed proprietors with equality, simplicity, and justice. The condition of a landed proprietor could not be determined by the amount of his income in any given year; but many considerations must be taken into the account, such as the degree to which his property was tied up in settlements. Where, then, was the simplicity and justice of the Income Tax as applied to any one class who had to pay it? It was an equality that would never be discovered. When a carriage was invented which would travel with equal ease and facility in all countries, whatever the obstacles of the ground —when a coat was made which should be equally adapted for all variations of climate—or a medicine which should be equally salutary to all constitutions—then, and not till then, the simplicity, justice, and equality of the Income Tax would be discovered. He knew of no inconvenience attending indirect taxation, except that it took a somewhat larger amount from the pockets of the contributors. But what had been the inestimable boons in return? The privilege almost of taxing himself—of determining what was the amount it suited his convenience to contribute in any given year to the public Revenue. He had the power of diminishing or increasing his contribution to accommodate it to the state of his circumstances; and surely there was no man in his senses who would not pay a somewhat larger amount to secure these privileges and advantages, while at the same time he avoided those inquisitorial annoyances which ought never to be adopted, save in the last extremity, and which particularly belonged to a Property Tax. He was not about to ask the House to reject this tax altogether. It would be useless to make the attempt; but he contended that their Lordships were bound to give their serious attention to the means of fulfilling the hope—for his noble Friend would most likely not allow him to call it a condition—that the tax would be dispensed with, and not renewed at the expiration of three years. If the Income Tax had been proposed only as an experiment, accompanied by measures having a direct tendency to get rid of it altogether, such as as a large change in the sugar and tea duties, causing a great increase of consumption, in place of that narrow increase adverted to by his noble Friend—if the Government had said, "The measures we recommend are somewhat doubtful in their nature, and give us, during the time of the experiment, an Income Tax, to secure the public creditor," he would have given his assent to the measure; but as he saw no measures proposed which gave a fair prospect of the removal of the tax, he called upon the House to give their attention to the subject, and in every act submitted for their approval, to have in view the importance of providing other and better means than were now provided for getting rid of the tax at the end of the three years. It was said that this had become a popular tax. No doubt you might purchase popularity for any tax by exempting people from paying it; and it might be perfectly true that this was a popular tax for those who had not to pay it. The resident proprietors of Ireland could have no great objection to the tax, for they were not called upon to bear the burden; and this was a very natural view for them to take. All persons under 150*l.* a year were no doubt also inclined to think it just and equitable, not being sufficiently aware, and many of them not aware at all, that it would cramp the means of giving them employment, and cut off the source and fund of that capital which supplied them with the means of existence. Again, the manufacturer, who saw the repeal of the tax on cotton tendered to him in the shape of a bribe, was not likely to become clamorous against the instrument by which alone, he was told, that relief could be obtained for him. A pseudo popularity could be obtained at any moment by measures of this sort; but that the thinking and enlightened portion of the public could be reconciled to it was what he did not expect; and, therefore, he hoped that their Lordships and the other House of Parliament would exert their power to induce Her Majesty's Government, in the course of the next three years, to take measures which would have the effect of relieving the country from the burden of this unjust and onerous impost.

Lord *Ashburton* believed there was no disposition in Parliament to object to the passing of the Bill for the renewal of the tax on this occasion; but the present seemed the only opportunity which their Lordships, in the common course of financial measures, were likely to have, to pass in review, as the noble Lords who had spoken before him had done, the general state of the finances of the country, and the measures which should be adopted for their improvement. On this subject he had the misfortune, he feared, to differ from both parties in that House. It had been his misfortune to differ upon it from almost every Government he had seen in place; and he must say that the financial condition of the country was one which, to him, had always been exceedingly alarming. He would take the liberty of shortly stating to their Lordships his views of the case. With respect to the tax which formed the subject of the Bill now before them, he had to say that he almost wholly concurred with his noble Friend who had just sat down in objecting to it as a permanent impost. Although, setting aside the popularity which it naturally had with those who did not pay it, it had every appearance of plausibility at first sight, yet it was full of the grossest partiality, in every form of its application; and, as was remarked by Mr. M'Culloch, in his book upon taxation—which their Lordships could not do better than read for the purpose of procuring information—it was the worst which could be imposed, and only to be justified in cases of the greatest emergency. Speaking of its effects on land, Mr. M'Culloch said: "We doubt, indeed, whether it be possible to suggest any impost more at variance with sound principles, or more adverse to the progress of improvement." His noble Friend opposite had well stated the great inequality of the tax in all cases. In addition to those specified by his noble Friend, he might instance the body of the clergy in this country, many of whom did not come into their incomes until an advanced age, and who were almost under an obligation to contribute to the support of the various schools and charities around them; their interest in their incomes might cease by any momentary contingency; and yet they were taxed as heavily as those possessing the most permanent species of property: perhaps they were the class, of all others in the community on whom the tax fell most heavily. It fell with particular severity on the land, inasmuch as it was imposed on the gross income, without the slightest reference to repairs or improvements, and on the supposition that the rent was always regularly paid. There was a further objection, that it sinned against one of the first principles of taxation, in taking what was a raw material. Of all the materials of industry of every description, capital was the first; and it mattered not whether the tax was laid on the whole sum or on the income. Applying as it did to the industry of the country in all cases, it was impossible to conceive a tax more fatal to progressive improvement, or to the accumulation of capital. It made no difference to a manufacturer whether you placed a tax on his capital or on the raw material; and the burden of it was aggravated by the exposure of the secrets of his business. In fact, under a continuance of the tax, it stood to reason that any country, however rich, would sink. Such a tax as this operated on the principle known to and acted upon by gamblers; that in the long run the odds in favour of the table would draw all the money into the pocket of the banker. So much upon the question of this tax. His objection to the whole system of finance on which this country had since the war been proceeding was, that it left wholly untouched the heavy Debt which pressed upon us. It was now thirty years from the termination of the war, and we had made hardly any progress—in truth no progress—in lessening or diminishing the National Debt. Though his noble Friend near him had stated that there was a diminution of the Debt, he admitted at the same time that it proceeded almost wholly from a reduction of the charge arising from the lowering of the rate of interest — a very desirable thing, but one which had not originated in any effort whatever on the part of this country to pay off any portion of its obligations. By operation of this, the debt might be said to be reduced between 2,000,000*l.* and 3,000,000*l.* per annum. At the end of the war the charge on the Public Debt was about 32,500,000*l.*; it was now somewhat above 29,000,000*l.* [The Earl of *Ripon*: 28,000,000*l.*] This was in truth the incubus which weighed down the whole country. There were 28,000,000*l.* or 29,000,000*l.* to raise for the purpose of paying the interest, against 17,000,000*l.* or 18,000,000*l.*, or at farthest 20,000,000*l.*, for the supply of the wants of the Public Service. There was a time when it was thought to be the duty of Parliament to do something towards the extinction of the Debt; but of late years Chancellors of the Exchequer took the more popular course of caring nothing for the Debt, and relieving the immediate burdens on the people by taking off taxes. In his opinion, however, their real duty to the country would have been best shown by exertions to reduce this Debt, and thus relieve the country permanently from its embarrassments. The whole question, which now seemed to engage their attention, was the question of surplus or no surplus, and this was allowed to turn on a sum of 80,000*l.* or 100,000*l.* in an income of 50,000,000*l.* The moment any difficulty came upon us, what were we to do? What was to happen to this country in the event of a serious alarm from a foreign war, or any other cause rendering necessary a large increase of expenditure? What course was to be followed but to borrow? He saw no other resource, particularly if we had already anticipated the Income Tax, which might to a certain extent obviate the necessity. But we could not go on for ever borrowing; this resource must have its limits. The man of the shortest sight possible must see that one day the system would be brought to an end; though, like children, they might build up their house of cards, and pride themselves on its apparent strength and beauty, it would assuredly tumble down with disgrace. So strongly was he impressed with the alarming condition of the country, that he could derive no comfort from a contemplation of our finances, unless he were to see—what, at his period of life, he was afraid he should never see—some decided effort on the part of the Government to grapple with the difficulty that pressed upon us. True it was that predictions of bankruptcy had been often made when the Debt was not one-fourth of its present amount, which had not been fulfilled; but whatever the fate of their predictions, no one could pretend to say that this system could go on for ever, or that it would not come to an end some time or other. He could not understand by what chain of reasoning any honest or soberminded men could think themselves justified in going on in the present course from year to year. Now, it was true, the country was in a state of admitted prosperity. He did not know that at any period of his long life he had seen the country in a state of more perfect quiet and satisfaction, or greater prosperity. Not a cloud was to be seen in the horizon except that small one of Oregon, which would soon, by the exercise of common fairness and discretion, be dispersed. There was perfect tranquillity in Europe; yet, under circumstances of such unexampled prosperity, not the slighest effort was made to effect any reduction of the Public Debt. Yet the only objection brought against it was the supposed reluctance of the people, and the difficulty of reconciling them to the maintenance of taxation for that purpose. But this, with the prospect that they might be called on at any time indefinitely to augment the Debt, was as much chargeable with dishonesty as any pretext that could be alleged. He did not see in this matter any such difficulty as was generally alleged. He would recommend that a surplus of 3,000,000*l.* or 4,000,000*l.* should be maintained, for the purpose, first, of operating on the Debt, and next, of providing for any contingency that might arise. We had no right to expect that peace would last for ever; but now our surplus was entirely disposed of, and we were completely at the mercy of events. An attempt to create a surplus had first been made by Sir R. Walpole; it was for a short time maintained, and in 1732 or 1733 abandoned. Walpole said, either submit to have the land tax doubled, or give up the Sinking Fund; and the Parliament of the day, of course, as other Parliaments would do, said, you must take the Sinking Fund. Then came the attempt of Mr. Pitt, in 1786. That Minister alleged that the plan had failed for want of proper persons to give a surety that this Sinking Fund would never be touched, and he proposed to secure it for ever. But after the peace, one Chancellor of the Exchequer after another, finding it a much more agreeable task to be constantly repealing taxes than to be making provision for the future, declared his intention to keep no surplus at all. But so far from the Sinking Fund being an abuse, if rightly administered, he (Lord Asburton) contended that it was the most rational purpose to which a surplus could be applied. In the event of war, what was the natural course for a country to pursue, in order to raise funds for carrying it on? Undoubtedly, in a state of prosperity you might have recourse to an Income Tax; but the most expedient plan was to borrow, and upon the return of peace, to pay off the debt contracted during war. Otherwise, if we reverted to the plan of raising within the year the funds required for a war, its duration being uncertain, we might find it at an end in one or two years; and thus the country would be tormented by raising an immense amount of taxation, the arrangements for which would be rendered entirely useless by the return of peace. To borrow a fixed sum, with provision for the redemption of the loan in a certain number of years, was the preferable course. But he should wish to know, could any person venture to say what would be the final result of the present system? Was it wise to calculate on a continuance of sunshine and prosperity for ever? Did they expect to have no more wars, no more commercial panics? This tax had been imposed for the support of public credit, after various experiments with that object had been tried and failed, and might therefore be looked upon as in one sense necessary; but what he objected to was throwing away by a remission of taxes the revenue which would have rendered the imposition of an Income Tax unnecessary. If it was to be continued, he (Lord Ashburton) could see no prospect of future security.

Lord *Stanley* said, he could not but think that his noble Friend who had just sat down had hardly done justice to the course pursued—the general and systematic policy pursued—not only by the present but by former Governments. Certainly his noble Friend had exaggerated the state of the case when he told their Lordships that no efforts had been made, no progress effected in the reduction of the burden of the Debt, since the period of the termination of the war in 1815. It might be quite true that as much progress had not been made in the reduction of the Debt as his noble Friend would have thought desirable; but it was no less true that in 1815 or 1816, when the interest of the Debt was at the highest, it exceeded 32,000,000*l.* It was no less true also, that the interest for last year little exceeded the sum of 28,000,000*l.*, being a reduction of 4,000,000*l.* a year—equivalent to a reduction of more than 100,000,000*l.* in the capital. If, then, from 1815 to 1845, the present and former Governments had succeeded in reducing the interest of the Debt by 4,000,000*l.*, he thought his noble Friend could hardly state, with fairness, that no success had attended their efforts for the alleviation of the burden of the Debt. He was, however, stating his own case unfairly. He had stated the entire reduction in the interest as compared with the year 1815; but measures had also been taken for the purpose of increasing the temporary interest with the view of reducing the ultimate amount of the charge. By arrangements heretofore made, and followed out by the present Government, the amount of interest had been for a time increased by the substitution of a terminable annuity for an interminable debt. In the year 1854, in consequence of the saving effected by his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, through the reduction of the Three-and-a-Half per Cents., there would be a further reduction in the annual charge of 600,000*l.* In 1860, there would be a still further annual reduction, to the amount of 1,200,000*l.*, by the falling in of the Long Annuities. In 1865, or 1866, there would be a still further annual reduction of 600,000*l.* He had not any statement of the figures, because he did not expect that this discussion would have arisen; but, notwithstanding what his noble Friend had said, he thought he had shown their Lordships that they had largely reduced the charge on account of the interest now payable, and provided for a still further reduction in future. These were equivalent to a great reduction in the capital of the Debt; and, so far from adding to the burden, they had really taken measures to ensure the cessation of a considerable proportion of the amount. He regarded the speech of his noble Friend as directed, not against the Property Tax, but against that reduction of duties which was, in fact, to be considered as the compensation obtained by the country for paying that impost. His noble Friend said he did not object to a surplus of three or four millions. But the fact was, we had not got the surplus: and to get it, you must impose the Property Tax. Now, the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Lansdowne) had proved that in 1846, supposing everything to remain as at present — the Revenue unaltered, and the Expenditure continued as it now stood—there would be a surplus of two millions, indeed, in consequence of the receipt of the half-year's Income Tax; but if the tax should expire in 1846, so far from there being a surplus, there would be a deficiency of 700,000*l.* Then his noble Friend got up and said that he did not object to the maintenance of a surplus, but to the taking off taxation. But the very means that enabled them to take off taxation, or to obtain a surplus, and the only possible means of compassing that end, was, the imposition of a Property Tax. He took, therefore, his noble Friend's speech as a defence of the Property Tax; and his objections to taking off other taxes might be considered at a future opportunity. His noble Friend could not show any other source from which a surplus could arise but the Income Tax. [" Hear, hear."] He did not know whether his noble Friend meant that cheer as an expression of doubt or assent; but all he could say was, that no method had been pointed out by any noble Lord or any Member of Parliament, so far as he knew, by which a permanent surplus could be obtained—no mode by which a permanent deficiency could be avoided, except through the agency of the Income Tax. The noble Marquess also said, that the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government objected, in 1833, to taking off the malt tax, because that would necessarily lead to the imposition of a Property Tax. He (Lord Stanley) was not there to advocate a Property Tax as the most desirable that, under any circumstances, could be proposed. Nobody was there to contend for it in the abstract: what they contended for was, that in the present state of the Revenue, and in the present circumstances of the country, the imposition of the tax was necessary—first, to prevent deficiency; and, secondly, because it enabled them to afford great and substantial relief to the commercial and manufacturing interests of the country. The noble Marquess did not deny that a Property Tax might be beneficial and justifiable, as in time of war—of which, fortunately, no danger was now to be apprehended—or in any great deficit of the Revenue. The noble Marquess seemed rather to pride himself on the fact that the deficiency at the present moment was not so great as in 1840 or 1841, when he was a Member of the Administration, because at that time Sir Robert Peel did not admit that a deficiency of 2,500,000*l.* formed an adequate ground for the imposition of a Property Tax. He could perfectly understand that his right hon. Friend might have stated that he did not consider that such a deficiency was large enough to justify, in this great commercial country, the imposition of an Income Tax. But if, subsequently, other modes had been tried and failed—if a permanent deficiency had to be provided for, even though it might not be so great as the noble Marquess boasted that he had left to the present Administration, there might still be reason for the imposition of the Income Tax. They contended for it, not on the principle to which the noble Marquess had alluded, of " Score up, hostess;" for the score which the noble Marquess and his Colleagues left behind them when they went out of office had been wiped out, short of about 700,000*l.*, this year. The noble Marquess had admitted that, supposing the present state of expenditure to continue, there would be an excess of expenditure over revenue in the next year of 700,000*l.* But the noble Marquess had made another admission; for he stated, "I don't blame your increased Estimates, in the circumstances of the country. I don't complain of your adding to the Naval Establishments. I don't complain of your introducing Estimates which may lead this year to an increase of 1,500,000*l.*, and for several years to a sum approaching that amount." Yet the noble Marquess condemns them for introducing for three years more a Property Tax; though, on his own showing, we had a sum of over 2,000,000*l.* to provide for, which could be met in no other way. It might be, and it was true, that with the Income Tax, which brought in somewhere about 5,200,000*l.* a year, the revenue would be more than adequate to meet the estimated deficiency, which was somewhere about 2,000,000*l.* or 1,800,000*l.*—he meant, the deficiency after the year 1845, after the casual sources of the Revenue should have ceased. The only proposal apart from the Income Tax for meeting that deficiency, was that submitted by the noble Marquess—namely, a large reduction of taxation, thereby insuring a great increase of consumption. Now, he must be allowed to call the attention of their Lordships to the facts of the case, as illustrated by the two articles to which the noble Marquess particularly referred. He said, we should make a large reduction of duty on tea and tobacco; and that by so doing we had a reasonable prospect of so increasing consumption as to defeat the smuggler and bring the Revenue up to its present amount. [The Marquess of *Lansdowne:* Not quite; but in a short time you would.] But we had to deal with a deficiency which must be at once met, and, if it could not be provided for by taxation, left no alternative but the imposition of an Income Tax. The noble Marquess would increase the deficiency, and trust to enlarged consumption for more than counterbalancing the diminution caused by the withdrawal of the Income Tax. Now, with regard to tea, it did not appear that the tax, heavy as he admitted it was, had had the effect of diminishing consumption; on the contrary, it had increased considerably. He was not going into the probable effect of the reduction of duty, but he very much doubted whether the reduction of duty would so far diminish the price here as to increase consumption. He very much doubted whether the reduced duty would go into the pockets of the consumer, and he was rather inclined to think that it would find its way into the coffers of that not very numerous class which supplied the tea market. The consumption, at all events, had not been checked by the duty; for in the course of five years it had increased from 32,000,000lbs. to 41,360,000lbs. Here was an increase of nearly one-fourth with a tax, the effect of which was complained of as restricting consumption. Well, take tobacco—a very different article. He was not going to say that there was not a great deal of smuggling in that article; but it should be observed, that the tax on that article was many hundred-fold more than the prime cost, and no reduction of duty could have the effect of checking the smuggler, which did not enable the importer to bring it in at so cheap a rate that the smuggler would have no interest in introducing it. This tax yielded 4,000,000*l.* a year; and, consequently, unless they were prepared to make a sacrifice of 3,000,000*l.*, they could not be sure of shutting out the tobacco of the smuggler. Did the noble Marquess suppose that the increased consumption could compensate such a deficiency? But, as it was, the consumption of this article, instead of declining, was increasing. It had increased from 3,488,000*l.* in 1842, to 3,607,000*l.* in 1843, and 3,863,000*l.* in 1844. Here was a steady increase of 200,000*l.* a year. However strongly he might be inclined to anticipate, from the operation of the reduction of the duty on these articles, that a considerable reduction would increase the consumption, and ultimately bring up the Revenue to where it was, he could not think that on either of these articles (there were others which rested on different principles, and were to be determined by political considerations) the reduction of duty would have the effect, within a limited time, of raising the Revenue to its present amount. Well, then, if the Estimates were to be increased, and if the present amount of Expenditure in other respects were to be kept up, (for though the noble Marquess had hinted at the possibility of some reduction, he had not stated what,) he could not see how, without the imposition of a Property Tax, there was a means of meeting what was acknowledged to be a permanent deficiency. His noble Friend (Lord Ashburton) complained, however, that, by means of imposing a tax which they acknowledged to be very vexatious, the Government having realized a surplus of 3,000,000*l.*, had applied it in relieving the industry of the country. They had proposed a remission of duties to the amount of 3,400,000*l.* He had not heard from a single quarter—he had not seen it mentioned in the newspapers, still less in their Lordships' House—that there were any of those taxes which it was proposed to reduce, of which the reduction was not essential to the commercial prosperity of the country. The noble Marquess had admitted that, if taxes were to be selected for reduction, a more judicious choice could not have been made. The Government had proposed a sacrifice of 1,300,000*l.* on sugar; but our present experience, short as it was, contradicted the prophecies indulged in, that the consumer would not derive advantage from the reduction to the full extent of the amount remitted; for in the recent sales, it was shown that the consumers had the full benefit of the change; and those consumers, mind you, were of the poorest class, and those to whom a low price was of essential advantage. This measure had the effect already of reducing the price 1¼*d.* or 1½*d.* a lb.; whereas, if he recollected rightly, the plan of the friends of the noble Lords opposite, which was not accepted by Parliament, did not propose a reduction of more than ¾*d.* in the lb. We, then, had effected a much larger reduction on a prime necessary than was contemplated by the much-vaunted scheme of noble Lords opposite, on which the sense of the country was declared against them. He did not mean to enter into a discussion of the reductions proposed, for no one found fault with them, not even his noble Friend (Lord Ashburton), as he was against any reduction at all; but there was not one of those articles on which restrictions were proposed to be taken off, that the proposed change would not have the effect of assisting the manufactures of the country, and in some cases were essential to their revival. There was the duty on glass, the abolition of which must not only be a great relief to trade, but must prove a great stimulus also to the home manufacture of the article. Nobody could deny that if it had not been taken off, the manufacture, which was leaving you year after year, must pass into the hands of foreigners. Year after year your vexatious restrictions—your Excise—your impediments and obstructions, not to mention the direct loss imposed on your own manufacturer—were giving a premium to foreign competitors, and year after year you were importing into this country more and more of foreign glass to be re-exported in successful competition with your own manufacture. We made a change, not desired, perhaps, by the few manufacturers who withstood all the disadvantages of their position, and who had acquired a practical monopoly; but which gave a great relief to trade generally, afforded a stimulus to the introduction of capital into this branch of manufacture, and thereby supplied the means of its improvement. There was another very important tax taken off—that on raw cotton. It amounted to 600,000*l.* But could there be a duty more objectionable in principle? It was a duty on the raw material—pressed most heavily on the coarsest articles—was levied inversely to the value—and consequently amerced most heavily the classes least able to bear it. It was quite clear that without the imposition of a Property Tax, to meet the deficiency of the revenue, it would be absolutely impossible to make such reductions as those he had referred to, which must stimulate the manufacturing and commercial industry of the country. The noble Marquess said this was a very popular tax — "very popular with those who did not pay it." That might be. But he did not contend for its popularity; he only said that its imposition was necessary; and that this impression was generally participated in was proved by nothing more strongly than by the fact that such a tax had not created a greater feeling of unpopularity and objection throughout the community than it had done. But the question was, not whether it was popular or not, but whether it was a relief to those who were unable to bear taxation in another shape. It exempted, undoubtedly, incomes under 150*l.* a year. There was no question that the tendency in this—and it was probably so in all great commercial countries—was a great accumulation of property in comparatively few hands; and this involved an inequality in the weight of the burdens to be borne by the community. We had had some striking proofs that the pressure of your taxation, according to the principles on which it had been hitherto imposed, had reached its maximum; and that the class on which it fell were unable to bear the pressure which they already sustained, still less any further, while the wealthier classes were not taxed in proportion to their ability to sustain the burdens of the State; and he did not deny that in consequence of the exemption of the poorer classes, the charge of the Income Tax in a great measure fell upon the wealthier. In 1840, or 1841, the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed, as a means of recruiting the finances of the country, an addition of five per cent. on the taxes levied on all articles of consumption, and ten per cent. on the assessed taxes. Mark the result. The tax of five per cent. produced such a diminution in consumption that it brought one instead of five per cent. But the ten per cent. falling on the easier classes realized the full amount of ten per cent. Could there be a stronger proof that the taxation of the great class of consumers had reached its limit, while that on the easier classes was capable of being augmented without diminishing their enjoyments, or causing them to diminish their establishments? There was another most important fact in illustration of this position. It might naturally be supposed that a compulsory deduction, such as that enforced by the Income Tax, might have the effect of reducing expenditure. But, although the tax fell on the wealthier classes, and although they had the power of reducing their establishments, the fact was, that there had not only been no reduction in the production of the assessed taxes, but establishments had increased since its imposition, and the assessed taxes had been more productive under its operation. He was not stating this as an argument in favour of the imposition of a Property Tax; but he did state it to show that if there was a necessity, under the circumstances of the country, and for temporary purposes, to raise a revenue adequate, and something more, to our current expenditure, it was impossible to do so by increased taxes on consumption; and that there was no alternative but that proposed—a Property Tax. The noble Marquess objected to the tax as not only unjust in principle, but unequal in its pressure on different classes. The noble Marquess said it was unequal in its pressure on temporary as compared with permanent interests; and yet he was compelled to admit that if the tax was imposed at all, it must, if it were not absolutely frittered away, be applied to professional incomes and life interests of every description, without regard to the capital of each individual. He should like to know what other tax of a similar amount there was which did not bear unequally on incomes, if estimated yearly, or according to amount in point of capital. He would not argue the question of taxes on professional income. He could understand the charge of inequality, if there was not a compensation given during the period of the Income Tax in the cheapness of articles which one, so charged, must necessarily consume. If it was proposed to pay a million of debt by taxing the person who had a permanent interest, and him who was only an annuitant equally, he could see the distribution was unfair; but he could not see, and he had never been able to see, that there was injustice in raising a tax on the current income of the year, without calculating its amount in point of capital, particularly when those so charged had a large compensation in articles which they must necessarily consume. He sat down, once more saying that considering there was deficiency to be immediately met, there was no mode of taxation so little objectionable as that which Government had selected, and that, in the reduction of duties which they had effected, they had increased not only the manufacturing and commercial industry, but benefited, through them, the agricultural interest, and thereby secured the general welfare and prosperity of the country.

Lord *Monteagle* said, his noble Friend on the opposite benches (Lord Ashburton) had very consistently dwelt on the necessity of maintaining a Sinking Fund, as essential to the security of the national creditor. His noble Friend therefore concluded, very logically, that by the abandonment of the Sinking Fund, the national creditor had sustained some loss and injury. On this question, however, Parliament—and he believed the public likewise—had differed widely from his noble Friend. He (Lord Monteagle) thought that, in reference to the facts connected with the question now under discussion—the Property Tax, it could be proved by distinct evidence, that although the Sinking Fund had been abandoned, the real interests of the national creditor had not been sacrificed. The real question was, whether Parliament had really lessened the security which was pledged to him in maintenance of the public faith? The noble Lord said, that if Parliament had adhered perseveringly in a steady application of a Sinking Fund according to the doctrines propounded by Mr. Pitt, the public creditor would have possessed better security, and the country would have been freed from a vast amount of debt. [Lord *Ashburton:* Nearly the whole.] But it should be remembered that there were two ways of augmenting the security of the public creditor; first, by paying off a certain amount of debt; and, secondly, by increasing the amount of the security possessed by the creditor for that debt, by promoting the increase of the national capital. He contended that the latter course had been resorted to most successfully; for if any person would compare the property of this country in 1815, at the expiration of the last Property Tax, with the property assessed to the present Income Tax, it would be seen that the remission of taxation which had taken place since the period to which he referred, and which was complained of by his noble Friend, had given a stimulus to the industry of the country, and had led to an accumulation of capital, which gave to the public creditor an infinitely greater and more permanent security for his debt than he could have obtained by the continued application of a Sinking Fund. The increased capital of the country exceeded the most sanguine anticipations. He believed the present Government were acting in good faith when, at the time the Property Tax was imposed, they estimated that its amount would not exceed 3,700,000*l.* It had, however, produced 5,100,000*l.* That was its net amount; the gross amount was still more considerable. He found that the property in England assessed to the Income Tax in 181 did not exceed 74,000,000*l.*; and that amount included 18,000,000*l.* calculated on the property of persons whose incomes did not exceed 150*l.* a year; so that the proportion of English property liable to the present rate of Income Tax would in 1801 have only been 56,000,000*l.* sterling; but the value of the same property assessed to the present Income Tax was no less than 181,000,000*l.* sterling. He was aware that a considerable proportion of that increase was, in fair reasoning, to be traced to other sources besides the remission of taxation; but he was satisfied that it would not be contended that the property of the country could have accumulated in such a ratio, if that property had remained subject to the pressure of taxation necessary for an efficient Sinking Fund. Some of the strongest early advocates of a Sinking Fund had abandoned their first impressions; among them was included the honoured name of Lord Grenville. His latest work was devoted to this argument, and was published at a period when his experience was most matured, and his intellectual powers were at their very highest. It was then that he had given the strongest testimony to the necessity of abandoning the Sinking Fund system. When he heard from his noble Friend (Lord Ashburton) such desponding language as to the National Debt, and the resources of this country in war and in peace, he must remind their Lordships that, upon the best estimate that could be formed of the amount of property in this country assessed to the Property Tax, it amounted to no less than 243,000,000*l.* per annum, or between one-third or one-fourth of the whole capital of the Debt. Some corrections might doubtless be necessary in that statement, as property might be assessed under both Schedules A and B; but, after making all reasonable reduction, it must still be evident that the resources of this country, in war or in peace, were never greater, or more adequate to meet any exigency, than at the present time. But he was now compelled to refer to the observations of his noble Friend (Lord Stanley); and he must say, he was rather surprised that a debate which had been carried on with perfect calmness and with an entire absence of all party feeling, should have been made the occasion by that noble Lord of a gratuitous and unprovoked attack on his political opponents on that (the Opposition) side of the House. The noble Lord had been pleased to charge his predecessors in office with "scoring up" debt upon debt; and he thought, therefore, he might call upon them to wipe off these old scores; but he (Lord Monteagle) would recall to the recollection of the House the scores run up by the noble Lord and his Colleagues on the opposite benches. The noble Lords from whom that charge proceeded, or on whose behalf it was made, were, in fact, the parties who had contracted, and were now contracting, an amount of debt which posterity would be called upon to discharge, by the reimposition of the Property Tax. It was perfectly true, that during the years from 1837 to 1841 there had been a deficiency of public revenue; but in the antecedent years, from 1830 to 1836, there was a considerable excess of revenue over expenditure; and so far from the Public Debt of this country having been increased under the administration of those against whom the noble Lord's sneer was directed, it had, during their continuance in office, been diminished by no less a sum than 2,340,000*l.* If noble Lords would take the trouble of investigating the subject, they would find that, by what some persons might consider an inconceivable and mysterious coincidence, the years when there had been a deficiency of revenue were those in which bread had been at a high price; while the years of redundant revenue were those in which the price of bread had been low. Was this an accident, or was it cause and consequence? If the latter, as he believed, for a succession of bad harvests, producing high prices, no Government could be held responsible; nor did he think that a Government could justly claim credit for the consequences of a succession of good harvests. In some respects, the present circumstances of the country reminded him of 1825—a period of prosperous finance—a time, too, of unlimited speculation; but the time came when the pendulum took another swing, and the oscillation, both with respect to trade and revenue, was in the opposite direction. Undoubtedly, the trade of this country was at present in a prosperous state; and that prosperity he was ready to admit was, to a certain extent, attributable to the measures proposed by Her Majesty's Government. He thought their former Tariff was—with some exceptions to which he would hereafter call the attention of their Lordships—well considered. He would also say, that he considered the selection now made by Her Majesty's Ministers for the reduction of taxation was, for the most part, a great boon and incentive to the industry of the country. He was the last person either at liberty or disposed to controvert this. On two former occasions he (Lord Monteagle) had pressed upon their Lordships' attention the importance of repealing the duties on wool and cotton. Both those duties were now repealed, and he believed that no greater boon could have been conferred on the manufacturers of this country. They now said to the manufacturers of cotton and wool, as they had long said to some other manufacturers, "The law leaves you free; the Legislature is not so weak or presumptuous as to believe they have the means of protecting you from distress under all possible circumstances; you must yourselves guard against the recurrence of such distress—not by coming to Parliament for protection, but by the exertion of your own industry, the exercise of your own reason, and the frugal administration of the resources at your command." He also considered that the Government had acted most judiciously, not only in removing the duty on glass, but in doing so in a manner to free that important article from all Excise regulations. He believed that, under these favourable circumstances, glass would eventually become one of the great staple manufactures of this country. The proposed reductions, regarded in a commercial point of view, evinced the sound judgment of the Government; but they were bound to consider these questions financially. The question was not whether the proposed changes were in themselves beneficial, but whether the country could afford to make them. This, he feared, was not the case. If he had entertained any doubts on this point, they had nearly been satisfied by the speech of the noble Lord opposite. No individual who heard that speech could have failed to perceive that all the noble Lord's arguments tended not only to the present temporary enactment, but to the perpetuation of the Property Tax; and that perpetuation was advocated on grounds which he considered contrary to all principles of sound legislation, and more likely to lead to mischievous results out of doors than any arguments he had ever heard in the other House of Parliament. In reply to a statement of his noble Friend near him (the Marquess of Lansdowne), that the Tax was popular with those who did not pay it, the noble Lord opposite (Lord Stanley) replied that the question they had to ask themselves was not whether there were any complaints against the tax or not, but whether the exemption of the lesser properties was not a great relief; and he then went on to say that the danger of the present times was a great accumulation of property leading to inequalities of condition which it should be the object of Parliament to redress by the exemptions of the Property Tax. If that doctrine were good now, it would be good for the extension of the Property Tax to an indefinite period and to an indefinite amount, till it should swallow up and supersede all the taxes upon consumption. The argument proceeded upon what the noble Lord must admit, if he considered it, to be the most monstrous doctrine. It assumed that the accumulation of capital by the rich was an injury to the working classes; but this was a mischievous fallacy. Did the rich man either lock up or eat and drink and consume his gold? Rather, did not the accumulation of wealth in the one class represent the employment of capital and the wages of labour of another? Was it not new and dangerous to hear a Minister of England representing that those who possessed property stood in such a relation to the poor as to require some remedy to conduce towards equality? A more fatal doctrine to the prosperity and the peace of any country he had never heard advanced. He had already shown that, in referring to former times, the noble Lord, in stating the deficiency which he imputed to the late Government, had excluded from his view the fact, that though there had been deficiencies in some years, there was a surplus in other years, and that the surpluses exceeded the deficiencies. What had happened since? How had the present Treasury squared its accounts? The noble Lords appealed to a Parliament in which they exercised unlimited authority, to make up that deficiency of which they complained; the Parliament acquiesced in every one of their suggestions—let them see with what effect. The utmost calculation of deficiency which his political opponents had ever made was 10,000,000*l.*, and that was made up of the accumulation of successive deficiencies in successive years, refusing at the same time to give credit for surplus revenue. Assuming the facts as stated, that deficiency had been more than wiped off. He would ask what extraordinary receipts had there been at the disposal of the present Government? They had received actual remittances of bullion from China, to the amount of 2,600,000*l.*; they had also received in borrowed money, 2,477,000*l.*, so that they had received during the three years 5,077,000*l.* wholly beyond their own estimate of the Property Tax and the ordinary Revenue of those years. This was more than sufficient to have extinguished the imputed, though not justly imputed, deficiency. If there were still a deficiency at the conclusion of the first three years of the Property Tax, the late Government were not responsible for it; but other noble Lords who now brought forward this charge were much more responsible. [The Earl of *Ripon:* I did not make the charge.] No; the noble Earl did not. He was too prudent to make it—he left it to his more impetuous Colleague. This charge was reserved for the light troops—it did not come from the heavy company; but he was not taken by surprise, as his ear was familiar to the click of his noble Friend (Lord Stanley's) rifle, and he knew the kindness with which that weapon was used. But to return—the present Government had received 15,300,000*l.* from the Property Tax; so that the extraordinary sources, wholly independent of the ordinary revenue, had yielded 20,377,000*l.* in those three years. He might also add 3,000,000*l.* for the corn duties, which he was entitled to charge as extraordinary revenue against the noble Lords, because such was their aversion to corn as an article of revenue, that, though they received 3,000,000*l.*, they disclaimed all wish so to deal with the food of the people. Yet, even omitting those duties, there was left for the payment of what had been called the "old score" of 10,000,000*l.* a sum of 20,000,000*l.* which had been received by the noble Lords in three years as extraordinary revenue. How, then, had the present debt and difficulty accumulated? It was clearly not from those old scores. Why then was it? It was because their budgets had failed, because their calculations had not been realized. When the revenue had been productive, and had saved them, their success was contrary to all their calculations. They calculated a receipt of 3,000,000*l.* from the Property Tax; they had received 5,100,000*l.* What, however, had become of their other articles of revenue? What had become of their Timber duties? What had become of their Coal tax? What had become of their Irish Spirit duties? They were obliged to repeal them. [The Earl of *Ripon:* What then?] What then?—why, merely that they were entirely a failure. They had filled the gaols of Ireland with smugglers, though they had failed to recruit the Excise. What had become of their coal tax, which was defended on the highest possible grounds of geological science, as well as on somewhat novel economical and financial reasons, as well as from a love of home protection? The coal fields of England, it was said, required protection; and it was added that in our coal exports, experience had shown that we were creating a manufacturing competition against ourselves; yet notwithstanding these excellent arguments there was a Bill now on their Lordships' Table to repeal this very tax, and this tax was repealed by the very men who had improved it. What had become of other taxes of a somewhat similar nature? If there were a deficiency now existing, it could be clearly traced to the financial operations of the Government itself. The future deficiency of ordinary revenue was also their work. On the present occasion what did they propose to do? They repealed taxes, which, he admitted, were honestly and well chosen, if the country could afford to repeal them; and if he saw a chance that the Revenue could be made good at the end of the three years for which the Property Tax was now re-enacted, so as to allow its repeal at the end of that time, he would give his hearty concurrence to the measure before the House; but he foresaw such a repeal to be impossible. By the actual calculation of the Government, the surplus did not amount to 100,000*l.* Such was the miserable surplus to which they looked after taking credit for the full amount of the Property Tax; but a right hon. Gentleman of high experience, the late President of the Board of Trade, had given a comment on the Ministerial Estimates; and he distinctly stated that the loss on sugar, which the Government estimated at 1,300,000*l.*, would, in his judgment, produce a loss of a million and a half at the least. What then became of their surplus? Here it was converted into a deficiency by the admission of one of their late Colleagues. But the Government in their rashness went further; by way of making the deficiency still more certain, they gratuitously threw away 300,000*l.* a year of an increasing duty—the duty on auctions. Was there ever such a needless sacrifice of revenue? — and if the Revenue were sacrificed, it was done for the very reason that nobody had complained; he did think this one of the most extraordinary financial proposals ever submitted to Parliament. They were thus voluntarily creating a deficiency which, at the end of three years, must render the removal of the Income Tax inevitable. No financier, under such circumstances, could imagine it within the range of possibilities that the ordinary Revenue of the country within three years could be augmented by increased consumption to the extent of 5,000,000*l.* Unless there were a reduction of expenditure, which the noble Lord said was impossible, they must be prepared in 1848 to re-enact the Property Tax. But this is not all. He would ask would the Government have been enabled this year to carry the Property Tax with such facility if the proposal were not accompanied by a large concession of duties on articles of consumption? They knew very well that the popularity of the repeal of the duties on glass and cotton wool had given them Parliamentary strength for carrying the Property Tax. They would at the end of the three years be called upon for the same reason to make further concessions. Did the Government think that the people of 1848 would be so much more enduring and so much more enamoured of a Property Tax—that they would then consent to its reimposition without any equivalent, when those who preceded them have obtained those popular remissions? Let them be assured that there would be new demands in 1848, and that the tendency of the system they were adopting would be to bring upon Parliament a pressure for the transfer to direct, of much of what was now paid in indirect taxation. He might go a step further. He might suppose that there might supervene a time of financial pressure, combined with political excitement and irritation, and that the doctrines of the noble Lord opposite (Lord Stanley) for setting right the inequalities of property by a Property Tax, should then be in favour. A Property Tax of 7*d.* in the pound yields 5,000,000*l.* A Property Tax of 12*d.* in the pound would yield 4,000,000*l.* more. That sum it would be urged would enable them to repeal the window tax, and other taxes which pressed upon the people. The people of 1848, if they resembled the people of 1845, would turn to good use the arguments which had been adduced that night; and the Government of that day, to carry the Income Tax, would be called on to repeal these more unpopular taxes. He believed a calculation had been made, that 500,000 people only paid the Property Tax; and it was a very dangerous principle to lay down, that so small a proportion out of the millions of population in this country, could with justice or safety, under any system of legislation, be made the peculiar victims of taxation. If this should be done, it would be the poorer classes and the industrious classes who would fall the ultimate sacrifice to a false system; that was the great danger of converting indirect into direct taxation, and of turning taxation upon consumption into taxation upon property. In following this course we strike at industry itself by diminishing the fund which pays the wages of labour. The rich suffer, but the poor are ruined! Now, had or had not the Government wasted our resources? He did not speak then of the yearly Estimates; though, if he did, he must go beyond the limits of the noble Marquess on the subject of a reduction of expenditure; for when he compared the Estimates of the present year with those which the First Lord of the Treasury proposed in 1835, and found an excess of 4,000,000*l.* on the year's supplies amounting to 14,000,000*l.*, he could not but suppose that something might be done to give relief in that direction. Suppose, however, that there would be no such reduction, he said that there had been a wasting of our resources in the system of the proposed taxation. Could any one defend the Sugar Duties of the present year? Would the noble Lords themselves defend them next year? Must they not be abandoned next year? The Government were now gracefully abandoning their coal duties; they had previously abandoned their spirit duties, and this would give them a little practice on a small scale, preparatory to the abandonment of the Sugar Duties next year. By their own admission, they sacrificed a revenue of 1,300,000*l.* He was gratified to hear from the Ministers that the consumer got the whole benefit; but to what a singular conclusion had the noble Lord come, when he declared that tea and sugar, usually talked of together, were governed by different financial laws! He said, with regard to sugar, that all the benefit of the reduction of duty was received by the consumer; but that with respect to tea, some one or other in China or elsewhere, would reap the advantage should a reduction take place. Why the same law should not have the same operation with regard to sugar coming from foreign countries and to tea, he was at a loss to conceive; the political economy of the Treasury was not very consistent. The Revenue would lose 1,300,000*l.* by the Sugar Duties, according to the calculation of the noble Lord; it would lose 1,500,000*l.* according to the late President of the Board of Trade. Now, there was a very good authority, the late Mr. Deacon Hume, who, with Mr. M'Gregor, made declarations—one with respect to sugar, and the other with respect to timber. Mr. Deacon Hume said, he "could obtain a good million from sugar, without increasing the price to the consumer;" and the opinion of the present Secretary of the Board of Trade was, that he could increase the produce of the timber duties by 2,000,000*l.*, and this with benefit both to commerce and the consumer. The Government lost 600,000*l.* or 700,000*l.* by the arrangement of the timber duties in 1842, and they now lost 1,500,000*l.* by their Sugar Duties; so that they lost 2,000,000*l.* where, by the opinions of two very competent men, they might have made a profit of 3,000,000*l.*, instead of a loss. There was a difference of 4,000,000*l.* or 5,000,000*l.*, which of itself would be an indemnity for the Property Tax. The Government had now, made out or rather had produced, he admitted, a necessity for the Income Tax; and the way in which they dealt with sugar, timber, and corn, had diminished the national resources, so that they would not have the power of allowing that tax to expire in 1848. With respect to the three articles of corn, timber, and sugar, there seemed a fatality about them; and yet dangerous as these subjects were rendered to the Government, they were not left alone. In the pamphlet of Mr. Gladstone, the duties on corn, timber, and sugar, were said to have been reduced one-half by the measures of Her Majesty's Government. It certainly was not expected by the friends of the Government that those duties would have been so touched and dealt with; but there had been this loss to the Revenue without giving any commensurate benefit to the public. He was sorry that anything like contention should have entered into that discussion. He had been prepared to discuss it as a simple question of finance and of economical science; but he had been compelled to take arms in defence of his friends and his principles: his noble Friend, Lord Stanley, must be aware that if stones were thrown, there must be a little compliment given in return.

The Duke of *Richmond* said, he would not at that late hour occupy much of their Lordships' time; but after the speech of his noble Friend who moved this Bill, and the speeches of the other noble Lords who had spoken, he felt himself called upon to express his objection to the way in which it was intended to appropriate the money to be derived from the Income Tax; and also to express his objection to all those items from which his noble Friend took so much credit for removing the duty. He did not include the article of raw cotton; but alluded particularly to those articles which were not enumerated when the measure was first proposed. Of the article of divi-divi his noble Friend admitted that he did not know anything. That was precisely one of his grounds of complaint—that sufficient inquiry had not been made before these Customs' Bills were introduced, and that serious detriment to some of the greatest interests of the country was the consequence. His noble Friend justified the omission from the Queen's Speech of any allusion to the agricultural distress which every one admitted to exist. He said that for that distress he felt the greatest sympathy; and asked whether it was likely that the Members of the Cabinet, who were large landowners, would do anything calculated to injure the agricultural interest of the country with which they were so closely connected. He doubted not the sympathy of his noble Friend; he imputed to him and his Colleagues no motives; he believed they thought they were doing what was best; but he felt that they had not acted towards the agricultural interest with that wisdom which he should have expected, nor did that interest think they had been true to the principles on which they had come into office. It was said that the Income Tax was imposed in order to make taxation more equal, by reducing the taxes on particular articles. If that was the principle, why was the agricultural interest, except, perhaps, in the article of sugar, entirely overlooked? We had heard it said, forsooth, that the agriculturists would be greatly benefited by the reduction of the duty on glass. Did his noble Friend mean to say that he expected to see the day when the farmers could cover their turnip fields with glass frames for the purpose of getting a second crop? for that was the only way in which it appeared to him that they could be benefited by the proposed reduction. Another act of injustice, and which he should certainly make the subject of a motion, was in the application of the Income Tax to the farmer. If he paid 300*l.* a-year rent, it was immediately concluded that he derived a profit from his farm of 150*l.*, and was taxed accordingly, without even the power of an appeal. Now, everybody knew that the last two years had been most unproductive to the farmer in many parts of the country, and that, instead of profit, they in some instances absolutely sustained a loss. It had been stated in the House of Commons, and he now repeated, that one of a deputation who waited on Sir R. Peel, stated that if the right hon. Baronet would send a person to look at his farm and his books, he would prove to him that in 1843 he had lost 600*l.*, and in 1844, 700*l.*; and yet this man was called on to pay the Income Tax out of his supposed profits. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, whose business it was to screw as much money as he could out of the pockets of every one, had said, that if they gave to the tenant-farmers the right of appeal, they would lay out an enormous sum of money in manure one year, in order to show the small amount of their profits, and next year reap the benefit, when they were freed from the Income Tax. But the right hon. Gentleman knew little of the state of the farmers of the country when he supposed that they could command the necessary capital for such an outlay. Surely their Lordships would admit that farming was a trade, and if so, why exclude the farmer from the benefit of an appeal? It was not common sense, it was not justice to do so. He should vote for the third reading of this Bill, because he believed it impossible to uphold the public credit without it; but he hoped their Lordships would consent to his intended proposal for giving the power of appeal to the tenant-farmer, whose distressed condition he could not but attribute to the measures which had been passed within the last three years.

Lord *Brougham* said, he would not enter into the debate further than to make an observation upon the course it had taken, and the wearisome nature it had assumed, owing to no want of learning or of talent, of which indeed too much was exhibited in the nature of calculations and figures; but owing, in his mind, to the fact, that noble Lords, except his noble Friend (the Marquess of Lansdowne), seemed to have avoided the subject of debate—that subject being the Income Tax. A noble Lord who at one time had the care of the finances of the country, after spending a great quantity of oil, as well as ink, in the framing of a string of resolutions to be submitted to Parliament, was advised by a friend "to take a high ground and throw over all his calculations." So on this occasion he could have wished that his noble Friends had indulged less in figures, and applied themselves to the subject immediately before the House. His opinions upon the Income Tax were well known. He had voted for it for the first three years under the pressure of necessity, and he would vote for its continuance for three years more for the same reason—viz., that if they did not do so they would not be enabled to give that relief to the trade, manufactures, and commerce of the country, external and internal, which the labouring finances and the credit of the country rendered necessary three years ago. He was not prepared to say that an Income or Property Tax was a judicious arrangement to have recourse to as a permanent source of revenue. He was of opinion that countries which had adopted it as a prominent feature in their revenue, even to the extent of the fiftieth of a penny upon capital, ultimately suffered for it. Holland was a remarkable instance of this, and had been reduced by it, not to the verge of national bankruptcy, such as that from the jaws of which France recovered—but to much worse—to the bankruptcy of individual trades, from which it required next to a miracle to recover. The political and economical history of Holland, which continued to feel and labour from the impolicy of such a tax, proved this most prominently. The great difficulty in dealing with an income tax was to force it into the different kinds of labour, from that of the artisan to that of the professional man; and into incomes arising from capital as contradistinguished from labour, as well as the different kinds of capital, such as that employed precariously in trade, and that derived from land. It was easy to say that there ought to be a graduated scale; but those who had most deeply considered the question felt that an attempt at any such step must inevitably fail. He, however, thought if it became necessary to renew the Income Tax at the end of three years, that very considerable improvements might be made in it; and perhaps that alluded to by the noble Duke on the cross-bench might be looked forward to as one; for it was no doubt hard that those who traded in the land should be refused an appeal which was granted to all other traders. On the whole, though he was not prepared to say that the Property Tax should be made a permanent source of revenue, still he was of opinion that if any misfortune should arise whereby any breach of the peace of the world should take place, they should not necessarily be thrown back upon the evils of the funded system, or of borrowing upon Long Annuities; but they should have the power of appealing to the country through the Property Tax. One strong circumstance, as it appeared to him, in favour of this tax, was to be found in the readiness with which it could be applied; it was like the rack and pinion, only requiring that a small screw should be touched to produce as large a sum as was required; and he fully believed, if the honour of the country should be assailed—he cared not from what quarter the assault or menace might come, that every man in the country would screw up cheerfully and willingly, even to the amount of a tenth of his income. He regarded with horror and dismay the mere possibility of the peace of the world being broken by war; but, as he knew that all human affairs were liable to vicissitude, he might contemplate the possibility of such exertions being called for; and if they were, he should look forward with exulting confidence, not only to the capacity of the country to endure, but to the cheerful loyalty and patriotism and magnanimity with which the people of this country would bear the additional burdens. He believed that they would ever be ready so to act as effectually to repel all insults, to preserve their rights, and to maintain the honour of the nation. In a particular quarter of the world he saw an individual raised from the utter darkness of obscurity to most unexpected prominence, who maintained that dishonesty was the best policy—that the payment of debts was only required when it suited the convenience of the parties—and who pandered to the basest passions of the mob who had elevated him. The conduct of such an individual might render the reservation of such a power as the Income Tax of the utmost importance. He had the greatest confidence in the humanity and good sense of the American people; and he could see nothing in their past or present conduct which should lead him to abate the affection with which he had ever regarded them. He trusted that the sentiments which he had seen with disgust, and which he should have seen with dismay, if he thought that they were approved by them, would be repudiated by them; and, he was going to add, that they might be the only things which they would be disposed any longer to repudiate. If it should be found necessary at any future time to re-enact this measure, he trusted that every care would be taken to make it as little inquisitorial and painful as possible in its character; and that it never would be continued without some compensation in the way of a remission of those taxes which pressed most heavily on the industrious classes of the community. In accordance with the part which he had always taken upon this question, and for the reasons which he had just detailed, he was prepared to vote in favour of the Motion then before their Lordships.

The Marquess of *Normanby* remarked that it was not much to the credit of the House that the debate of to-night should have been characterized as desultory and wearisome; and certain it was that the noble Lord who had just sat down had not rendered it less rambling, although, perhaps, less tedious; but he could not help remarking, that in his opinion it was not peculiarly to the credit of the House, that on the very first occasion on which this question came on for discussion, involving, on the very moderate calculation of his noble Friend, at least 500,000 individuals, there should be such a profession of weariness. He felt so strong an objection to this tax, with the probability of its perpetuity, that he could not allow this last opportunity to pass without saying a few words upon it. The people, he was confident, had as great a distaste to it as ever they had; and he could only regret that the same spirit did not seem to animate their Lordships as had actuated them thirty years ago, when this subject was discussed. He believed, in spite of what had been stated, that there did exist in the country a strong feeling against this inquisitorial tax. The inequality of it had been acknowledged even by his noble Friend opposite; and he (the Marquess of Normanby) could speak to such cases of grievance suffered under the administration of this law, as ought to induce their Lordships deeply to consider the question before they consented to its renewal. It had been said that the boon granted by the other measures which had been passed in the way of repealing taxes, would compensate the people for the imposition of this tax. This was said when the tax was originally imposed three years ago. But had that been the result? Had the prices of articles of consumption been reduced to a sufficient amount—to compensate the people for the payment of an Income Tax? The great and magnificent boon which the poor man could derive from the reduction of the duty on sugar was only, calculating the amount of his consumption, about 2*s.* 2*d.* a-year. But this Income Tax operated in a manner against the poor man that more than equalled any benefit he might derive from the reduction of the price of his sugar. The principle of the Reform Bill was, that representation and taxation should always go together; and upon this principle it was that all persons under 150*l.* a year were exempted from the Income Tax, because they were not supposed to belong to that class of persons who occupied houses of 10*l.* a year, which was the sum fixed as the minimum for the elective franchise. But by this impost, not only were persons taxed who did not enjoy the franchise, because they lived in lodgings and were not 10*l.* householders; but in other ways this tax injured the poor man. It operated to check contributions to charitable institutions; it also compelled persons to reduce their establishments, and those who kept one servant were obliged to dismiss that servant. And how did this operate upon that class of persons who were exempted from the immediate imposition of the Income Tax? Why, by the dismissal of their sons and daughters from service, a greater expense was entailed upon the parents to maintain them, than any saving that could be effected by the reduction of the duty on sugar. The tax was, in its innate character, bad; and nothing but an imperative necessity could justify its imposition. That necessity had not been shown to exist; and therefore, though he should not trouble their Lordships to divide upon the question, he should certainly say "not content."

The Earl of *Radnor* would also say "not content." When this tax was proposed, three years ago, he entered his protest against it, as being unjust, inquisitorial, demoralizing, and impolitic. Such was his opinion at that time, and such was his opinion now; and therefore he should say "non-content" to the third reading of this Bill. He was afraid that at the end of three years, instead of the Government being able to take off this tax, it would not only be necessary to continue it, but to increase it. This the Government ought to know; and knowing it, they ought to have taken some measure to make the tax less unequal, less inquisitorial, and less oppressive.

Lord *Colborne* perfectly concurred with his two noble Friends who had just spoken, and he also should say "non-content."

Question put, and resolved in the affirmative. Bill read 3ª.

The Duke of *Richmond* proposed a clause as an Amendment, to give all persons the right of appeal in case of being over assessed.

Lord *Stanley* opposed the clause, and considered that it was not competent for their Lordships to introduce such a clause.

The Marquess of *Normanby* considered the refusal to adopt this clause as the crowning act of injustice connected with this measure.

Amendment negatived. Bill passed.

House adjourned.

The following Protest was entered on the Journals.

" *Dissentient* 1. Because I continue of the opinion respecting taxes on income detailed in a Protest entered on the Journals 21st June, 1842. And though the revival of activity in the manufacturing districts, owing, I believe, to the cheapness of bread, aided by the remission of certain taxes, has caused a return of prosperity which was not then anticipated, I believe this tax must have done much to retard and to repress it.

" 2. Because if scarcity shall again enhance the price of bread, and occasion distress during the continuance of this tax, it will greatly aggravate all the evils, and increase the financial difficulties which will then arise.

"3. Because in that case the financial circumstances of the country at the end of three years will probably be such as to render the further continuance of this tax indispensably necessary; and in the other alternative, and at all events, it may be found convenient to the Minister of the day, and may be justified by the same arguments as have been now used.

" 4. Because I see no ground to hope that before that period Parliament will be prepared to repeal the duties on the importation of corn, which might render its renewal unnecessary; or to modify it in such a manner as to make it a tax, not on incomes generally, but on incomes arising from fixed realized property only, in which case I should think it altogether unobjectionable.

" RADNOR.
" CLARENDON."

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, April 4, 1845.

MINUTES.] BILLS. *Public.* — 1°. Mutiny; Marine Mutiny.

2°. Glass (Excise Duty).

Private.—1°. Castle Hill (Wexford) Docks; Cromer Protection from the Sea; Liverpool and Bury Railway (Bolton, Wigan, and Liverpool Railway and Bury Extension); Lyme Regis Improvement; Southampton and Dorchester Railway; Dunstable and London and Birmingham Railway; Totnes Markets and Waterworks.

2°. Dublin and Drogheda Railway; Newcastle-upon-Tyne Coal Turn; Glasgow and Shotts' Road; Yoker Road; Shaw's Waterworks; Calton and Bridgton Police; Bridgton Municipal and Police; Blackburn Waterworks; Saint Helen's Canal and Railway; Saint Helen's Improvement; Wolverhampton Waterworks; Dundalk and Enniskillen Railway; Waterford and Kilkenny Railway; Lowestoft Railway and Harbour; Stoke-upon-Trent Market; Stokenchurch Road; Glasgow Bridges.

3°. and passed:—Sparrows Herne Road.

PETITIONS PRESENTED. By Mr. T. Duncombe, from Electors of New Woodstock, for Inquiry.—By Colonels Acton, and Verner, Captain Jones, and Messrs. Hamilton, Bateson, and S. O'Brien, from several places, for Encouragement to Schools in connexion with the Church Education Society (Ireland).—By Dr. Bowring, from Congregation of the Bank Street Unitarian Chapel (Bolton le Moors), in favour of Jewish Disabilities Removal Bill.—By Mr. Colville, from Brailsford and Tickenhall, and Mr. O. Duncombe, from Osmotherly, from several places, for better Observance of the Lord's Day.—By Sirs T. Acland, E. Filmer, and J. Hanmer, Colonel Acton, Captains Bateson and Plumridge, Dr. Bowring, Messrs. W. E. Gladstone, Brotherton, Cobden, Colville, Denison, Divett, O. Duncombe, T. Duncombe, Farnham, Hindley, Kemble, S. O'Brien, Ord, Palmer, Trotter, and E. Yorke, from an immense number of places (128 Petitions), against the Grant to Maynooth College.—By Mr. Brotherton, from Warrington, in favour of the Grant to Maynooth College.—By Sir E. Filmer, Mr. Mainwaring, and Mr. S. Wortley, from several places, against Union of St. Asaph and Bangor.—By Mr. Beckett, from Leeds, against Importation of Hill Coolies into the Colonies.—By Mr. Banks, Mr. O. Duncombe, Lord G. Somerset, Mr. Sotheron, and Lord Worsley, from a great number of places, for Relief from Taxation on Agriculture.—By Viscount Eastnor, from Farmers frequenting Reigate Market, for Repeal of Malt Duty.—By Mr. C. Buller, from Ann King, of Cripplegate, complaining of Decision respecting Property Tax.—By Mr. Farnham, from several places, in favour of the Allotment System.—By the O'Connor Don, from Killyon and Kilroran, for Repeal of the Charitable Donations and Bequests (Ireland) Act.—By Mr. Grogan, from three ex-Policemen of Dublin, for Alteration of Dublin Police Act.—By Mr. Bankes, from Wimborne and Plandford, for Repeal of the Game Laws.—By Mr. Antrobus, from Samuel Gordon, Esq., for Consideration of his Case.—By Mr. T. Duncombe, from Prisoners confined in Lancaster Gaol, for Abolition of Imprisonment for Debt.—By Sir T. Esmonde, from Wexford, for Alteration of Merchant Seamen's Fund Bill.—By Mr. H. Berkeley, Mr. Cobden, Mr. Holland, and Mr. S. Wortley, from several places, in favour of the Museums of Art Bill.—By Mr. C. Buller, from Liskeard, against Increase of Naval and Military Establishments.—By Sir T. Acland, Mr. Bankes, Mr. Colville, Alderman Copeland, Mr. O. Duncombe, Mr. R. Palmer, and Mr. Sotheron, from several places, against Parochial Settlement Bill.—By Mr. Antrobus and Sir John Lowther, from several places, for Alteration of Physic and Surgery Bill.—By Sir T. Esmonde, from Guardians of the Wexford Union, for Alteration of the Poor Relief (Ireland) Act.—By Mr. C. Bruce, Mr. C. Buller, Mr. Mitcalfe, and Mr. Strutt, from several places, for Diminishing the Number of Public Houses.—By Mr C. Bruce and Mr. H. Drummond, from several places, for Ameliorating the Condition of Schoolmasters (Scotland).—By Mr. Antrobus, from Newington and Christchurch, for Redemption of Tolls on Waterloo and other Bridges.—By Mr. Cobden, from William Wright, of Stockport, for Inquiry into his Case.

RAILWAY COMMITTEES.] Mr. *Stuart Wortley* begged to ask his hon. Friend the Member for the University of Oxford, who was Chairman of the Committee of Selection for the Appointment of Railway Committees, when that Committee would make any Report to the House?

Mr. *Estcourt* said, he was glad to have that opportunity of explaining to the House that if blame were to be attached to any quarter for the delay, it certainly did not lie with the Committee over which he had the honour to preside. The 20th of March, the day when the House separated for the recess, was the earliest day on which the Committee of Selection could become possessed of the First Report of the Classification Committee, and before they got that Report it was impossible that they could have taken any steps for the appointment of the Committees on Railways. He hoped the House would not suppose them guilty of any negligence since that Report came before them; and, in proof that they were not negligent, he might say, that if hon. Gentlemen would look to the Votes of the next morning, they would probably find the names of the Gentlemen whom the Committee had already selected published with them.

RAILWAY CLAUSES CONSOLIDATION (SCOTLAND) BILL.] Mr. *Labouchere* said, he wished to ask a question of considerable importance with regard to the mode of transacting business in that House. When the Railway Clauses Consolidation Bill for Scotland was before the House, he was assured that the learned Lord Advocate allowed a clause to be introduced of a very important description, at a very late hour at night, with but a very small attendance of Members present, and without any previous notice of the clause having been given to the House. The clause was to the effect that in every future railway to be constructed in Scotland, the Bill for such railway should contain a clause guaranteeing an indemnity to landed proprietors in Scotland for the loss by any turnpike road which may be affected by that railway. He believed the principle of the clause was one which had excited considerable attention among the public; but without offering any opinion as to the propriety of the clause or otherwise, he thought it was wrong that a Bill of which a Member of the Government had charge, should have a clause of such a nature introduced under the circumstances he had stated, not by the learned Lord himself, but by another Member of the House in his presence, without any previous notice of the clause having been given to the House. He wished to ask the learned Lord Advocate whether the facts were such as he had stated?

The *Lord Advocate* said, it was perfectly correct that in Committee on the Bill in question, at a late hour, and when there was no very large attendance of Members, the clause alluded to had been introduced. But the supporters of the Bill were not to be blamed if the House happened to be thinly attended at the time; and with respect to the clause itself, he had only to say that a similar provision had been introduced into the English Act. The clauses proposed were similar to those in all former Railway Bills, with the exception of one, and he believed on that there was a compromise.

M. MAZZINI.] Sir *C. Napier* wished to ask a question of the right hon. Baronet the Secretary for the Home Department. He had seen a letter in the public papers from M. Mazzini, in which he declared positively that he had had nothing to do with signing any warrant or order for the assassination of Emiliani and others, as was stated the other night by the right hon. Gentleman. That letter stated that it was proved before the proper tribunal that such order was a forgery, and that M. Mazzini was not at the place where it was alleged that this order was given. He wished then to ask the right hon. Baronet whether he still maintained this charge against M. Mazzini; and if he did not, whether he would follow the example of the hon. Member for Shrewsbury, who made an apology for an unfounded accusation against this individual as publicly as he made the accusation? He believed that no Englishman would tolerate a charge of being an assassin. Now M. Mazzini was a foreigner, and they were as much bound to make reparation to him in case of a wrong as to a native of this country.

Sir *J. Graham* regretted that the hon. and gallant Officer had not given him notice of his intention to ask this question. He should have thought that when the gallant Officer considered the nature of the question, that he would have done so. But, as he had not done so, he would at once answer it, and state the impression which had been produced on his mind. He had seen the letter of Mr. Mazzini to which the gallant Officer referred; and last night, in compliance with the wish of the hon. Member for Finsbury, he had laid upon the Table papers and despatches having reference to M. Mazzini between the years 1833 and 1844, and bearing on his statement. The House would recollect that when he made the statement to which the gallant Officer referred, he stated distinctly to the House, and he had fixed the attention of the House to what he then said—he stated that what he had to say with respect to the past conduct of Mazzini, was no founded on official documents, but on the authority of a newspaper circulated in France at the time, and which he then held in his hand, and from which he read a translation. He also stated, which he believed, that Mazzini had threatened to prosecute the *Moniteur* for the publication of this statement; but he had never proceeded against it for libel. The hon. Member for Finsbury had asked him whether he had ever read an article in the *Westminster Review* respecting M. Mazzini, in which there was a refutation of the charge against him. It was perfectly true that he had never seen that article. The hon. Member stated that a suit was commenced against another party for the publication of this statement, and the hon. Gentleman also stated that Mazzini did not succeed in his action against the author of this alleged libel. He knew no more than this of the circumstances of the case. He did not mean to say that he entertained a firm conviction that the accusation was well founded; but if he were asked whether he believed it to be unfounded, he could not give such an assurance to the House.

MAYNOOTH.] Mr. *Villiers* wished to ask the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government, on what day he proposed to proceed with his measure respecting Maynooth. He did so in consequence of a communication from a numerous body of Dissenters, who had met that morning on this subject, and who wished their opinion to be expressed, that they were anxious that the Bill should not proceed further for a fortnight or three weeks.

Sir *Robert Peel* said, that in consequence of the Resolution which was agreed to in Committee last night, and which was afterwards reported to the House, Mr. Greene was ordered to bring in a Bill founded on that Resolution. The Bill, which had already been prepared, was then presented, and read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time on Friday next. On that day it was his intention to move the second reading of the Bill.

Mr. *Cumming Bruce* was desired by a large religious community to express their anxious hope that all further proceedings would be stopped until the Bill had been before the country for a longer time.

CHARITABLE TRUSTS BILL.] Sir *G. Grey* wished to ask the right hon. Secretary for the Home Department a question respecting a Bill on the subject of Charitable Trusts. At the commencement of the Session, in answer to a question put by him, the right hon. Gentleman stated that it was the intention of the Lord Chancellor to introduce a measure on the subject, without delay, into the other House. Two months of the Session had now elapsed, and no Bill on the subject had been introduced; he therefore wished to know when this Bill would be introduced?

Sir *James Graham* replied, that he had seen the draft of the proposed Bill, and he hoped that it would be shortly produced.

LORD ASHBURTON — THE WASHINGTON TREATY.] Lord *J. Russell:* I beg to ask a question of the Under Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, and in doing so, I must preface it with a very few observations on a matter personal to myself. Within the last two hours I have seen a statement, purporting to have been made by Lord Ashburton, with respect to a speech I made in this House. Allow me to say, in the first place, that with Lord Ashburton I have always lived in habits of intimacy and friendship; that friendship began when we were both of the same opinion in politics, and the difference of political opinion which took place has never interrupted the cordiality with which we have always lived together whenever it has been my good fortune to meet Lord Ashburton; and nothing could be further from my wish in the discharge of a public duty than to do anything unkind to the noble Lord. But in the course of a discussion on the Navy Estimates, quite unexpectedly by me, there arose a conversation, which began with the noble Lord (Lord Palmerston) near me, with respect to the Treaty made by Lord Ashburton. The right hon. Gentleman opposite, the First Lord of the Treasury, having taunted my noble Friend and myself with the ill result of the discussion that had taken place on that subject, I referred to the matter, which I conceived to be accurately stated by me as my recollection served. Now, Lord Ashburton is said to have declared that what I stated must have been entirely a dream and a delusion on my part. It is necessary I should repeat what my statement was to the House. I said that some time before the present Government came into office, seeing that the negotiations had not reached a point at which it was likely that either party would recede from its pretensions, I thought it was advisable that there should be some arrangement made by which the forces of the two countries should occupy a certain position—that a provisional boundary should be agreed upon between the two countries; I instructed Lord Sydenham to endeavour to form some such agreement, and I did so in concurrence with my noble Friend the Member for Tiverton; that Lord Sydenham had informed me in his answer that he could not obtain from Mr. Webster terms other than those by which that part of the Madawaska Settlement on the right bank of the St. John should be evacuated; and I signified the approbation of Government to his refusal to carry on the negotiation on those terms. It is quite clear that Lord Ashburton thought I had alluded to a diplomatic negotiation for a permanent settlement of boundary; whereas I thought it was quite clear that I alluded to a provisional arrangement to be made by the Governor of Canada by means of Mr. Fox, our Minister at Washington. If it had been a diplomatic arrangement, instructions would have been given by my noble Friend near me, instead of myself. So far as to the misunderstanding which Lord Ashburton had of the nature of the transaction; but as to the matter of fact, all I wish is, that the Under Secretary for the Colonies will produce any papers there may be on that subject—any instructions I gave to Lord Sydenham, and his answer to me with regard to the Madawaska Settlement; and if there should be, as I believe there were, any instructions to Lord Sydenham approving of his conduct in that respect, they should also be produced. As I have already said, I spoke at the moment from memory, and not expecting any discussion on the point; but that I should have been totally mistaken on the whole of this transaction—that I should have given no instructions for the formation of such a temporary arrangement—and that Lord Sydenham should not have made that objection, seems to me impossible. I wish the hon. Gentleman to have the goodness to look for and to produce any papers that may be at the Colonial Office on this subject. I cannot think that the production of those papers would give rise to any further discussion.

Mr. *Hope* would look for the despatches to which the noble Lord referred, and there would be no objection to their production. At the same time, he might state to the noble Lord that the result of his researches yesterday was, that the noble Lord had been in error in supposing that he returned the answer stated to Lord Sydenham. He did not mean to say that the correspondence between the Foreign Office and Mr. Fox was not to the same effect as had been stated by the noble Lord; he only meant to say that he had not discovered any such despatch from the noble Lord to Lord Sydenham.

Lord *J. Russell:* What the hon. Gentleman has stated implies that a correspondence took place with respect to this provisional arrangement between Mr. Fox and the Secretary of State.

Mr. *Hope:* Yes.

Mr. *Hume* observed, that it was quite obvious, from what had been stated by a noble Lord elsewhere, that he was in possession of five despatches on this subject, which had not been laid on the Table of that House. He hoped the whole would be produced.

Sir *R. Peel* had no objection to produce these despatches, if it were found that no inconvenience would result to the Public Service. But as the matters in dispute had been settled by negotiation between this country and the United States, he did not see any public object that could be served by the production now of despatches relating to the very eager and grave contentions which took place during the pendency of the disputes. But whatever was necessary for the satisfaction of the noble Lord should be produced.

Viscount *Palmerston* did not think that the answer which the right hon. Baronet had given to his hon. Friend the Member for Montrose on the subject of the extracts from the despatches which had been read by Lord Ashburton in another place was altogether satisfactory. He did not know exactly the extracts to which his hon. Friend had alluded; but from what he had heard he understood that Lord Ashburton had read, in his place in the House of Lords, some extracts from certain despatches, for the purpose of showing that some statement that had been made by a Member of that House was erroneous. Now he would assume this to be the fact; and he would ask, when did Lord Ashburton get these despatches which were written to or from him? He must have procured them either as a negotiator, in which case they would be his own despatches, either written by him or sent to him, or they were despatches which had been obtained from the Foreign Office, or they were despatches which had been laid before Parliament. If they were despatches which had been laid before Parliament, he had nothing more to say. The noble Lord had a perfect right to use them. If the despatches were his own—were despatches which had come into his power as a negotiator, having been either written by him or to him; if these despatches had been furnished to him by the Government, then he would say, that, in the first case, he had no right to read his own despatches without having obtained permission of the Government; and if he had obtained that permission, or if they had been furnished to him by the Foreign Office, then it was the invariable practice of Parliament to lay such despatches on the Table, in order that Parliament might know what they contained, instead of being only made acquainted with them merely by extracts read in Parliament. The right hon. Baronet would see that it was not sufficient to say that the despatches merely related to a question which had been settled. The question was not in reality as to anything that had passed in the negotiations between the United States and this country; but it was to see if certain statements made in that House by persons formerly holding official situations were or were not erroneous, and whether or not those statements had been made for the purposes of deceiving.

Sir *R. Peel* had not understood the observations of the hon. Member for Montrose. When the noble Lord referred to these papers he was not aware that the noble Lord had referred to documents read elsewhere before he gave an answer. When he said that the papers asked for by the noble Lord should be produced, it must be considered that he meant, if there was no public objection, for he personally had no objection.

Mr. *Hume* had spoken of despatches which had been referred to by a noble Lord in another place, and which had not been laid before that House. It was only fair that they should be laid on the Table.

Sir *R. Peel* said, he would on a future day state whether the despatches could be produced as to the returns alluded to by the noble Lord.

BRAZILS.] Mr. *Milner Gibson* wished to ask a question of some importance of the right hon. Baronet on the subject of the present state of our relations with the Brazils. It was well known that our commercial Treaty with that country expired in the month of November last. Under the provisions of the Treaty British subjects residing in the Brazils were entitled to certain privileges, which were not possessed by the Brazilians, in reference to the disposal of their property by will, the English Consul taking care that in the event of the death of a British subject his property went to his heirs. The commercial Treaty expired in November last; and it was the general opinion that the privileges which had been enjoyed by British subjects had expired with it. A case had recently arisen in which considerable alarm had been felt as to the disposal of the property of British subjects dying in the Brazils, or dying in this country, and leaving property in the Brazils. He wished to ask the right hon. Baronet, first, if the Government had taken the matter into their consideration? Secondly, if Mr. Hamilton had made any communication to them on this subject? And thirdly, if he could hold out any hopes that the same privileges would be continued to British subjects in the Brazils which they had enjoyed previously to the expiration of the Treaty?

Sir *R. Peel* replied, that it often happened that the merchants of Liverpool and Manchester received earlier intelligence of matters of this nature than was received by the Foreign Office. The Government had not received any account of the transaction to which the hon. Gentleman referred; but he would make this general statement, that by the Treaty which expired in 1844, on the death of any British subject in the Brazils the administration of his effects devolved upon the British Consul, and not upon the Brazilian authorities. Her Majesty's Government had made a proposition to the Brazilian Government on the subject of the Treaty, and that stipulation was a part of the proposal which they had made.

BUENOS AYRES.] Mr. *Ewart* was desirous of making an inquiry on a subject on which he had troubled the right hon

Baronet (Sir R. Peel) before. It related to the existing state of discord between Buenos Ayres and Monte Video. His object was twofold: that British persons and British property might be protected, and that peace and commerce in that quarter of South America should be restored. He had been informed, on authority which he could trust, that the present state of affairs in the River Plate was an aggravation of the past. In the first place, the partial blockade of Monte Video had been declared a general blockade. In the next place, the commerce of the River Plate was closed to foreign vessels. Our ships could not proceed up the River Plate to Paraguay. Next, a duty had been levied, which virtually fell on foreign shipping at Buenos Ayres. On the vessels now there it might amount to several thousand pounds sterling. He understood also that the English and Scottish schools had been closed by the act of the Buenos Ayrean Government. The Scottish and English children were compelled to resort, if they went to any school, to the Buenos Ayrean schools. Lastly, the children of British subjects had been naturalized as Buenos Ayreans; consequently they were denaturalized as British subjects. His question, therefore, to the right hon. Baronet was, whether, under such circumstances, there existed (as he would not doubt there did) ample means for the protection of British persons and property in the River Plate, and whether there continued to be a prospect that this important quarter of the world would be speedily reopened to the commerce of Great Britain and of the world?

Sir *Robert Peel* said, that this was a most important question, and he could not say much more than he said on the former occasion when he was questioned on the subject. The English Minister had proceeded to Buenos Ayres; and he, with the Minister of France, would exercise all their influence to put an end to the war in those countries. He believed that the Representatives of England and France would adopt such steps as would insure the restoration of tranquillity. With respect to the protection of British property, there was now, or there would shortly be, a British force in the River Plate of six ships of war; this force would be sufficient to protect British property. With respect to the schools, the hon. Gentleman must have much more recent information on the subject than any that had reached the Government. They had not received any recent communication from the British Minister on the subject. As he understood the matter, last year an edict was issued by the Governor of Buenos Ayres, which professed to regulate the schools there; and the question now put to him was, whether certain British and Scotch schools in connexion with the British and Scotch churches there, were subject to this edict. The only answer which he considered necessary was, that the British and Scotch subjects of Her Majesty at Buenos Ayres had a right to have schools for the education of their children. If any such edict for the putting down those schools had been issued, the hon. Member might depend upon it that effective remonstrances would be adopted by the Government to get it rescinded. Of course, however, the Government could not interfere unless it appeared that the Buenos Ayrean Government trespassed on the rights of British subjects. The last question of the hon. Gentleman was also one of importance. It was as to the naturalization of the children of British subjects at Buenos Ayres. It appeared that the general law was this—That the son or grandson of a British subject born abroad was also a British subject. But he could not deny that children born in a Foreign State were not also subjects of that State. Such was the law in this country, for the children of foreigners born in Her Majesty's dominions were British subjects. If the children of British residents at Buenos Ayres were born out of that State, the authorities there had no right to make them Buenos Ayrean subjects. If, however, the children of British subjects were born at Buenos Ayres, and continued to reside there, they obtained the rights of citizenship in that place; but with those rights they also had imposed upon them the burdens and duties of citizens and were liable to the law of Buenos Ayres.

THE OREGON TERRITORY.] Lord *John Russell* said: I do not think that it is necessary for me to make any apology to the House for calling its attention to the important subject of which I have given notice; but I must apologize for the very imperfect manner in which I feel that I shall discharge the duty which I have undertaken, on account of the difficulties connected with the subject, which is at once intricate and obscure. It is not my intention or wish to call in question the general foreign policy of the Government, or the policy which they may have adopted in this particular question which I intend to bring under the consideration of the House. I asked, in a former Session of Parliament— I think two years ago — a question as to the state of the negotiations between this country and the United States with respect to Oregon. The hon. and learned Member for Bath also asked a question on this subject during the present Session; and I understood that he intended to bring the subject before the House, if he had not felt that he might embarrass the Government by so doing. I should have pursued the same course as the hon. Gentleman, had it not been for the inaugural address of the new President of the United States, which appears to me to take the question out of the ordinary course of diplomatic relations, and to require some notice on the part of Members of this House. If this question had been left to be negotiated by the Executive Government of this country, and the Executive Government of the United States, whatever might be the degree of confidence which I repose in the foreign policy of the present Administration, I never would have interfered; but should have waited until the conclusion of the negotiations before I gave any opinion as to any Treaty or Convention made by the authority of the Government of this country. But, if I am not totally mistaken, the President of the United States has adopted a course entirely new—a course which, if not met by something unusual on our part, threatens to embarrass all intercourse between the Executive Departments of nations. It leaves general questions between nations to be decided by the popular addresses of the head of the Government, and by popular action of the people under that Government, irrespective of all considerations which should induce the two Governments to preserve relations of peace and amity, and settle every question of difference between them, on the one hand with regard to national honour and dignity, and with regard, on the other, to the preservation of the rights of the subjects under their rule. I must first mention—although it is a subject to which I intend to make no more than a passing allusion—that this same Message, amongst other subjects, alludes to a vast increase of the territory of the United States — it alludes to the annexation of Texas; but I shall say nothing of the extent of that country, and of its limits and boundaries, for they are still left undefined, and may yet be carried forward far beyond what are at present understood to be the limits of the independent State of Mexico. It covers at all events a vast extent of territory of a most fruitful soil, and fertile in the production of cotton, and all the other descriptions of produce which are usually to be found in those climates—an extent of rich country to be cultivated, as no doubt it will be, by slave labour, and extending, as it will, over a large area of that portion of the globe. I allude to this subject in passing in order to show that the present policy of the Government of the United States tends towards territorial aggrandizement; and this, let me here remark, is a course of policy in direct contradiction of the policy which was declared to be that of the United States by Mr. Webster when he was Secretary. He declared that, in his opinion the true policy of the United States was to increase her strength and power, not by territorial agrandizement or advantages, but by a cultivation of the resources which were possessed by her in the immense territory already included in the United States. I believe that such a policy as that contained in the declaration of Mr. Webster would be not only more likely to preserve peace with Foreign Powers, but also to advance the interests of his own country. That policy, however, has been now evidently departed from. I do not know what course Her Majesty's Government will take with respect to that altered policy; but from the answer of the Secretary for Foreign Affairs to the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society, I understand that communications have been sent to the United States, to Mexico, and to Texas, on the subject, I suppose, of what is part of the now declared policy of the United States. The next portion of the Message to which I will call the attention of the House is as follows:—The President, after observing—

> "I shall, on the broad principle which formed the basis and produced the adoption of our Constitution, and not in any narrow spirit of sectional policy, endeavour by all constitutional, honourable, and appropriate means, to consummate the expressed will of the people and Government of the United States, by the re-annexation of Texas to our Union at the earliest practicable period;"

goes on to state in another paragraph certain views with respect to the Oregon Territory, and that paragraph I feel it necessary to read :—

> " Nor will it become in a less degree my duty to assert and maintain, by all constitutional means, the right of the United States to that portion of our territory which lies beyond the Rocky Mountains. Our title to the country of the Oregon is clear and unquestionable; and already are our people preparing to perfect that title by occupying it with their wives and children. But eighty years ago our population was confined on the West by the ridge of the Alleghanies. Within that period, within the lifetime, I might say, of some of my hearers, our people, increasing to many millions, have filled the Eastern valley of the Mississipi, adventurously ascended the Missouri to its head springs, and are already engaged in establishing the blessings of self-government in valleys of which the rivers flow to the Pacific. The world beholds the peaceful triumphs of the industry of our emigrants. To us belongs the duty of protecting them adequately, wherever they may be upon our soil. The jurisdiction of our laws, and the benefits of our republican institutions should be extended over them, in the distant regions which they have selected for their homes. The increasing facilities of intercourse will easily bring the States, of which the formation in that part of our territory cannot be long delayed, within the sphere of our Federative Union. In the meantime, every obligation imposed by treaty or conventional stipulations, should be sacredly respected."

Now here we have in the first place an assertion that the claim of the United States to this territory is " clear and unquestionable ;" and in the next place, we have the assertion that its title to the territory was perfected by emigration and settlement on the part of the United States ; and, thirdly, we have the assertion that before a very long time the institutions of the United States will be extended to the Territory of Oregon, and that a new State, forming part of the Federal Union, will be established in that territory. After this appeal to the people of the United States on the subject of the Oregon Territory, I wish —indeed, I feel myself compelled to do so— to call the attention of this House and this country to the real state of the question, and to how far the President of the United States is justified in declaring that the right of the United States to that territory is " clear and unquestionable ;" and how far he is justified in declaring the intention which he has announced, without the sanction of those treaties and conventions which are usually the bonds of peace between independent States. Before discussing this question, I must tresspass for a short time on the attention of the House, in order to inquire into the usual modes by which the right to every territory has been hitherto maintained and established, and the manner in which such questions have been settled. With respect to uninhabited territories, in the first place, there may be a title by ancient discovery — in the second place, there may be a title by treaty or convention —and, in the third place, there may be a title by discovery, and an ancient or recent perfection of the title by settlement and occupation. With regard to those various modes of establishing a right to a territory, I shall now address myself to the claims of the United States to the Oregon territory, so far as I can gather them from Reports made by Committees of the House of Representatives so long ago as the years 1825 and 1826, and from all that I have since seen put forward on the subject. In the first place, with regard to the claim founded on ancient discovery, it appears that the United States claim all the rights which may be derived in that way from the discoveries of the Spaniards. If I were to go into that question, I should say at once that a claim founded on discoveries at the end of the sixteenth century—that merely visiting a coast, landing for a few hours at a particular portion of it, and which title was not in any way perfected by occupation or settlement for more than two centuries afterwards—that neither on the part of this country or the United States could such a title be maintained to be effectual. If I were of a different opinion on this subject—if I thought otherwise than I do with respect to such a title—I would discuss the question of how far the President of the United States could maintain such a title ; and I think I could show by a tenable argument that this country had a title on the ground of ancient discovery ; and that the discoveries of Sir Francis Drake in 1578, as compared with the discoveries of Juan de Fuca, and other Spaniards, in 1592, and the commencement of the seventeenth century, would establish that title on the part of England. Sir Francis Drake went at that time as far north as the latitude of 48 ; and although I am not, as I before observed, going into the question of that title, I think I could show that we should be able, without farther evidence, to make a valid claim to a title founded on that claim of ancient discovery. The next description of title to which we come is that founded on treaties and conventions; and here I will, before I proceed further, state what I conceive to be the position of the Oregon Territory. It may be considered to be the territory which extends east and west between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean, and which extends north and south between latitude 42 and latitude 54. So far as I can ascertain, this large territory does not appear to have been a subject of stipulation between any of the countries of Europe until late in the last century. It is said, I believe, by the Americans, that the Treaty of Utrecht referred to the territory; but I have found nothing, either in that Treaty, or in the history of the negotiations which preceded it, to show that it was so mentioned. It has been said, on the part of America, that the Treaty of 1763, at the Peace of Paris, gave to France or Spain, to one or the other—for it has been put variously by American claimants—all the territory to the west of the Mississipi. I have carefully read all the negotiations, which took place previously to the Peace of Paris, as well as the Treaty itself, made in 1763. I have recently had occasion to read the Despatches of the Duke of Bedford and the Duc de Choiseul with respect to that Treaty; and it appears to my mind quite clear, from all those documents, and from the Articles of the Treaty which was afterwards agreed to, that the only question at that time between France and England was the settlement of the Territories of Canada and Louisiana. The whole of Canada was given by that Treaty to England—the Territory of Louisiana was given to France, with the exception of Mobile, part of the Territory of Mississipi, and New Orleans. There was also a stipulation with respect to a district between the Mississipi and the Iroquois in the Treaty; but in no part of the Treaty itself, or the Despatches which preceded it, is there any reference to the countries beyond the Rocky Mountains as a territory to which either country had a claim. The only question then to consider, in order to ascertain if the Oregon Territory was included in that Treaty, was whether Louisiana included any of the territory to the west of the Rocky Mountains. In an able pamphlet, written by Mr. Falconer, an extract from the Instructions of Louis XIV. to Monsieur Crozat is given; and from those instructions it does not appear that Louisiana extended at that period so far as the Rocky Mountains—it extended to the countries washed by the Mississipi, the Missouri, and the Ohio; and it was placed under the authority of the French Governor General of Canada. That is the description given by Louis XIV. in his instructions; and it does not appear from them that Louisiana comprised any territory extending beyond the Rocky Mountains; nor does the Treaty of 1763, either in express terms or by implication, refer to any place beyond the Rocky Mountains. We come at a subsequent period to claims which are made, not from ancient discovery, or under any Treaty between France and England, settling the title to Canada or Louisiana, or to any of the provinces on the Atlantic side of the great chain of mountains, but from the discoveries of navigation, and settlements made in consequence of those discoveries upon the coast of the Pacific. In 1789, a question arose with regard to the settlement of Nootka Sound, which was held by English subjects, and which settlement was disturbed and destroyed by the Spaniards, under Captain Martinez. The English Government, on that occasion, demanded redress; and the result of that demand on the part of England was, that the redress which was demanded was given; the settlers were restored to their possession at Nootka Sound, and a Treaty was agreed upon with regard to the future occupation of that district. The claims of England and Spain to settle in that district were defined and agreed to by that Treaty; and I find in *Hertzlett's Commercial Treaties*, that the 5th Article of the Treaty to which I am now referring, which was signed at the Escurial on the 28th of October, 1790, secured those rights. By the 5th Article of that Treaty, it was agreed, that—

> "In all other parts of the north-western coasts of North America, or of the islands adjacent, situated to the north of the parts of the said territory already occupied by Spain, wherever the subjects of either of the two Powers shall have made settlements since the month of April, 1789, or shall hereafter make any, the subjects of the other shall have free access, and carry on their trading without disturbance or molestation."

Now, that Article shows clearly that all the part north of the part of the coast occupied by Spain, was a part which was subject to be settled by either Power, and that no separate jurisdiction was claimed by England or Spain over the portion of the country to the north of that part of the coast. Spain was allowed to carry on trade in the district to the west of the British settlements; but she was allowed no jurisdiction over the subjects of England in those settlements; and the only part which was left indefinite by the Treaty was, the part of the coast occupied by Spain. It does not appear that at the period of the Treaty there were any settlements to the north of latitude 40 in the occupation of Spain, or at the Columbia River, or Nootka Sound, or in any of the districts adjacent to the Columbia River. Such, then, is the state of the Treaties between Great Britain and Spain on that subject; and it is manifest that it remained open to Great Britain or Spain to perfect their discoveries on the coast by making such settlements as they thought proper. It appears that Captain Vancouver was sent out by the British Government after the settlement, and that he was ordered to discover the line of coast and to take possession of certain parts which were laid down in his instructions; and we come now to another part of the claims of the United States. The United States put in a claim to this territory on the ground of discovery, and that is founded on transactions which I shall proceed now to relate. It appears that a merchant vessel, called the *Columbia*, the commander, named Grey, discovered an inlet, which he supposed to be the inlet of a river, and that he spent some days there in May, 1792, those days having been spent partly at anchor, and partly in endeavouring to ascertain the limits of the bay which he discovered. After a few days spent in that manner, the vessel again sailed into the Pacific Ocean; and I think it is very clear that the commander of the merchant vessel, Captain Grey, thought he was mistaken in supposing that he found the inlet of a river, and having endeavoured to penetrate the river, he was obliged to return, after a few days, without having discovered the river. Shortly after Captain Grey left the coast and sailed into the Pacific, Captain Vancouver arrived at the inlet, and sent his lieutenant, Mr. Broughton, to explore the river. Lieutenant Broughton was more successful than Mr. Grey, and he discovered the entrance of the Columbia river, and went up ninety or one hundred miles—he remained several days in making his explorations, and having discovered the territories on the banks of the river, he returned to the ship. Captain Vancouver then took possession of the territory, and the coasts adjacent to Nootka Sound, in the name of His Majesty the King of England. And here we have something like a valid title established on the principle of taking possession of the territory, not by the casual visit of a merchant vessel, but by an officer in the uniform of his Majesty the King of England. The possession was thus taken for the purpose of occupation and settlement. These, then, are the most important transactions which took place with respect to the title to this territory. There are other transactions, however, on which the Committee of the House of Representatives founded a claim; and these are not, in my opinion, sufficient to sustain a valid title. It appears that France, in 1803, made a cession of Louisiana, and that all the rights which France possessed in Louisiana passed with that cession to the United States. There was a subsequent Treaty, in 1819, by which the Floridas were given up to the United States, and that all the rights which Spain possessed in connexion with that territory were also given up. But I must here remark, that unless France or Spain had rights over a territory in America, they could not give them up by a Treaty. It is manifest that no cession could give up to the United States, on the part of France or Spain, a right which neither of these countries possessed. It is stated in a pamphlet which I have here, and which is an American publication, that the purchase of Louisiana included all the lands on the east side of the Mississipi not then belonging to the United States, as far as the great chain of mountains which divide the waters running into the Pacific, and those falling into the Atlantic Ocean; and from the said chain to the Pacific Ocean, between the territory claimed by Great Britain on the one side, and Spain on the other. To this I say, that unless Lousiana did include any part of that territory to the west of the Rocky Mountains, there can be no valid claim. But Louisiana never did include any such territory; therefore this article is useless. But suppose it were a valid article, it would only give them the territory between what was claimed by Great Britain on the one side, and by Spain on the other. It does not say "to what Great Britain has made good her claim, or which is acknowledged to be hers;" but only "that part which is claimed by Great Britain." With regard to that cession by Spain, I should think it could only be a cession of any rights which Spain may have held under a convention with Great Britain relative to Nootka Sound. That was a convention between

Spain on the one side, and Great Britain on the other. The two Powers afterwards went to war; and it has been said I know by some, arguing, I believe, on the part of the United States, that that war took away any title Great Britain might have held. There is no reason for any such assumption. But the fact is, that convention was renewed at the peace in 1814, between this country and Spain. Therefore, the United States, by any agreement they made, any Treaty they entered into in 1819, could only inherit and succeed to such a title as Spain held in 1814. Now, what was that title? It was a title to settle in and to trade to parts in which English subjects had already settled and traded, to settle and trade for themselves. Well, then, I come to the third question, which I think the most important of all these modes of establishing a title—I mean the title of occupancy and settlement. The question for the House now to consider is, whether there is what the President of the United States calls "a title clear and unquestionable" to be made out by occupation and settlement. I have already stated that a British settlement was formed at Nootka Sound, and I have to add that subsequently settlements were established by the Hudson's Bay Company in various parts of the Oregon Territory. The United States, on the other hand, established a settlement in that district; and I will tell you what was the fate of that settlement, as described by an American writer, Mr. Farnham, who is also very anxious to stand up for the claims of America to this territory. It appears that in 1810 or 1811, a settlement was established in a territory which was called Astoria; and with the proceedings connected with the origin and subsequent fate of those settlements or forts, we have all been made perfectly acquainted by the beautiful manner in which their history has been related by a gentleman, whom I am happy to call a friend of mine, Mr. Washington Irving. Mr. Astor, in 1810 or 1811, made a settlement which he called Astoria, at the mouth of the Columbia River. Not long after the settlement was formed by Mr. Astor, a war broke out between England and the United States, and a question arose as to what should become of Astoria, as those who were residing there feared, as they naturally might, that a maritime expedition might be sent out from England to attack the settlement. In consequence of this fear on the part of those in the settlement, the American company took means for the sale of the settlement, and the sale was accordingly effected to the North West Company. After the Treaty of 1815, however, some misconception took place in this country with respect to the settlement which was sold; and Lord Bathurst thought it right to restore to the subjects of the United States the possession of the settlement under an Article in the Treaty of 1815, which Article declared "that all possessions of the United States which had been captured by this country should be restored to the United States." It was urged by the North West Company, who bought the settlement, that the settlement had not been captured by England, but had been regularly sold to them. It appears, however, that in point of fact the settlement was, after the war, given up to the agent of the United States, and that in point of fact the United States did not establish a new settlement after it had been so given up to the United States' agent. It appears, according to the statement of Mr. Farnham, that the two British companies which were established in this territory, the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay, soon after this period, were joined together by an Act of Parliament, and became one company; and they then built a fort at the mouth of the Columbia River, which they called Fort George; and Mr. Farnham describes this fort as having been presided over by a gentleman, on the part of the Hudson's Bay Company, who was possessed of great influence over the people, and was, as Mr. Farnham states, called the King of the Indians in that territory, and was the only person in authority there. Mr. Farnham gives an account of another American company which was formed by the United States, and which was called by them the Pacific Fur Company; but that company was a total failure; and it failed not on account of any violence or aggression on the part of British subjects, but because the Hudson's Bay Company entered on their trade with a larger spirit of enterprise and more extended views; that they understood the mode of conducting trade in a better manner; and that their particular operations were in consequence more successful and on a more extensive principle. The effect of this superiority was, that the Pacific Fur Company sold out their settlements to the Hudson's Bay Company. What account does Mr. Farnham give of the Hudson's Bay Company, though all the time complaining that any British subject should settle in those parts, and above all, that Americans should be subject to any authority exercised by Englishmen? He says,—

> "There are no less than eighteen settlements or ports in this part of the territory of the Oregon. There are several along the River Columbia. One part called Vancouver, contains a great number of people within a sort of stockade or entrenchment. There is also a farm of 3,000 acres well cultivated. The inhabitants dwell in a village, and are subject to the authority and control of the Hudson's Bay Company."

He describes all their settlements to be in admirable condition. He says,—

> "While they give a better price for their furs, they bargain with the savages more advantageously to the Indians than any other persons can do for the manufactured goods and various articles they sell."

And I like to quote these American authorities, because they bear a high testimony, not only to the intelligence, but to the integrity and benevolence of this Company in these transactions. We well know the story, so terrible in the history of American civilization, that civilized people have prevailed upon savages, by giving them intoxicating drinks, to part with such goods and furs as they possessed, and could part with; and at the same time they brutalized these unfortunate savages by the use of rum and brandy, which they thus sold to them. Now, mark what is said by a Lieutenant in the American service,—

> "The Hudson's Bay Company have done every thing possible to prevent such transactions on the part of the agents of their Company with the Indians with whom they are concerned. And although they have in their stores large quantities of rum, they are not permitted to be sold to those savages. When a ship came into Columbia laden with spirits, the Company at once bought the whole cargo, in order to prevent the degradation and demoralization of the Indian character by the immoderate and excessive use of these spirits, which has been the case formerly."

We are told by the authority which I am now quoting, that the Hudson's Bay Company did every thing in their power, every thing that was possible, to prevent the infliction of the evils produced by these intoxicating drinks upon the Indians; and that although they have large stores of rum in their settlements they do not permit it to be sold to the savages. Such is the mode in which they carry out their views, that at one time, when a ship arrived in the Columbia river, laden with spirits, they bought the whole cargo, in order effectually to prevent the injury to the Indians which always was produced by the immoderate use of spirits. Such is the high character of the Company—such is the extent of their operations—and such is the spirit in which their operations are carried on. It is stated on good authority that there are 20,000 persons living in the Oregon Territory, and that scarcely 100 of these are citizens of the United States; whilst, on the other hand, the Hudson's Bay Company have many settlements in the territory. I know not what the value of the fur trade may be, but it is obvious that it must be a trade of considerable value. There are other considerations, however, which attach importance to this question. The Columbia is the only port, I believe, on that coast, which is, I believe, a very dangerous coast; whilst, in order to show the extent of the river, it is enough to state that it is 1,600 yards wide, at a distance of 90 miles from the mouth. It is obvious that the increase of trade which must take place between this country and China will render it more important, as that is the only port on that part of the coast. There may be one established near Nootka Sound; but it is not, I believe, approachable, and is surrounded by high mountains; and probably will not for hundreds of years, if even then, be made available. I have now given to the House an account of the transactions which relate to this difficult subject; and the result is, that so far as ancient discovery establishes a claim, England has a superior claim to the United States. With regard to the question of treaty or convention, the United States have no claim whatever; nor have they any claim upon the territory on the ground of settlement, occupancy, or trading, on the part of their subjects. With respect to the question of recent discoveries and occupation, it appears that there was a perfect discovery and possession under the authority and sanction of our Government, and the settlement consequent thereon; and, therefore, it appears to me, that on these grounds also this country has a claim to the Oregon Territory stronger than the United States. Captain Vancouver took possession of the coast, and an officer under his command went many miles up the river; and English subjects belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, going from Canada, are, by their skill and enterprise, carrying on traffic of great importance in that territory. Sir, having stated in this manner the general nature of these claims, I will now allude to what has been done in the way of negotiation between this country and the United States. What I am going first to allude to is an important negotiation that took place in London, between Mr. Rush, on the part of the United States, and Mr. Huskisson and Sir Stratford Canning, acting under Mr. Canning, on the part of Great Britain. Propositions were made by Mr. Rush, on the part of the United States; and it was then alleged, with reference to a declaration of the President of the United States, that no colonization should thereafter take place on the American Continent. This claim was peremptorily denied by Mr. Canning and Mr. Huskisson. The claim to the whole of the Oregon Territory was as peremptorily denied. At the same time, with a proper appreciation, as I think, of the value of a good understanding between the two countries, Mr. Canning authorized Mr. Huskisson to propose a compromise. A line was agreed to be carried to where the 49th degree of north latitude intersects the Rocky Mountains, and to be carried on beyond that point to a branch of the Columbia River called the M'Gillivray, and thence on to the main stream of the Columbia, and that the river Columbia was then to form the boundary of the territories of the two countries. This was giving a very considerable territory to the United States. It was giving them a valley, watered by a river as large as the Columbia, where it joins the M'Gillivray, called the Willoughby, and all the territory to the south of the Columbia, and between the Columbia and latitude 42, where the British possessions commenced. That extent of territory is described as the most fertile, the best adapted for the cultivation of wheat and other valuable productions. It was proposed by Mr. Canning, that all that country should belong to the United States; but he was not ready to give up the territory or to give up the forts or settlements to the north of the Columbia, which, for the purpose of harbours, were important to the subjects of this country. It appears to me that this proposal was an equitable proposal on the part of Mr. Canning; and that considering the value of the claims which we have, and considering the claims which the United States have, to make the proposal was as fair as they could reasonably expect. It was, however, rejected by the American Government; and it became necessary to renew a convention that had been agreed upon, that both Great Britain and the United States should have power to trade, to occupy, and to settle, without claiming any right of sovereignty in any portion of that territory. Such, Sir, was the state of the question down to the present time; but at the present time we have a new circumstance, a new event upon which the whole question must be finally brought to issue. The President of the United States has made, as I have already read to the House, a peremptory claim to the whole of this territory. He has claimed the whole possession of it for the United States, and has in an unusual manner called upon the people of the United States, with their wives and children, to occupy that territory. That district is becoming, on account of the forts on the river Columbia, more important every year. After that statement of the President of the United States, I consider it impossible that Her Majesty's Government should not endeavour to obtain a speedy solution of this question. I am sure they will feel it impossible to allow the present undefined and unsettled state of relations between the two countries to continue, without incurring great danger that the people of the United States, acting upon the suggestion of the President, may endeavour to disturb British subjects in rights which they hold by virtue of Treaties, and may produce a state of things dangerous to the peace of the two countries. For my own part, I will say, in all moderation, that I am not prepared to affirm that this country ought to put forward any arrogant pretensions. I do not pretend to define—what it belongs to Her Majesty's advisers to define—the diplomatic proposals that should be made. I will not pretend to say what line ought to be laid down; but this I will say, that I do not think we can make any proposal which shall be less than the proposal made by Mr. Canning, with any regard for our own interests, or our own honour. I may be told that it does not matter if this rocky and barren territory should be claimed, or occupied, or taken by the United States. Yes, Sir, but I must say it does matter. It cannot be a matter of indifference, that a large territory to which we have a better and a juster title, should be yielded to what I must call a blustering announcement on the part of the President of the United States. It cannot be a matter of indifference that the communication between that country, west of the Rocky Mountains, and China, the East Indies, and the whole of South America, should be surrendered at once to a Foreign Power; but, above all, it cannot be a matter of indifference, that the tone or the character of England should be lowered in any transaction which we may have to carry on with the United States. With this feeling, then, I beg to thank the House for having listened to the statement which I have very imperfectly made as to the claim which this country possesses to that territory. I should have abstained altogether from entering upon this subject if it had been left to diplomatic negotiation between Lord Aberdeen and Mr. Buchanan, the Secretary of State for the United States. I feel the difficulty, and the objectionable course which I am myself pursuing; but I feel that it is forced upon me, and I feel that I can do what it is quite impossible for any Minister of the Crown to do—satisfy the House and the people of this country as to what are their rights. With this statement, therefore, I leave the matter in the hands of the Government of the country; and I will not express the smallest doubt that in all their proceedings they will duly consult the interests of the country and the honour of the Crown which they serve.

Sir *R. Peel* said: Sir, I cannot be surprised, and I must say I cannot complain, that the noble Lord should have taken this opportunity of delivering the sentiments which he has expressed on the present occasion. I think the noble Lord has justly defined the limits within which it is wise to introduce in a popular assembly, and pending the negotiation of measures materially affecting the important interests of two great nations—he has justly defined, I say, the rule which Members of Parliament should lay down to themselves in the exercise of their privileges. While negotiations are pending, through the means of persons regularly constituted with a distinct authority for that purpose, unless there be plain reasons for the exercise of their right, it is politic to abstain from the exercise of free discussion in popular assemblies upon topics of this description. It is so easy to excite public feeling in such assemblies, that, unless there be grave and cogent arguments for the contrary course, it is better to leave such matters to the discretion of those who are entrusted with the care of the honour and the interests of the country. But if the noble Lord has felt it his duty to depart from that course, I must say, he is not responsible for any of the consequences that may arise from that deviation. The noble Lord says, and says with truth, that, from the latest accounts, the President of the United States would appear, in this important matter, to have withdrawn it from the cognizance of the authorities to whom, up to a very recent period, it had been entrusted, and to appeal for a decision of the question to other authorities than those to whom the power of its adjustment was entrusted. The noble Lord has truly said that, in speaking of such a subject as this, a Minister of the Crown speaks under an obligation and an engagement from which the noble Lord, as an individual Member of Parliament, is free. I do not think it would be consistent with my duty to follow the noble Lord in a discussion of the grounds which the United States urged in regard to their claim. It would be impossible to do so without expressing, or at least without implying, opinions which I think it more consistent with my duty not to proclaim in this House. I shall only correct the statement of the noble Lord in one particular in which I think he was in error. The noble Lord, in speaking of the propositions made by Mr. Huskisson, under the authority of Mr. Canning, in 1827—[Lord *J. Russell* had referred, not to 1827, but to 1818]—I do not know whether the noble Lord is aware that the subject was under discussion at a subsequent period, in the year 1827, which discussion was carried on first by Mr. Huskisson, and afterwards by Mr. Grant. The last proposition, made on the authority of Mr. Canning, was not what the noble Lord supposes. The noble Lord states that the last proposal made by the authority of Mr. Canning was, that a line should be drawn from the point where the 49th parallel of latitude intercepts the Rocky Mountains to a branch of the River Columbia called the M'Gillivray, and should continue down to where that river joins the Columbia and thence to the Pacific. The proposal made by Mr. Canning was, that in addition to this, the United States should have this further advantage—that in the harbour of Juan de Fuca there should be free access for American vessels, and that they should have a certain peninsula, comprising a considerable extent of land to the north of the Columbia river, but that the south of the strait should be ceded in sovereignty to the United States. That was the proposal made by Mr. Huskisson at the instance of Mr. Canning. I think it right to abstain from all further discussion as to the claims of the United States; but I feel it perfectly open to me to inform the House of the present general state of our negotiations with the United States. It may be convenient — at least to some Gentlemen—that I should shortly refer to a statement which I made the other night, in consequence of some observations made by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Bath. In the Convention of 1819, the Northern Boundary of the United States and of the British possessions was defined. The line was carried to where the 49th degree of latitude intersects the Rocky Mountains. No agreement was made with respect to the country west of the Rocky Mountains; but the Convention of 1819 gave a right of joint occupation, which was to endure for ten years. In the course of the year 1824 and the year 1826, efforts were made by Mr. Canning to come to an amicable adjustment of the respective claims of the United States and this country. Those efforts, conducted under the auspices of men of great ability, were entirely unavailing. The proposals which we made to the United States were rejected by them, and the proposals which they made were rejected by us. At the expiration of the term of ten years the Convention would expire. A new Convention was, therefore, entered into in 1827, which was to be continued in force for a further term of ten years, from the Convention of 1819, with an additional proviso—and this distinguished the more recent Convention from the former one—that the Convention of 1827 was not to be necessarily determined by the lapse of time, but was to continue in force for an indefinite period, each party, however, having the power of terminating it at the end of a year, by giving notice the year before; and in that case the rights of the two parties were not to be prejudiced. That is the agreement under which we are now acting. That is the Convention which determines the relations between this country and the United States, with respect to this territory, which I will call the Oregon Territory. Thinking it of great importance that the causes of future differences should be prevented, by an amicable settlement of the respective claims, Mr. Pakenham, our Minister, was directed to enter into negotiations with the Government of the United States, for the purpose of effecting an amicable adjustment on principles which should be equitable and just to the two countries. Those negotiations were continued during the presidency of Mr. Tyler, and almost to the period when Mr. Pakenham entered upon his duties in the United States; and it may be useful that I should read the notice which was taken of the progress of those negotiations in a Message addressed by the President of the United States to the two Houses of Congress, at so late a period as the 3rd of December, 1844. The then President, Mr. Tyler, on the 3rd of December last, said:—

> "Since the closing of your last Session, a negotiation has been formally entered upon between the Secretary of State, and Her Britannic Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary, residing at Washington, relative to the rights of their respective nations in and over the Oregon Territory. That negotiation is still pending. Should it, during your Session, be brought to a definite conclusion, the result will be promptly communicated to Congress. I would, however, again call your attention to the recommendations contained in previous Messages, designed to protect and facilitate emigration to that territory. The establishment of military posts at suitable points upon the extended line of land travel, would enable our citizens to migrate in comparative safety to the fertile regions below the Falls of the Columbia, and make the provisions of the existing Convention for the joint occupation of the territory by subjects of Great Britain and the citizens of the United States more available than heretofore to the latter. These posts would constitute places of rest for the weary emigrant, where he would be sheltered securely against the danger of attack from the Indians, and be enabled to recover from the exhaustion of a long line of travel. Legislative enactments should also be made which would spread over him the ægis of our laws, so as to afford protection to his person and property when he shall have reached his distant home. In this latter respect, the British Government has been much more careful of the interests of such of her people as are to be found in that country, than the United States."

That refers to an Act passed by the Imperial Parliament in the year 1821, which Act introduced British laws in this disputed territory.

> "She has made necessary provision for their security and protection against the acts of the viciously disposed and lawless; and her emi-

grant reposes in safety under the panoply of the laws. Whatever may be the result of the pending negotiation, such measures are necessary. It will afford me the greatest pleasure to witness a happy and favourable termination to the existing negotiation, upon terms compatible with the public honour; and the best efforts of the Government will continue to be directed to this end."

This was the Address delivered to the two Houses of Congress by the late President Tyler, at so late a period as the 3rd of December, 1844. I think the general spirit of this Message must show a sincere desire to obtain an amicable adjustment of the claims by means of negotiation; but at a later period than the 3rd of December, a Motion was made in Congress for an Address to the Executive Government, praying that all Papers relating to the negotiations might be laid upon the Table of the House. It was necessary for Mr. Tyler to reply to that Motion, which he did at so late a date as the 19th of February, 1845, about a fortnight before the Inaugural Speech made by the present President, to which the noble Lord has referred; and what was the answer given by Mr. Tyler? It is as follows:—

"To the Senate of the United States.

"In answer to the Resolution of the Senate of the 11th of December, 1844, requesting the President to lay before the Senate, if in his judgment that may be done without prejudice to the public interests, a copy of any instructions which may have been given by the Executive to the American Minister in England, on the subject of the title to and occupation of the territory of Oregon, since the 4th day of March, 1841; also a copy of any correspondence which may have passed between this Government and that of Great Britain, or between either of the two Governments and the Minister of the other, in relation to that subject since that time— I have to say, that in my opinion, as the negotiation is still pending, the information sought for cannot be communicated without prejudice to the public service. I deem it, however, proper to add, that considerable progress has been made in the discussion, which has been carried on in a very amicable spirit between the two Governments; and that there is reason to hope that it may be terminated, and the negotiation be brought to a close within a short period. I have delayed answering the Resolution under the expectation expressed in my Annual Message, that the negotiation would have been terminated before the close of the present Session of Congress, and that the information called for by the Resolution of the Senate might be communicated. "John Tyler.

"*Washington, Feb.* 19, 1845."

I am bound to confirm this statement so far as relates to the amicable spirit of the negotiation. I cannot confirm it as to the progress of the negotiation, and the prospect of its speedy termination; but nothing could be more friendly than the spirit in which the late President declined to give the information required. On the 4th of March, 1845, the present President of the United States made that Inaugural Address to which the noble Lord has referred. It is right to state that since that Inaugural Address we have had no communication from our Minister in the United States. He wrote a letter transmitting the Address, but had not time to make any comment upon it. No diplomatic negotiations have taken place between him and the present Government of the United States that we are aware of. When I say that no such negotiation has taken place, I do not mean up to the present time, but at the date of the last accounts. We have had no direct communication; but I think it highly probable that Mr. Pakenham would have continued with the present Government the negotiations that were in progress; but since the resignation of Mr. Calhoun and the appointment of Mr. Buchanan as Secretary of State, we have had no communication. All we know is what is contained in the President's Address. I think it highly probable, as I have said, that the negotiations have been renewed, or rather continued, by Mr. Pakenham. At no distant period the result of that renewed negotiation must be known. I think it my duty not to despair of a favourable result of the negotiation; but in case there should be an unfavourable result, if the measure which we have already proposed should be rejected, and if no counter proposals should be made by the United States which are likely to lead to an amicable adjustment of these differences —if that should be the issue, it will then be the duty of the Government to lay upon the Table of the House all the communications that have taken place. I trust, however, still, that that will not be the case; I still hope that an amicable adjustment of the claims of the two countries may be made, notwithstanding the last Address of the President. I must, however, express my deep regret that while the negotiations were pending, the chief Executive Authority of the United States should, in a public Address, contrary to all usage, have referred to other contingencies than a friendly and satisfactory termination of these differences. Such a reference is not likely to lead to that issue which may tend to the maintenance of the amicable relations between the two countries which we desire to see—namely, an amicable, honourable, and equitable settlement of the differences which have arisen respecting this territory. I deeply regret, not only the reference which was so made, but I deeply regret the tone and temper in which that reference was made. As the subject has been brought under discussion — I think not improperly by the noble Lord—I feel it my imperative duty, on the part of the British Government, to state in language the most temperate, but, at the same time, the most decided, that we consider we have rights respecting this territory of Oregon which are clear and unquestionable. We trust still to arrive at an amicable adjustment—we desire to effect an amicable adjustment of our claim; but having exhausted every effort to effect that settlement, if our rights shall be invaded, we are resolved—and we are prepared—to maintain them. Perhaps that declaration may induce the House—although each individual Member has a right to participate in a discussion with reference to a public question—to abstain from a discussion in a popular assembly. Such, although it be a matter of right, might have a tendency to prevent that result which we must all desire—a satisfactory adjustment of the question; and I trust individual Members will be content to leave the matter where it is placed, in the hands of Her Majesty's Government.

Lord *John Russell* said, he had not been aware of the more recent proposals of Mr. Canning, to which the right hon. Baronet adverted, otherwise he should not have omitted to notice them. After what the right hon. Gentlemen had said, he should leave the matter where it was. He had made no Motion—he had carefully abstained from making any Motion; and after what the right hon. Gentleman had stated, he should abstain from making any Motion until the Government were prepared to communicate the necessary information to the House.

Viscount *Palmerston* said: Sir, I quite agree with the the right hon. Baronet that it would not be now expedient for Members of this House to pursue the subject further; but I wish to avail myself of this opportunity to state, with reference to what has passed in an earlier part of the evening, that, looking at the quotations that had been made by a noble Lord in another place, as I understand from Despatches which I myself placed on the Table in connexion with the negotiations on the Boundary Question, I am inclined to think that when the right hon. Baronet looks into them he will find that the noble Lord has quoted nothing but what he was perfectly justified in quoting. After the manner in which things which I have said in debate have been elsewhere alluded to, I might perhaps take advantage of this opportunity to answer what has been said elsewhere. I shall only say with regard to the observations that have been made upon statements and arguments of mine on the Boundary Question and the Ashburton Negotiation, nothing which has been said in another place appears to me to contain any answer to the detailed arguments which I, nearly two years ago, addressed to this House, and to the despatches which have been laid before the two Houses of Parliament; and the opinions which I expressed and entertained have been in no degree invalidated. It is true that the late Government adopted the award of the King of the Netherlands. They did so because they thought it a point of honour to abide by his decision. It is quite true, also, that it was less advantageous to the country than the proposal which we afterwards made for dividing the disputed territory into two. It is true that it would have left to the Americans the territory south of the St. John; but we did not stand on the ground that such cession ought not, under any circumstances, to be made, but our negotiator had said that it would be cruel and unjust to make the cession without the consent of the inhabitants. The Americans had said that the river was the natural boundary; but he afterwards, in reference to another portion of the territory, did not stand upon the river, but consented to go beyond it in deference to their wishes. It has been said in another place that my arguments were at variance with my acts; but if any one will take the trouble of referring to what I said, he will find that I refuted all the arguments founded upon that assumption. Objections have also been taken to the manner in which I have stated my views on this subject. I trust that on every occasion when it has been my duty to state my opinions to the House, I have always abstained as much as circumstances would permit from any personal attack upon any individual; but if individuals choose to accept great and important public functions, they must expect that their public conduct and their public acts will be liable to such observations as any one may think it his duty to make. And I can only say, when observations are made by persons who, in my opinion, have in the discharge of great important public trusts, from whatever motive it may have arisen—whether it be from natural incapacity, or from opinions—speculative opinions—inconsistent with the duties they have to perform, whenever such persons sacrifice the honour or the interest of this country, it will be a matter of entire indifference to me in what manner such individuals may speak of any strictures I feel it my duty to make upon them. I never feel any concern if I find the opinions of these persons, upon great political questions, at variance with my own. I am, Sir, rather inclined to think that where they do differ from me, it is a presumption of my view being the correct one.

OPENING LETTERS AT THE POST OFFICE.] Upon the Motion that the Speaker leave the Chair for the House to go into a Committee of Supply,

Mr. *Wakley* rose to move, in pursuance of the terms of his Notice,—

> "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, that She will be graciously pleased to give directions, that there be laid before the House, a Copy of any Warrant or Warrants sent to the Postmaster General by any Secretary of State, directing the detaining or opening of any Letter or Letters addressed to or written by Thomas Slingsby Duncombe, Esq., a Member of this House."

He was unwilling to bring forward this Motion at the present moment, as his hon. Colleague laboured under the impression that it was not to be brought forward until Monday next. If he did not now bring it forward, he would be precluded from doing so for some time to come. The right hon. Baronet opposite could, however, relieve him from the necessity of discussing this question, by producing the warrants—his not doing so compelled him to submit his Motion, and to take the sense of the House upon it. He reminded the House, that immediately before Easter he had presented a petition from the inhabitants of Finsbury, complaining of the wrong done to their Representative, and praying for an inquiry into it. Upon this subject he could assure them that the feeling in the borough of Finsbury was deep-rooted and intense. He then quoted the statement of the right hon. Baronet (Sir James Graham), made when this subject was last before the House, and containing a full statement of the circumstances under which that right hon. Baronet had been induced to open Mr. Mazzini's letters. The course pursued in that case was different from that adopted towards his hon. Colleague. His hon. Colleague had stated that his letters had been opened at the Post Office; but he could get no acknowledgment from the right hon. Gentleman as to whether his letters had been opened or not. His hon. Colleague's letters having been opened, he had a right to know who were his calumniators—who it was that had been acting as spies and informers against him, and inducing the right hon. Gentleman to believe that he had been guilty of improper practices. His hon. Colleague was utterly in the dark as to the whole of this transaction. It was known that his name had been traduced—that his conduct had been misrepresented; and, placed in these circumstances, he had a right to complain to that House, and his constituents also had a right to complain, that one who had so honestly, so faithfully performed his duty, should be so maligned and so injured. When, too, these constituents found that Her Majesty's Government had been opening the letters of their Representative—that his correspondence had been violated, then they conceived they had a right to know what were the circumstances under which these things were done. If the Government was justified in opening the letters of his hon. Colleague, why were not the reasons stated to that House? The right hon. Gentleman would not admit that the letters had been opened; and yet it was the general belief throughout England, not only that letters written to him, but letters written by him, had been opened; and the Government ought to state why this had been done. The right hon. Gentleman talked of "responsibility;" but what was the meaning of it, when they had not the means of knowing what had been done? If a prosecution were instituted against parties in the Post Office for opening letters, the warrant must be produced. There was no other defence for them, in law, but the production of the warrant. He must say that the Government appeared to him to be fencing on this subject in a manner that was not creditable to them. They were giving an example calculated to produce a bad effect upon the country; for they did not rely upon law; they did not rely upon justice; their sole reliance was upon force; they rested upon their majority, and, secure in that, they baffled inquiry. His hon. Colleague had asked in every form for justice, and it had been refused to him. To deny him was unfair—to refuse his demand was ungenerous. The conduct of Her Majesty's Government, he considered, as unfair; but the conduct of a majority of the House was infinitely worse. Her Majesty's Government appeared as obdurate now as it had been the very first moment the matter had been brought under their consideration. The time, he hoped, had come when the Government would relent, and adopt a course different from that which they had hitherto pursued. In the case of Mr. Mazzini a full explanation had been given. Why not also give a full explanation as to this? If his Motion were now opposed, there would, he knew, be a majority against him; but then that decision would produce no beneficial effect upon the public mind, and more especially in the borough of Finsbury. He thought his hon. Colleague had been treated most unfairly, and this, too, while he was endeavouring to discharge his duty to an individual who considered himself aggrieved. He was assuming that the letters of his hon. Colleague had been opened, because he had said he could prove at the Bar of the House that his letters had been opened. If, however, the Government said that his letters had not been opened—if such had not been the case, what would there be humiliating to them in making such an avowal? If, on the other hand, the Government admitted that the letters had been opened, why not let the House and the country know the reason why this had been done? He concluded by moving, in accordance with the terms of which he had given notice.

Sir *James Graham* observed that it had been frankly admitted by the hon. Member that if he had consulted his own judgment or feelings this Motion would not have been brought forward on the present occasion. The present appearance of the House showed that it was weary of the subject. No one more readily admitted than he did the ingenuity of the hon. Member; but that ingenuity was so exhausted, that in the address he had just made to the House there was not to be found one new topic, nor one new argument. The hon. Member had, as on other occasions, asked what was Ministerial responsibility? Surely the hon. Gentleman and the Members he addressed could not believe his feelings to be so callous that these repeated discussions, that were forced upon him, did not constitute responsibility only, but a very painful responsibility. The hon. Gentleman had alluded to the majority, and complained of it. In every popular assembly it was the majority that must decide. When this matter was first brought forward he had pledged himself, as a Minister of the Crown, and as a gentleman, to state frankly to the tribunal appointed to investigate the subject the particular cases in which he had exercised this power. He had done so fully, and without reserve, and that too before a tribunal of which the majority consisted not of the friends, but the opponents of the Government. The Report of that Committee was before the House. Against its decision various appeals had been made, which had been negatived by the House. He thought that what he had stated on a former evening, when this question was under discussion, had satisfied not only the House generally, but the hon. Member himself who made this Motion; he hoped and believed also, that reparation was made by him (Sir James Graham) to the wounded feelings of the hon. Member for Finsbury (Mr. T. Duncombe). He said distinctly on that occasion that nothing had come to his knowledge in any way, or at any time, inconsistent with the hon. Member's character as a Member of Parliament, and as a loyal and faithful subject. This he had stated most distinctly and unequivocally in his place in Parliament. He had made that declaration then, and he repeated it now. He must say further, that he did not think it consistent with his duty to give a more explicit answer than he had already given. But what he had stated in regard to the character of the hon. Member for Finsbury he repeated, and was glad to have the opportunity of doing so. Further he thought it was not necessary to pursue this question. The whole matter with regard to the opening of letters by the Government had been investigated by the tribunal chosen by the House for that purpose; and though that tribunal had not said that the power possessed by the Government had been in every case acted upon with discretion, still they had reported, that in no case and by no Minister had that power been exercised from the impulse of personal or vindictive feelings, or from any other motives (though in some cases they thought mistaken) than a due regard to the public peace, and the good of the country. That was the decision of a tribunal—he would not say an adverse tribunal—but certainly one that could not be supposed to have any prepossessions in favour of the Minister or of the Government. That decision had been satisfactory to the House; and he hoped, under the circumstances, the hon. Gentleman would not think it necessary to divide the House, but allow the Speaker to leave the chair.

Mr. *Hume* agreed with the right hon. Baronet that the subject was exhausted; but was glad that an opportunity had been given for the explanation of the right hon. Baronet as to what he understood by Ministerial responsibility. For his part, he was sorry the question had been mooted at all; for he believed it had damaged the character of our Government functionaries all over the world. The only point now was, whether under the provisions of any Act of Parliament the Minister had the power of issuing general warrants for the opening of letters; and his hon. Friend wanted to have a copy of any warrant that had been issued in regard to his letters, in order that that question might be tried in a court of law and decided. He really thought that was a most reasonable request, and one that the right hon. Baronet might fairly have conceded. He could assure the right hon. Baronet that the question would not be settled in the public mind, until an opportunity should have been afforded of trying that point. As his object was to see the document, he must, if his hon. Friend should go to a division, divide with him. He admitted that the right hon. Baronet had made every explanation and given every satisfaction to his hon. Friend the Member for Finsbury, so far as his personal character was involved.

Mr. *Monckton Milnes* was also desirous that no division should take place; but adhering, as he did, to the constitutional view of the question, he must, if the hon. Member divided, vote with him. He had never yet heard any answer to the question, why a warrant was not to be considered as a public document, to be produced when required for public purposes.

Dr. *Bowring* could not allow this discussion to close without bearing his testimony to the character of Mr. Mazzini, which had been so unjustly attacked on a former evening by the right hon. Baronet opposite (Sir James Graham). He had known Mr. Mazzini for many a long year; he knew his position, and he knew, too, the feelings of affection and confidence felt towards him by all who knew him. Mr. Mazzini had never approached any person in this country without leaving the most favourable impression as to his high intellect, and pure and unspotted morality. He had struggled much, he had suffered much, and had devoted the whole energies of his mind to one great object—the redemption of his country. He might be a dreamer—he might be (though he hoped he was not) a mistaken enthusiast—but he was one of those who believed that the country that gave him birth was destined to something better and happier than her present position; and having come to this country, having heard of and witnessed the advantages and the blessings of its free institutions, his mind became filled with hopeful aspirations for the time when his own country should enjoy such institutions as ours. Who could blame him, or impute it to him as a crime, if he did believe that his own Italy must ere long also be free? It was impossible that Mr. Mazzini could have contemplated crime — the idea of assassination never could have entered into a mind so elevated and so pure. Was it charitable—was it just—of the right hon. Baronet to traduce the character of an absent man? He (Dr. Bowring) recollected well the excitement occasioned in the House when the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government attacked the hon. Member for Shrewsbury in reference to the imputations he had thrown out against an absent and an innocent man; and yet the right hon. Baronet's Colleague—the Home Secretary—knowing nothing of Mr. Mazzini (for if he had known him, he would never have accused him), did not hesitate, in a place where Mr. Mazzini could not be present to defend himself, to level accusations against him the most terrible and the most criminal. All he asked was, that the right hon. Baronet (Sir J. Graham) would inquire into and inform himself of the real character of Mr. Mazzini; and if he found, as he would find, that he had been misinformed, or, improperly and erroneously informed, done an injury to such a man, then he would appeal to his own sense of justice, whether he would leave him in the position he now occupied, sunk in that abyss of degradation which the aspersions publicly cast upon his character in that House had thrown him? He had felt it due to Mr. Mazzini—whom he had known for a long time, and whose conduct he had watched closely, and whose character was distinguished by the highest principles and practices of morality and justice, in whose mind undoubtedly the love of liberty was strong, but the moral principle still stronger—he had felt bound in justice to that gentleman to make these observations in his defence.

Colonel *Wyndham* had no doubt the hon. Member for Bolton had a high opinion of Mr. Mazzini; but he (Colonel Wyndham) should be sorry to be in Mr. Mazzini's position. He had read the correspondence and statements that had appeared on the subject, and he thought Mr. Mazzini, with his talents, should be occupying a proper position in his own country, instead of coming here to do mischief. He had not that high opinion of him that the hon. Member for Bolton entertained, and if the Amendment was pressed to a division, he should vote against it.

Captain *Bernal Osborne:* After the speech of the hon. Member for Bolton—which, as a Member of that House, and a friend of Mr. Mazzini's, did him honour, in contradistinction to the speech of the hon. and gallant Member who last spoke, and who knew nothing about that Gentleman—he would put it to the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary, whether, after coming down the other night with those trumped-up charges from certain newspapers which he brought down with him, and which he read—though he ought to have known that the statements contained in them were not true, and though he stated that Mr. Mazzini had never endeavoured to clear his character from the accusations made against him, he ought to have known that he had brought one or two actions against those papers by whom his character had been aspersed—he would put it to the right hon. Baronet whether, after all this, he could be content to allow the matter to rest as it now was? He remembered that the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government once made a similar charge against the hon. Member for Stockport, which, by the way, had never yet been apologized for, and which he thought his hon. Friend (Mr. Cobden) did wrong to submit to. He thought it most improper that Cabinet Ministers should be allowed, having made such charges, to shelter themselves behind their official responsibility. He wished to know whether, after the speech of the hon. Member for Bolton in defence of the character of Mr. Mazzini, the right hon. Baronet (Sir J. Graham) intended to remain altogether silent?

Sir *James Graham* was really at a loss how to answer the question of the hon. Member. In the early part of the present evening, another hon. Gentleman, without notice, had put a question to him on the subject; and being without notice, and having had no opportunity for consideration or inquiry, he had felt bound, by a regard for truth, to state explicitly at the moment what he did. If more time had been given him to reflect, he might not have had so unequivocal an impression resting on his mind; but the impression he had was, that doubts still hung over the transactions referred to, so far as Mr. Mazzini was said to be implicated in them. He had presented to the House no trumped-up stories; but had stated fairly and truly transactions that had come to the notice of the Government. [Mr. *Bernal Osborne:* From the *Moniteur?*] No; from the despatches of the British Minister, which the Government had been receiving for some time past; and he said that, looking at those despatches, some doubts still hung over the transactions, as would be apparent to the House from those despatches, which would be in their hands in a few days. If on further inquiry, and further consideration, he could be satisfied that he had done an injustice to Mr. Mazzini, he need scarcely say that no man would be more ready to make ample and full reparation to him, as to every one else whom he might from misinformation have in like manner injured; and most especially should he be anxious to make reparation to an unprotected foreigner like Mr. Mazzini. He would infinitely rather make that reparation to Mr. Mazzini himself than to any Member of that House; but at the same time he must say, that his regard for truth, while he was not satisfied that he had done an injury, compelled him, as a man of honour, not to admit it.

The House divided on the Question that the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:—Ayes, 73; Noes, 22: Majority, 51.

List of the Ayes.

Acton, Col.
Arbuthnott, hon. H.
Arkwright, G.
Baillie, Col.
Baillie, H. J.
Baird, W.
Baldwin, B.
Benbow, J.
Bentinck, Lord G.
Boldero, H. G.
Borthwick, P.
Bowles, Adm.
Bruce, Lord E.
Bruges, W. H. L.
Cardwell, E.
Chapman, A.
Chelsea, Visct.
Clerk, rt. hon. Sir G.
Cockburn, rt.hn.Sir G.
Coote, Sir C. H.
Copeland, Ald.
Corry, rt. hon. H.
Cripps, W.
Darby, G.
Dickinson, F. H.
Douglas, Sir H.
Fitzroy, hon. H.
Forman, T. S.
Fremantle, rt.hn.Sir T.
Fuller, A. E.
Gaskell, J. Milnes
Gordon, hon. Capt.
Goulburn, rt. hon. H.
Graham, rt. hon. Sir J.
Greenall, P.
Greene, T.
Hamilton, G. A.
Hampden, R.
Harris, hon. Capt.
Heneage, G. H. W.
Hepburn, Sir T. B.
Herbert, rt. hon. S.
Hope, hon. C.
Hope, G. W.
Hornby, J.
Jermyn, Earl
Jocelyn, Visct.
Kemble, H.
Lennox, Lord A.
Lincoln, Earl of
Lockhart, W.
Manners, Lord J.
Nicholl, rt. hon. J.
Peel, rt. hon. Sir R.
Peel, J.
Plumptre, J. P.
Praed, W. T.
Pringle, A.
Round, J.
Smith, rt. hon. T.B.C.
Somerset, Lord G.
Somes, J.
Spooner, R.
Stewart, J.
Sutton, hon. H. M.
Tennent, J. E.
Trench, Sir F. W.
Trotter, J.
Wellesley, Lord C.
Wood, Col. T.
Wortley, hon. J. S.
Wyndham, Col. C.

TELLERS.
Baring, H.
Young, J.

List of the Noes.

Barnard, E. G.
Blewitt, R. J.
Bouverie, hon. E. P.
Bowes, J.
Bowring, Dr.
Butler, hon. Col.
Butler, P. S.
Christie, W. D.
Collett, J.
Dawson, hon. T. V.
Etwall, R.
Forster, M.
Gisborne, T.
Granger, T. C.
Hill, Lord M.
Hume, J.
Milnes, R. M.
Mitchell, T. A.
Napier, Sir C.
Osborne, R.
Plumridge, Capt.
Tancred, H. W.

TELLERS.
Wakley, T.
Williams, W.

Army Estimates.] On the Question being again put,

Mr. *Williams* said, he had certainly intended to move the Amendment he had given notice of for the reduction of the Household Troops; but he was bound to confess, that what had taken place in the House that evening had entirely altered his intention. He should not now move any reduction in the Army Estimates; for though he was as anxious that as much economy as possible should be exercised in regard to our standing army, yet if we were threatened with danger from any quarter, or if an attempt was apprehended in the remotest degree, on the part of any Foreign country, to do us an injustice or to invade our rights, he would be the last man to stand in the way of the Government in making efficient preparations for the maintenance of the honour and character of England. He had intended to show that the Army Estimates now proposed so greatly exceeded the same Estimates ten years ago, as to require some explanation, and he should have moved a reduction, but for the circumstances that had that evening transpired. There was, however, one point to which he would call attention—viz., the great cost of the regiments of Life Guards and Foot Guards as compared with the regiments of the line. The total charge for the three regiments of Life Guards and the three regiments of Foot Guards could not be taken at less than 355,069*l.* Four regiments of the line, numbering 4,515 men, cost 132,553*l.* Another item of expense, including six regiments of the line, composed of 8,028 men, cost 232,986*l.*; making, altogether, a force of 12,543 men, supported at an expense of 355,848*l.* Now, the number of the Guards, 6,561, cost as much as did 12,543 men of the line. He believed that one regiment of Life Guards, of the strength of 400, would suffice for any State occasion. Now, taking the expenses of such a regiment, costing 44,000*l.*, from the sum of 355,000*l.*, which the Guards cost the country, a saving of 311,000*l.* would be the result—the amount left after the subtraction of the 44,000*l.* By reducing the Guards as he proposed, 5,000 more men might, in case of necessity, be added to the line, or they might in a proportionate degree reduce the cost of the whole military establishment. The distinction between the regiments of the line and the household troops produced, he believed, much heart-burning and invidious feeling in the Army. He thought that regiments who had served gallantly abroad should have in their turn, while stationed in London, the opportunity of escorting and guarding their Sovereign. The difference too in the pay of the two classes of regiments, he contended, was quite indefensible. If they were to have differences in pay at all, the higher rate should be bestowed upon regiments of the line, and not upon the household troops. What was the use of the Guards? They afforded no relief to the troops stationed in the Colonies. They took no turn of duty abroad, while it was well known that one of the principal reasons for our keeping up the immense standing army we did was in order to provide regular relief to the troops stationed in our Colonies; and what was still more objectionable than the inequality in pay, was the inequality of rank established betwixt officers of the Guards and officers of the line. Yet, although the former were nominally intended to supply military attendance to the Sovereign, Her Majesty, in her journeys, hardly ever had her escort formed of Horse Guards, some body of light cavalry being generally selected for the service, the heavy household cavalry only attending upon State occasions. When the Emperor of Russia was here, at the review in Windsor-park, when the household troops were pointed out to him, he observed that it was not them he cared so much for seeing as the troops of the line, who had served in every part of the world, and triumphed over every difficulty. He would only call the attention of the House to one other point, namely, the large amount expended in half-pay, and pensions. In the Army Estimates there was a vote for upwards of 5,000 officers receiving half-pay; upwards of 3,000 widows of officers were upon the pension list, and 2,410 other persons. He believed officers' children were similarly provided for. In all, 2,148,300*l.* was expended in pensions and half-pay for the Army, while the whole amount of half-pay proposed to be voted in connexion with the three services—the Army, the Navy, and the Ordnance—was 3,689,000*l.* This, he contended, was an amount which called for revision and reduction. The rules for permitting retirement upon half-pay should also, he thought, be made more stringent. In offering these observations to the House, he did not mean to press his proposition to a vote. He had already stated the reasons which actuated him in taking that course, and he would content himself with having drawn the attention of the House to the subject.

Mr. *Hume* thought that his hon. Friend had acted quite rightly in abstaining from pressing on the proposition of which he had given notice. The military force of the country was now on a war establishment, and he trusted the Army was large enough to prevent the need for increase, in case of actual war. He objected to the system of favouritism, kept up by the footing upon which the Guards were placed. The expense, per man, of the Guards, was still, within a few pounds, what it was in 1821. More regiments were given to officers of the Guards, than to all the officers of the line. There ought to be no pet corps, no favourite men; every regiment of the line ought to take its tour of duty at the Palace, as was done in the military monarchy of Prussia. The conduct of Lord Ellenborough in India, in his mode of forming his body-guard of the most meritorious officers and men, had been highly creditable, and had given great satisfaction. The time was coming when the people of this country would call for a reduction in the expense of our military establishments, now between 7,000,000*l.* and 8,000,000*l.*, including barracks; and, fortunately, the disposition manifested by the present Government to maintain peace, so highly to their credit, would (it might be hoped) soon enable them to reduce this heavy charge, which the country could not bear. After the battle of Waterloo, having a Prince Royal to the head of the army, there was a military mania, and we became a military people at the expense of our Navy. At the same time considering the circumstances in which they now stood, and after what had that night transpired, he would not be a party to any proposition for an immediate reduction of the Army. He was a man of peace; he had always advocated peace;

but it was possible to carry love for peace to such an extent as to encourage other nations to trample upon us. He hoped most sincerely that no necessity for keeping up the Army might arise from events now pending; but come what might, our rights and interests must not be allowed to be disregarded, and to be trampled down. While they expressed themselves strongly against war—while they were fully conscious of all the injuries and evils which it must inevitably give rise to—while they expressed decidedly in favour of peace, they must remember that they had rights and interests which they could not and must not allow to be set at nought.

House in Committee of Supply.

Mr. *Sidney Herbert* rose to move the Army Estimates. He could not commence the statement which it was his duty to make, without expressing the satisfaction with which he had witnessed the course adopted by the hon. Member for Coventry, and by the hon. Member who had succeeded him. However extreme on some occasions their views on economy might be, they had on this occasion shown, that those ideas did not interfere with those larger views and better feelings which it became hon. Members to adopt in such circumstances as the present. He should say a few words as to the particular subject adverted to by the hon. Member for Coventry, and then state, as shortly as he could, the changes of detail which would be found in the present, as compared with the last year's Estimates. He believed that the hon. Member, in the calculation which he had made as to the cost of the household troops compared with that of the troops of the line, had been misled by the great mass of detail which would be found in the Army Estimates. Because he found that if they compared the expenses of infantry of the line with those of the soldiers of the Guards—adding to the pay of the officers and men of the former the different allowances to which they were entitled—the contingent allowance, lodging money, &c.—if they were to take the household troops and adopt, with respect to them, the proposition which had been made by the hon. Gentleman the other night, and suppress two regiments of household cavalry, converting them into infantry of the line, the saving effected would only amount to about 62,000*l*. The reason was this, the pay of the officers of the Guards, though at first sight higher than that of those of the line, had not added to it the allowances made to officers of other regiments, although they were put into situations which exposed them to increased expense. He had a calculation upon the subject, made by a great authority, no other than the Duke of Wellington, which shewed clearly that in some of the higher grades of rank among the officers of the Guards, when all these circumstances were taken into consideration, the pecuniary advantage of—take the rank of a captain in the Guards for instance—was very little greater than it was in the case of a captain in the line. It should not be forgotten, too, that officers in the Guards were put to a greater expense than officers in the line, from the circumstance that the former had not the advantage of a mess. Troops of the line, too, when in London, used to receive the additional penny a day, which made the difference between their pay and that of privates in the household troops. Upon the whole then, taking into consideration these allowances, and the various circumstances to which he had adverted, he thought that the hon. Gentleman would see how trifling would be the saving which would be effected by means of his proposition, were it to be carried into effect. There were also other reductions, which, however, were of too minute a character for him to trouble the House by entering into them in detail. They arose from the transfer of the clothing department of the Army to the Ordnance, and the alterations with respect to the military prisons, made pursuant to the recommendation of a Committee. There was a trifling increase in the Estimate for good conduct money, the total number of men now in receipt of good conduct pay being between 7,000*l*. and 8,000*l*.; but that was an increase that no man can regret. The item for military prisons was 4,408*l*.; but as a portion of this sum was derived from other sources, there would on the whole be a saving in the item to the public. In the item for the staff there was a small increase, and in the unprovided service an additional sum was required of 55,000*l*. in order to equalise the allowance of troops serving in Hong-Kong and China with that of the troops in India. When the hon. Gentleman spoke of the increase which had been made to the staff, he should have borne in mind the various reductions that had also taken place in that department. A force of 7,000 pensioners had been lately enrolled, but independently of that there was a real annual decrease of from 30,000*l*. to 40,000*l*.

in the dead weight alone. The number of officers in 1821 was 17,426; and in 1845 the total number of officers in the Army was but 1,101. In 1814, there were 591 general officers in the Army, and at present there were less than 300 general officers, showing a reduction of considerably more than one half. The saving on the dead weight since 1821 amounted from these causes to no less than 685,000*l.* He hoped these details were satisfactory to the House. If the hon. Gentleman would refer back to the years mentioned by the hon. Member for Montrose, he would find that they were now enabled to maintain, for the purposes of their Colonial empire, a much larger force with the same amount of means than the country supported in those years. With these remarks, he would beg leave to move—

"That a sum not exceeding 2,630,499*l.* (being part of a sum of 3,430,499*l.*, of which 800,000*l.* has been granted on account), be granted to Her Majesty for defraying the charge of Her Majesty's Land Forces, for Service in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and on stations abroad, (excepting the regiments employed in the Territorial Possessions of the East India Company,) from the 1st day of April, 1845, to the 31st day of March, 1846, both days inclusive."

Mr. *Hume* strongly hoped the Government would be very cautious in any reductions which they might attempt to make in the expenses of troops serving in China and Hong-Kong. They had already had instances of insubordination created by such attempts. In those stations the expenses were very considerable; and it could not be expected that one corps could serve with another, while that second corps received a double allowance of payment. Where there was an equality of danger, there ought to be an equality of remuneration. He hoped, therefore, that the Government would not listen for one moment to any proposition for reducing the allowances to which the troops serving in China were entitled, in a station where they were exposed to so much of expense, of danger, and of disease. He might also take that opportunity of observing that he objected to the number of troops serving in Ireland. He was glad to find that the Government were taking steps to do justice to that country, and he hoped, therefore, that the present military force maintained there would not be much longer required.

Colonel *Wood* thought, as the hon. Member for Coventry had not pressed his Motion, the House had a right to complain of the address which they had heard from him. He could only have characterized that Motion, if it had been persevered in, as one of a revolutionary character; for, as the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary at War had well observed, it would, if adopted, be in effect a total disbanding and dissolution of the household troops. He would repeat, that the Motion was of a revolutionary tendency; but as it did not appear to have been brought forward seriously, he considered it was most unjust towards the household troops, and the corps to which he had the honour to belong, that the hon. Gentleman should have taken the opportunity of making a speech reflecting on the character of military men, and tending to destroy the self-esteem of these particular troops, by holding them up as useless. Whenever the hon. Gentleman brought forward a distinct Motion on the subject, he should be prepared with good grounds to show that the proposal to disband the household troops would have a revolutionary tendency.

Colonel *Rawdon* believed the Motion of which he had given notice ought to take precedence of the Vote then before the House. The Motion was, "That he would, on Vote 2, in Committee on the Army Estimates, make inquiry as to the health of the troops in Hong-Kong and the West Indies; and as to the success of the encampment system." He should not have called the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to these subjects, were it not that he had seen a letter from Canton, dated in September last, in which it was stated that Hong-Kong was then in its worst state, and that the dead were buried in the most unceremonious manner. In some instances the troops were stationed in paddy ground, and he believed they were also harassed by unnecessary guards on parade. He had also to allude to Demerara, where out of two companies of soldiers no less than twenty men, including three sergeants, died in a few months. He would also wish to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to the condition of the troops in the other West India Islands, and likewise to the system of encampment, which, he believed, required improvement. He would wish to ask whether the black regiments might not be increased, and the white soldiers in the West Indies be used only as a reserve force? Also, whether it might not be possible to organize a militia in those Colonies, and to improve the encampment system. The hon. and gallant Member concluded by observing that the Army deeply regretted having lost the aid of the late gallant Secretary at War, who had been called to a wider field of exertion; but from the specimen which they had had that evening of the ability of his successor, there could be no doubt but that the right hon. Gentleman would do his utmost to promote their interests.

Mr. *Sidney Herbert* said, there was no reason why they should have originally suspected that Hong Kong would prove as dangerous to the health of their troops as some parts of the island had proved to be. The mortality formerly averaged as much as 32 per cent.; but by the latest accounts it had materially decreased, and during the last three years it had been less than previously. The letters which had arrived by the last mail expressed the most confident hopes that the sickness had decreased there permanently. With respect to the West India Islands, he might observe that in Jamaica the precaution had been taken of placing the black troops, who were not affected by the climate, in the lower quarters, and removing the white troops to higher positions. In the other West India Islands the mortality had decreased between 1842 and 1844 to one half what it had been before 1838.

Captain *Bernal Osborne* rose merely for the purpose of protesting against the allegation of the hon. and gallant Member opposite, that a Motion for the abolition of the household brigade was revolutionary. He should also beg to state that he totally dissented from the observations which had fallen from the hon. Member (Mr. Williams), to the effect that the troops of the line viewed the household regiments with any invidious feelings. He was confident that no such invidious feeling existed either among the officers or men. He did not consider that the household troops were maintained in order to keep down revolution; but it was of the highest importance to have so fine a body of men as the Guards always ready to be sent to any of their Colonies in which disturbances should take place. It appeared that this gallant fine corps had been reported to be in a state of bankruptcy. He wished the right hon. Gentleman would turn his attention to the fact of the Blues not being allowed to exchange.

Lord *A. Lennox* said, that the hon. Gentleman having stated that the Guards had never been on Foreign Service, he begged leave to inform him that such was not the fact, for he had the honour of serving in Portugal with them during the Canning Administration. The hon. Member for Montrose had mis-stated the number of the men belonging to the Guards at 14,000 instead of 5,500. Thus, instead of diminishing the Army, his calculation had added upwards of 8,000 to the number. If, unfortunately, any contest should arise between the United States and this country, the Guards would be the first men sent out to occupy Oregon; and most probably the hon. and gallant Member for Middlesex would go with them, when the hon. Member for Montrose would have another opportunity of being defeated in that county.

Lord *J. Manners* said, that the hon. Member for Wycombe had alluded to a subject of considerable delicacy; and from almost an hereditary feeling for the regiment of Royal Horse Guards, he must express a strong and earnest hope that no miserable feeling of economy would induce Her Majesty's Government to take any steps tending to the degradation of that regiment in the eyes of the country.

Mr. *Sidney Herbert* said that, with regard to the finances of the Blues, it was true that, owing to the arrangement in 1832 and to other circumstances, the present clothing allowance was found to be quite insufficient. He believed that the clothing allowances of the two regiments of Life Guards was larger than was necessary, and the Blues was less than was required. He hoped that some arrangements might be made as to the clothing allowances of the three regiments of household cavalry, so as to get rid of the inconvenience alluded to.

Vote agreed to.

On the Question that 341,000*l.* be granted as the Estimate of the charge for Half-pay and Military Allowances to reduced and retired Officers of Her Majesty's Service,

Sir *Howard Douglas* rose to call the attention of the Committee to the subject of which he had given notice. He said, if this were a case of complexity or difficulty, he should certainly abstain from calling the attention of his right hon. Friend the

Secretary at War to it at so early a period after his accession to the duties of an important office, which he (Sir Howard Douglas) was sure that right hon. Gentleman would discharge with the ability and efficiency of which he had given so much promise; nor did he bring this case forward without the knowledge and consent of his right hon. Friend; and when he (Sir Howard Douglas) said consent, he did not mean that thereby his right hon. Friend had pledged his adoption of these suggestions. He would now state briefly the case he had to submit to the consideration of the Committee. By Warrant of December, 1840, a limited establishment of retired full pay was created, to consist of 20 lieutenant-colonels on 17*s.* a day; 20 majors on 16*s.*; and 115 captains—of whom not more than 45 may be brevet-majors—on 11*s.* 7*d.* and 13*s.* 7*d.* respectively; these to be selected by the Commander in Chief, and the promotion of officers so placed on retired full pay not to proceed. This measure was extended to the artillery and engineers by Warrant dated April, 1841, in the following numbers. Lieutenant-colonels — Artillery 8, Engineers 2; Captains—Artillery 12, Engineers 10; First and Second Lieutenants—Artillery 8, Engineers 4. The only difference between the provisions of those measures is—and he begged his right hon. Friend and the Committee to note it—that whilst no further promotion is accorded to officers of the line so retiring, the promotion of the retired field officers of the artillery and engineers is permitted to proceed. This boon was stated by the Naval and Military Commission to have been granted to what is called the seniority corps—viz., the artillery, engineers, and marines, on account of the slowness of promotion. But he might observe, in passing to the main subject, that he did not see why the like boon should not be extended to field officers of the line retiring upon full pay, according to the provisions of this Warrant. The expense would be trifling, and the honorary boon gratifying. As stated in the Notice he had given, his object was to extend the advantages of a full pay retired establishment to a limited number of medical and regimental staff officers,—viz., surgeons, paymasters, and quartermasters. The serving pay of these officers is most liberal; a surgeon commences with 13*s.*, which rises after 10 years' service to 15*s.*; after 20 to 19*s.*; after 25 to 1*l.* 2*s.* a day. The paymaster commences with 12*s.* 6*d.*, which after 5 years' service, increases to 15*s.*; after 15 years to 17*s.*; after 20 years to 1*l.*; and after 25 years to 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* The quartermaster commences with 6*s.* 6*d.*, which rises after 10 years to 8*s.* 6*d.*; and after 15 years' service to 10*s.* The differences of serving pay and half pay are such, that officers necessarily and naturally cling to their full pay situations as long as they possibly can, and frequently longer than is consistent with their health, comfort, and efficiency to discharge actively their several duties. He should first take up the case of medical officers. The average age at which these enter the service is 24½ years. The statement he held in his hand, of the services and age of medical officers fully corroborated what he had to advance—viz., that many medical officers were in a manner constrained to serve, who would, perhaps, have availed themselves of retiring on their full pay, to their own ease and comfort, and opening, to a certain extent, the current of promotion to others, had an establishment of retired full pay, such as he recommended, been created. Dr. Bone, Deputy Inspector, now serving at the head of the medical staff in the West Indies, has served very nearly fifty years. That excellent officer served for some years on a foreign station of which he (Sir Howard Douglas) recently had the command, and discharged his duties most efficiently, and is still an efficient officer; but perhaps he might have chosen to retire — at least, it is just to give to officers, after such services, the option of retiring upon full pay, instead of being constrained to encounter afresh the arduous difficulties, and the dangers of protracted service in unhealthy climates. Dr. Kidd, Deputy Inspector, who is still serving in the Ionian Islands, has been between forty-nine and fifty years in the service. He served under his (Sir H. Douglas's) command on a foreign station, and is an excellent medical officer, to whom, perhaps, at his age, retirement on full pay might be a great boon. Dr. Grant, Staff Surgeon, still in the Ionian Islands, has served forty years. That excellent officer was likewise in that command when he (Sir H. Douglas) held it, and discharged zealously and efficiently his duties. He mentioned this case to show the slowness of promotion in the medical department, but which would be advantageously accelerated by the establishment of a retired full-pay list. In proof of this, he would advert particularly to the case of

Dr. French. That officer entered the service in 1810, and after having served upwards of thirty years, proceeded with his regiment—the 49th—to China, and was placed at the head of the medical department in that important war. His services were so distinguished, that he was specially and strongly recommended by Sir Hugh Gough for promotion. The recommendation was, he (Sir H. Douglas) believed, supported by the Inspector General, and the Commander in Chief; and Dr. French's merits and claims admitted by the late, as well as the present, right hon. Secretary at War; but still, for want of opportunity such as the establishment which he (Sir H. Douglas) urged, Dr. French remained unpromoted, and he feared disappointed and mortified, and is now a retired Staff Surgeon. In the naval service in China, several promotions of medical officers took place, as he (Sir H. Douglas) might appeal to his right hon. Friend the Principal Naval Lord of the Admiralty. He (Sir H. Douglas) had said that the serving pay is most liberal. This, in fact, would contribute pecuniary means towards the expense which the establishment of a retired full pay would cause. The officers retiring from the highest rate of pay to which they are entitled by length of service, would be succeeded by officers who commence their service at the minimum rate; the difference becoming available towards the retirement. Thus a paymaster, who retires on 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* a day, is succeeded by an officer on 12*s.* 6*d.* a day. If a half-pay captain be appointed to such a situation,—which often happens—he loses his half pay of 7*s.*, so that the only extra expense would be 5*s.* 6*d.* He (Sir H. Douglas) would recommend that a retired full pay establishment be created for medical and regimental staff officers. He would not specify the number; but leave that to the consideration of his right hon. Friend and Her Majesty's Government; but would suggest that it should be enjoyed, subject to those limitations, by medical officers after thirty-five years' service, of which twenty years as surgeon; by paymasters after thirty-five years' service, of which twenty-five years as paymaster; by quartermasters after thirty-five years' service, of which twenty years as quartermaster. He (Sir H. Douglas) was happy to hear from what had been said by the hon. Member for Coventry, upon the Vote for half pay, that he never would object to any provision of this kind for officers who had really been worn out in the service, or who had, after long periods of service, occasion, and just claims, to be liberally provided for; and he was assured, too, that he should have the support of the hon. Member for Montrose in the recommendation which he (Sir H. Douglas) ventured to make of this class of officers. He would now leave the case in the hands of his right hon. Friend the Secretary at War and Her Majesty's Government. He hoped he had made a plain statement; and trusted the Committee would deem it a strong one. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would deal with it as liberally and speedily as may be consistent with other circumstances; and propitiate, as far as he could, his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to the accomplishment of what he thought a fair and strong claim on the consideration of Government, and the liberality of Parliament.

Captain *Bernal Osborne* said, that he highly approved of the gallant Officer's suggestion. The grant proposed was too small to be refused. He would recommend that veterinary surgeons should be included in the observations of the hon. and gallant Gentleman.

Sir *Howard Douglas* said, that he entirely concurred with the hon. and gallant Member; and that, in fact, he (Sir H. Douglas) had embraced that class of officers in his minute of this case; he had, however, he feared, omitted to state it, and thanked the hon. and gallant Member for what he had said.

Vote agreed to.

On the next Vote,

Sir *Howard Douglas* rose to put a question to the right hon. the Secretary at War upon the subject of the Military Savings Banks—an institution which he was instrumental in introducing into the service, by what he said in the House on a former occasion, in Committee on Army Estimates, in 1842; and which soon after were established by his right hon. Friend, now Governor General of India, to whom the service and the country were so deeply indebted. He rejoiced to learn from the Parliamentary Papers lately circulated, the progress making by these institutions: there were now about two thousand soldiers contributors in Regimental Savings Banks. His right hon. Friend was aware that these institutions were not yet established in the Queen's Regiments serving in India; where, perhaps, the objects contemplated would be most successfully and largely promoted. For this, it required the authority of the Government of India and the Commander in Chief to carry out to that country the provisions of the Savings Banks Act and Warrant. This, he hoped, would be done, not only to the Queen's, but to the Company's troops. He felt convinced that these institutions would co-operate most powerfully with other measures which happily were taken to improve the moral character, and temperate and provident habits of the soldier.

Mr. *Sidney Herbert* replied that a Committee had been appointed for the purpose of procuring the necessary authority for carrying out the provisions of the Savings Bank Act and the Warrant directed to Her Majesty's troops in India. He begged also to inform the gallant Officer that he had a Bill in preparation authorizing the Commissioners of the National Debt to receive the deposits of Military Savings Banks (which already amounted to 15,000*l.*) in like manner as the deposits made by the other Savings Banks.

Vote agreed to.

On the Vote of 105,000*l.* for Allowances as of Her Majesty's bounty and pensions, gratuities and allowances, to Officers for Wounds, being read,

Colonel *Rawdon* drew the attention of the House to the fact that Mr. Francis Moore, brother of the late Sir John Moore, had for many years voluntarily relinquished a pension of 800*l.* to the service of the public.

Vote agreed to.

NAVY ESTIMATES.] Mr. *Corry* moved that a sum of 1,289,543*l.* be granted for the wages of Seamen and Marines.

Captain *Pechell* wished to call the attention of the Committee to the situation of captains' clerks in the Navy. They were called upon to perform eminent and important services, and they received for those the most paltry pay. They had scarcely any hope of advancement, and having no rank in the Navy were subordinate to the smallest midshipmen or the lowest officer, although they messed with mates and midshipmen. The pay was now but 56*l.* per annum for the highest, and 52*l.* for the lowest; and he thought their situation deserved the attention of the Admiralty.

Sir *G. Cockburn* admitted that many of these clerks were in a hard position; but it was very difficult to apply a remedy. In the first place, as the gallant Officer was aware, it was a principle of the Naval Service to allow the captain of a ship to choose his own clerk. He was the captain's instrument, who was answerable for his conduct. The captain's clerk, in short, was not the servant of the Admiralty at all: he followed the fortunes of the captain, if he changed his ship; therefore the Admiralty had no direct control over those clerks. Clerks that had passed, the Admiralty had some hold upon: they were now borne on the list of the Navy; and there were several points on which he hoped that the Admiralty would be able to ameliorate their condition. If they were to say that none should enter the Navy as clerks but through the Admiralty, as the hon. and gallant Officer wished, he was not so sure that the result would be satisfactory in all respects. He believed no class was so much sought after in the Navy as this. Such extensive alterations as were suggested, could not be made on account of the number of applications.

Sir *C. Napier* admitted that it was extremely difficult to make any material arrangement on this subject; but he did not see any difficulty in the Admiralty appointing clerks after they had passed their examination, and then holding them responsible. He did not think the captain would have any objection to the Admiralty appointing clerks in this way, provided the clerk was held responsible.

Mr. *Williams* thought that persons who were employed for a short time as clerks by captains, and then dismissed, had no claim to support afterwards at the expense of the public; but if they were placed upon the establishment, they then acquired a right to a provison for their subsistence.

Captain *Pechell* said, what he wished was, that this class of persons should be made respectable, taken from the list, and rewarded with a modicum of 2*s.* 6*d.* a-day when the Admiralty could not give them ships.

Vote agreed to.

House resumed. Committee to sit again.

House adjourned at half-past twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Saturday, April 5, 1845.

MINUTES.] BILLS. *Public.—Received the Royal Assent.*— Property Tax.

Private.—2ª· Birkenhead Company's Docks; Pudsey Gas; Duke of Argyll's Estate.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, April 7, 1845.

MINUTES.] BILLS. *Public.*—1ª· Charitable Trusts (England and Wales).

2ª· Sugar Duties.

3ª· and passed:—Courts of Common Law Process; Courts of Common Law Process (Ireland); Court of Session (Scotland) Process.

Private.—1ª· Sparrow's Herne Road.

PETITIONS PRESENTED. By Earls Falmouth and Nelson, from Wallingford, and 4 other places, against Increase of Grant to Maynooth.—By Lord Kenyon, from Bath, Church of England Lay Association, for Inquiry into the Course of Instruction adopted at Maynooth College.—by Bishops of Worcester and Durham, from Stourport, and 3 other places, for the Suppression of Intemperance.—By Bishops of St. David's, Durham, and Hereford, and by Earl Powis, from Clergy of the Deanery of Eifionydd, and several other places, against the Union of St. Asaph and Bangor, and from Nannerch, and several other places, against the Union of St. Asaph and Bangor, but in favour of the Appointment of a Bishop to the See of Manchester.—By Bishop of Worcester, from Leamington Priors, for Revison of the Rubrics, etc.—By Duke of Buccleuch, from Presbyteries of Nairn, and several other places, for Improving the Condition of Schoolmasters (Scotland).—By Lord Campbell, from Peterhead and several other places, against any Alteration in the present System of Banking (Scotland).—From Cloughalurcher, for Encouragement to Schools in connexion with Church Education Society (Ireland).—From Limerick, for extending Sanatory Regulations in populous districts to Ireland.—From Poor Law Guardians of Derby Union, in favour of the Adoption of Sanatory Regulations.—By Lord Campbell, from Bisley, and 2 other places, for Repeal of the 57th Clause of the Insolvent Debtors Act Amendment Bill.—By Lord Cottenham, from Debtors in Lancaster Prison, for the Abolition of Imprisonment for Debt.—From Hereford, for the Establishment of Local Courts.—By Lord Denman, from Inmates of Queen's Bench Prison, for Alteration of Law relating to Contempt of Court.

RAILWAYS.] Lord *Brougham* moved for certain Returns, to which he believed there could be no possible objection, as they were on a subject on which it was very necessary that information should be laid before their Lordships, and on which, if produced, and if the information came up to what he was given to understand would be the case, he pledged himself to ground a Motion before their Lordships. First, the number of Railway Bills passed in the last ten Sessions, distinguishing those passed in each Session. Secondly, the number of Railway Bills now pending in Parliament. Thirdly, the number of Railway Bills upon which the Board of Trade had reported favourably. Fourthly, the amount paid by the subscribers on the shares of the Railway Bills that had passed. Fifthly and lastly, the sums per cent. divided by the different railways already authorized by Act of Parliament on their respective shares. His reason for calling their Lordships' attention to this subject was, that he was one of those who regarded with the greatest alarm the present fever—he could call it little less than frenzy—into which the community had fallen, as well those with capital and credit, as those who were very slenderly furnished with either, but who were inspired with the love of speculation and of gambling in shares. The effect of this was likely to prove exceedingly alarming to the credit as well as the resources of this country; and when he looked back to what happened in the years 1825 and 1826, the only period in our history within his recollection which could at all be compared with the present, he recollected that the noble Earl then at the head of his Majesty's Government, the late Lord Liverpool, feeling impressed with the same alarm which he (Lord Brougham) now stated himself to feel at what was then going forward, deemed it his duty, in his place in Parliament, to warn the great body of his fellow subjects against the course to which they were, as he thought, recklessly rushing. The warning which that noble Lord then gave concluded with this notice, which he had no doubt whatever Her Majesty's present Government were equally prepared to give—

> "That come what might, and happen what would, in the result of these speculations, the speculators were to look to their own resources only, and not to look to any assistance or any relief whatever from the Government which had thus given them a fair and timely warning."

When the crash happened which was then apprehended—namely, in March, 1826, Lord Liverpool, referring to what he had said in the former year, reminded the speculators of the timely warning which he had given them; and Lord Lauderdale at that time stated that there was no wonder that a pecuniary crisis, that a mercantile convulsion, should have taken place, when, the consequence of these joint-stock companies, in the year preceding there had been no less than seventeen millions sterling withdrawn from the ordinary sources of circulation, and from the ordinary commercial employment of the country, and sunk in those speculations. He (Lord Brougham) had lately seen a calculation from one of the most eminent brokers in this country, whose name he would decline mentioning, though it would give very great weight to his calculation, as it might be deemed invidious by parties concerned in the transactions. It was to the effect that if they were to pass the two hundred and forty odd Railway Bills now actually pending in Parliament, it was not seventeen millions merely, but in the course of two years, or at the most of three years, from the passing of the Bills, no less than 130 millions would be required for such speculations. He need not remind their Lordships that there was no Member of their Lordships' House, or of either House of Parliament, who regarded with more apprehension, or who opposed more strongly, any interference—except, perhaps, in the way of advice alone—but certainly any legal interference, as he had frequently shown their Lordships, with the employment of the capital or the labour of the community; but it was quite a different thing, it was a wholly different question, whether the Government and the Legislature were or not to give encouragement to such unbounded speculation, by granting a number of Acts of Parliament, conferring the most extraordinary powers on speculators, and without which powers none of those projects could by any possiblity be undertaken. By doing so they made themselves a party to this extravagant system of gambling; and when he mentioned to their Lordships the kind of occurrences that took place, and the treatment that to his own individual knowledge some parties had met with from these speculators, he thought their Lordships would feel no wonder that he should term them extraordinary. Before the railway business was so much multiplied in Parliament, he knew an instance of a railway that was to pass near an ancient mansion in the West of England. The engineers or managers of this railway came to the proprietor of that mansion to procure his consent to the sale of a portion of his lands, and when he asked them how much they meant to pay for fifteen acres of his ground over which the railway was to pass, they said they would not tell him until their Bill was passed into a law, but then they would give him what they might think just. The proprietor objected to be left at the mercy of the other party, beside having to permit the nuisance of having a railway within a quarter of a mile of his house. They answered that they did not care whether he consented or not; that the Railway Department of the Board of Trade had already reported in favour of the line, and that it would be the worse for himself if he offered them any opposition. In another instance a threat was held out to a neighbouring proprietor, that if he offered any opposition to the railway passing near his lawn, or within half a quarter of a mile of his demesne, where his family had been established since the reign of Queen Elizabeth, they would probably have to go through his kitchen garden. In such a case the proprietor had no resource. He might be told that he could go before a jury; but jurors were now in nearly all instances mixed up with these railway speculations, and in almost every case they were known to give actually less than the companies had offered in the first place. Therefore for the gentlemen concerned to tell the proprietor who opposed them that he might go to a jury, and to employ a certain other coarse expression, were nearly synonymous. He knew, besides, several instances in which the most ruinous consequences were likely to accrue to private individuals in consequence of this mania of speculation. In one case, a respectable clergyman, having collected about 5,000*l.* as a provision for his family, forwarded it all to a friend in town with a peremptory instruction to buy railway shares with it, being, as he said, determined to quadruple the means of support for his family in a short time. In another case, a gentleman who had 2,000*l.* sent it to the same friend, with instructions to borrow, if possible, 3,000*l.* more for him, and then to buy railway shares for him with the whole amount. Such instances were of frequent occurrence, and it was plain the consequence must be, that in a few months many of these parties would not have money to pay the instalments which would be demanded of them. They expected to hold the shares merely for a few months or weeks, and then to sell them at a premium; but when they found that similar intentions were general, as he feared they would find to their cost, they would learn their mistake when too late. He had deemed it his duty to take the earliest opportunity of stating what his apprehensions on this subject were, and of calling the attention of Her Majesty's Government to this view of the question. He did not attach the least blame to the Board of Trade for giving their approval to so many different schemes. They never had this view which he was now taking, submitted to them; as the question on which they were expected to give their Report was, not whether such speculations ought to be encouraged or otherwise, but they were merely told, "There is to be a railway made through this particular district, and you are to state which of the plans for that purpose may be the most advisable." The other question belonged to the Parliament and the Government, and not to the Board of Trade. He did not, therefore, in the slightest degree complain of the Board of Trade having reported in favour of 240 plans of railways, or whatever number was now before Parliament; but what he wished to do was to call the attention of the Government to this view of the subject, that they might make up their minds whether it was expedient, or not expedient, in the general view of the matter, and on general principles, to hold out means to speculators, which means, unless afforded by Government and by the Legislature, do not exist, for indulging in the present system of gambling in shares, in what the French call "actions." Two years ago the French Government were seized with the same alarm which he now felt; and the result was that they stopped railways generally, having only allowed about a dozen or fifteen railways to be undertaken within the last year and a half, and these under strict limitation and control. He did not at all mean to lay down what course ought to be taken in existing circumstances. He only wished to give his opinion of the mischievous tendency of the mania that raged in favour of railway speculation, and which he thought was likely to lead to an alarming panic before the end of the year; the sooner the attention of Parliament, and, above all, the attention of the community was directed to it the better, so as to apply a check to the prevailing fury—the better for the commercial and monetary interests of the country. He, therefore, hoped their Lordships would not object to granting the Returns for which he moved.

The Earl of *Dalhousie* said, that he was in no position to comply with the Motion of the noble and learned Lord, except so far as he might be able to do so in connexion with the Board to which his noble and learned Friend had alluded. Every information which was within the reach of that Board should be laid on the Table of their Lordships' House. With respect to the number of railway schemes that came before the Board of Trade, the number on which they had reported, and probably the number of Bills that were before Parliament, there could be no difficulty; but as far as the prices of railway shares, and the amount of the dividends of existing lines were concerned, the Board of Trade could obtain the necessary information only from channels open to every one. There was no doubt, however, but that their Lordships could, if they required it, procure some of that information also. With respect to the wide and delicate question which the noble and learned Lord had brought before them, he would not presume to offer any observations to their Lordships. There could be no question whatever but that an immense amount of capital would be required for the formation of all the schemes that were now before Parliament; but he thought his noble and learned Friend's informant had rather exceeded the amount in his calculation. He believed the various lines announced to the public this year would extend to about 7,400 miles, which would require some 140,000,000*l.* or 150,000,000*l.* of capital for their construction; but it was impossible to suppose that Parliament would sanction any thing like that number of railway schemes, and, at all events, they might rest assured that the subject alluded to by the noble and learned Lord would undoubtedly receive the attention of Parliament. With reference to what the noble and learned Lord had said about the conduct of railway companies, and the necessity of imposing restrictions on them in the Bills before Parliament, he concurred with the noble and learned Lord in believing that many cases of very great hardship had occurred; and one instance of that nature had come under his own observation, which even surpassed those which his noble and learned Friend had mentioned. A gentleman had been solicited to become a member of a provisional Committee of a railway. He consented, and his name was entered in the advertisement list of the company. The shares were, he believed, at a premium, when it occurred to the gentleman to inquire into some of the details of the plan. He accordingly saw the section of the line, and he found that the railway would pass within forty yards of the windows of a large country house. That house was his own. On inquiring of the engineer how this could have come to pass, or whether it was possible the line could have been at all surveyed, he was told, after some hesitation, that they had surveyed one end of the line, and the other end of the line, and that on these two data they had founded their prospectus and subsequent proceedings. He might mention, to account in some measure for the strangeness of the proceeding, that the railway in question was in Ireland. He knew the great objections that were felt to the way of procuring compensation in particular instances; but it was provided by the General Railway Bill, that where the owner of land requires either the decision of a jury or of arbitrators in his case, he alone shall have the right of deciding which shall be selected; and that being so, a very great objection was overcome, as it was always in the power of the party requiring the arbitration to decide whether it should be made by jurors or arbitrators.

Lord *Ashburton* was not in the House to hear the early part of the speech of the noble and learned Lord, nor did he know the particular Papers for which he had moved; but he could not allow this discussion to pass without saying, that nothing more important could occupy the attention of Parliament than the present feverish state of the gambling events connected with railways. In this case, however, as in many others, it was easier to point out the difficulty than to suggest the remedy. Still it was desirable, whilst they were putting down the gambling-houses in St. James's-street and Jermyn-street, and in the purlieus of Westminster, that they should at least consider the gambling which was pervading every country town, and every family, from one end of the country to the other. They could not prevent the people from dealing in shares; but, at the same time, it did become important to consider the extent to which this gambling was carried on; and if they could not repress the gambling, they ought at least to consider its operation on the ordinary proceedings of the country, on our monetary transactions, and on the industry of the country. With regard to its influence on the ordinary business of trade, he might give one instance of its effect upon the iron manufactures of the country, and the derangement it caused to the iron trade. There had been 300 per cent. advance in the price of iron during the last eighteen months; and the consequence was, that all the ordinary commerce connected with that trade was disturbed. They found a competition arising in Belgium and other countries, owing to our manufactories being unable to carry on their ordinary processes, since they found the raw materials in this country too dear for them. This raised a competition in other countries against us, and opened channels of trade from which they could not afterwards be driven out; so that when iron in this country came back to its ordinary price, we should find that we had lost the markets that had hitherto depended upon us. Again, as to its effect on the monetary system of this country. His noble Friend said, that if all the railways applied for were granted, they would take about 140,000,000*l.* from the ordinary monetary transactions of the country. By the mode of constructing the railways, it must take three or four years before the whole sum would be required; and though the demand would come by very small instalments, yet if the 140,000,000*l.* were required to be advanced in one year, the inconvenience to the country would be extremely serious. His noble Friend said that 140,000,000*l.* were proposed only, and that it was not likely so many railways would be assented to; but he was afraid that railways embracing that amount had already received the sanction of the Board of Trade; and he should like to see a return of the amount of capital of all the proposed lines that had gone before the Board. [Lord *Brougham* said, that was one of the Papers for which he had moved.] He wished to consider whether it were possible to make any further classification, so as to carry the operations over a greater length of time. He did not say that it was possible; but if it could be done, it would undoubtedly be a great benefit to the country. Returning to the very article of iron—what would be the results of the present state of things? There would be immense profits; very large fortunes would be made, and honestly made; and the consequence would be, that there would be furnaces set to work in every part of the country; so that the manufacture of iron would be carried to two or three times the ordinary demand of this country. By and by, when the trade ceased, the whole of the manufacturers would be thrown back—all the population engaged in this branch of manufacture would be thrown out of employment—and the cessation of this extraordinary demand would bring with it a sudden reduction of labour, of capital, and of industry, than which nothing could be more injurious to the quiet pursuits of commerce in this country. Unfortunately, this subject came before them in a great hurry; they had hardly time to look about them and see how matters might be best conducted. Pressed as they would be in both Houses by the importunities of the speculators, he very much apprehended that every attention would not be paid to the subject, and that the inquiries would not be conducted with that great sobriety which the importance of the subject deserved. He could not, therefore, let that occasion pass by without expressing the apprehension he felt at the confusion which must, more or less, arise to the commercial industry of the country from the transactions now taking place.

Returns ordered to be laid before the House.

SANATORY REGULATIONS.] The Marquess of *Normanby*, in presenting a petition from the City of Limerick, signed by the Mayor, on behalf of a meeting of the inhabitants, praying for the extension to Ireland of the contemplated sanatory measures, inquired when the proposed measure would be introduced in the other House of Parliament, and whether it would extend to the sister kingdom or not?

The Duke of *Buccleuch* said, he could not state the exact period when the measure would be introduced in the other House of Parliament, but it would not be delayed for any great length of time. Ever since the Report upon the subject had been completed, a measure had been in course of preparation; but it required a great deal of research and care, from the complicated nature of the subject, involving, as it did, the examination of no less than 400 Local Acts of Parliament. He trusted, however, that at no very distant time the measure would be completed; and he hoped also that there would be ample time, after its introduction, for its full consideration by both Houses of Parliament. With regard to the intention of the Government to extend its regulations to Ireland, he begged to say that he could see no reason why the provisions of the measure should not be extended both to Scotland and Ireland; and he hoped no difficulties would occur to prevent the measure being extended to both of those countries.

The Marquess of *Normanby* said, that nothing could be more satisfactory than the explanation of the noble Duke, and he now begged to present another petition on the subject from the town of Derby.

THE IRISH CONSTABULARY.] The Marquess of *Normanby* rose to move for a Return of all the appointments as Head Constable in the Irish Constabulary, from the 1st of May, 1838, to the present time, distinguishing whether made upon the recommendation of the Inspector General or not, and also a similar Return of all the promotions from Head Constable to the higher grades in the same form, also distinguishing whether made upon the recommendation of the Inspector General. He had been obliged to leave town on urgent business the day after he had last called the attention of the House to this subject, or he should at once have moved for this Return, in order to correct misapprehension on the part of the noble Duke opposite, which involved, in his opinion, a very serious reflection upon him; and it was therefore in exact proportion to his respect for that noble Duke, that he felt anxiety to set himself right. He had stated before, that his complaint against the Government was that they had departed from the general understanding which, upon the appointment of Colonel M'Gregor, he (the Marquess of Normanby) had come to with him. With reference to the particular point to which he wished to draw their Lordships' attention, the noble Duke had said,—

> "I say no such understanding existed; and if it did, I want to know what becomes of the noble Lord's own acts—he himself having been the person under whose auspices the Bill was brought in, being the first person to carry the Act into execution, and having carried into execution this very understanding. But, my Lords, I will go a little further. There is an understanding that all appointments and promotions of officers are to be recommended by the Inspector General. Why, the very first arrangement made after the appointment of Colonel M'Gregor was, that the office of Head Constable, that above all others desirable to the police, sub-constables, and constables, was limited, but not taken away from him—one from every three vacancies, while the other two were to be appointed by the Lord Lieutenant. What then becomes of the understanding?"

He should be ashamed to address their Lordships again upon the subject, if he, who had first made the arrangement, had not adhered to it. But what were the facts? The Constabulary Force was divided into the men known as the non-commissioned officers and the commissioned officers, the first portion being taken from the peasantry, and the latter from the gentry. He had told Colonel M'Gregor that when he could recommend any non-commissioned officer for promotion, he should be willing to make any appointment which he might suggest; but that the appointment of head constables remained as before with him the Inspector General. The noble Duke had stated upon the occasion to which he had referred, that the evidence upon the subject ran through three volumes; if, however, he had employed ny one connected with the Irish office to extract for him that portion of the evidence which related to the question at issue, he thought it might have been mastered in half an hour. The case was fully stated by his late friend, Mr. Drummond, in answer to a question put to him before a Committee of their Lordships. Mr. Drummond said,—

"Very material improvements were effected. When the Bill passed, the Lord Lieutenant introduced several military officers, with a view to improve the state of discipline, and raise the character of the corps. Having done that, he resolved that all the superior offices should in future be filled by promotion from amongst the chief constables. There was a class of subordinate officers also created, called head constables; 250 of those were appointed, all of them being selected from the constables, in compliance with a representation of Colonel Kennedy that it would be beneficial to the service to take them solely from that class. The Lord Lieutenant thus gave up at once the whole of these 250 appointments, and made a rule that the same course should be followed with regard to the selection of these officers in future. He further established various classes in each rank, by which the means of rewarding deserving men is greatly extended, and a prospect of promotion held out to officers and men, from their first entering the service, through every gradation of the force. Next to the provincial inspectors, of whom there are four, is the class of sub-inspectors. There are thirty-five of these officers, with salaries varying from 230*l.* to 250*l.* Next is that of the chief constables, divided into three classes, with salaries of 150*l.*, 130*l.*, and 100*l.* respectively. Next in rank are the head constables, in two classes, receiving severally 70*l.* and 50*l.* Then come the constables again, rated at 32*l.* and at 28*l.*, and the sub-constables at 25*l.* and 23*l.* It subsequently appeared to the Lord Lieutenant and Lord Morpeth, that good effects would result from leaving the promotions in the corps entirely to the Inspector General; and when Colonel M'Gregor was appointed, the whole of the promotions which had formerly been vested in and exercised by Lords Lieutenant, were confided to that officer, on the distinct understanding that he was to be responsible for selecting the most deserving and efficient men. It is now known to the whole corps that to the Inspector General alone they must look for promotion. Further, on a representation from Colonel M'Gregor that there were among the head constables, all of whom, it will be observed, have risen from the ranks, men capable and deserving, in his opinion, of being made chief constables, the suggestion was so far complied with that one of these appointments was soon placed at his disposal as a reward to the most deserving head constable; and Lord Normanby had it in contemplation at the time he was called away, to establish a rule that a certain proportion of the appointments of chief constables should be reserved for the promotion of the head constables. This intention having been brought before the present Lord Lieutenant, he has adopted it, and it is now a rule of the service that one in three of the chief constables to be henceforth appointed shall be promoted to that office from the rank of head constable. The effect of these several regulations may be rendered more intelligible by comparing the constabulary force with a regiment. The head constable may be considered as somewhat similar to a sergeant-major, and the chief constable to the ensign; and it was very desirable to show to the men that there is nothing to prevent their rising to the higher classes if they possess the requisite qualifications. The result of this system will I hope be, that the constabulary force will be unequalled by that of any other country. Such are the improvements introduced by Lord Normanby's Government. They depend partly on the Act of Parliament, partly on regulation; and in effecting them he voluntarily divested himself of the patronage which had been invariably exercised by the Lord Lieutenant."

He thought it was clear that the statement of his having taken away from the Inspector General two-thirds of the appointments of head constables was incorrect; that which the Inspector General did not possess before could not have been taken away from him; and that which he had not before possessed, he (the Marquess of Normanby) had given him. With reference to the case of Mr. Brownrigg he would merely say, upon that occasion, that it was a very hard one; the understanding which had been come to having been broken without any cause. He begged, however, to say that he had not had any communication of any kind with either Colonel M'Gregor or Mr. Brownrigg upon the subject. It was very improper for Lord de Grey to break through the regulation which had been made, and for the Home Secretary to assist him in doing so. He had stated before that an unfortunate feeling had been created in Ireland upon the subject, which he might now say had not been changed by the tone of the debate when he last addressed their Lordships with reference to this matter; viz., that it was not the intention of the Government to adhere to the recommendation of the Inspector General. He would now call their Lordships' attention to a case which occurred lately, into which he hoped there would be some inquiry. He believed it was the first time such an occurrence had happened for eight or ten years. At the last assizes for the county of Armagh a dinner was given by the High Sheriff and Grand Jury, at which there were many guests, and amongst them three Constabulary Officers, when the toast of "The Glorious, Pious, and Immortal Memory" was given; this toast was drunk, and cheered, by one of these Constabulary Officers, standing up in his uniform. This was distinctly at variance with the orders of Colonel Shaw Kennedy and Colonel M'Gregor, and the whole discipline of the Constabulary Force in Ireland; and yet they saw this taking place at a time when it was the general impression that it was the intention of Government to take the appointment and promotion of the Constabulary Officers out of the hands where it had hitherto beneficially rested, and transfer it to the Castle at Dublin. All this, he could not help observing, was very mischievous. Perhaps he might be told that he ought to be satisfied with the liberal tendency of the measures proposed by Her Majesty's Ministers, and look to them, therefore, for practical good Government in Ireland. When the measures which emanated in the other House of Parliament came before their Lordships, he should give them his most anxious and zealous support, come from whatever quarter they might. But he could not look to them as any security for the practical good government of Ireland; for, with the exception of the noble Lord at the head of the Government in Ireland, and the Chief Secretary (both of whom were, however, strangers to Ireland), the whole framework of the Irish Government consisted of persons who were most violent partisans of the ascendancy party in Ireland. One exception he should name, and it was that of the Solicitor General, for whom he had a great respect. The difficulty, therefore, which the noble Lords opposite would find in carrying out their Government in Ireland, was tenfold more in Ireland than it was in England. The present Under Secretary for Ireland was connected with that very part of the country where Colonel Verner and others drank the party toast to which he had alluded. The Castle adviser, Mr. Brewster, was a person notoriously connected with all the most violent proceedings of the ultra party in Ireland. The Attorney General was only known out of the Four Courts for his memorable, and, he might add, miserable exhibition at a factious meeting to which reference had before been made, and of which no satisfactory explanation had been given. Who was the very first Solicitor General appointed by the noble Lords opposite? Mr. Sergeant Jackson, who had at that very time upon the Table of the House of Commons a Bill for the extinction of the College of Maynooth. Unable to vote against the grant, on account of what he deemed a sort of compact, he brought in a Bill to repeal those Acts upon which this supposed compact existed, for the avowed purpose of afterwards voting against the grant—a course which he said he adopted from the highest and purest religious motives. This was the first law officer appointed by the noble Lords opposite; and he would have continued to hold the appointment if an opportunity had not occurred of placing him on the Bench of Justice. He had nothing to say against his conduct since he had been on the Bench; but it was a misfortune that the Government had placed on the Bench of Justice in Ireland, persons in whom the people had no confidence. It was in one respect lucky that he had been elevated to the judicial office, for if he had still been a law officer of the Crown, he thought there must have been a second resignation; he did not believe that the late President of the Board of Trade would have shown a solitary instance of virtue on this question; for Sergeant Jackson surely could not have gone into the House of Commons with his Bill in one pocket, and that of the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government in the other. He had stated before, that he was very sorry to see a transfer of promotion in the Constabulary Force from Colonel M'Gregor to the resident officials. He had the greatest respect for the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland—he believed in his thorough intention to do right, and of his very great ability to carry out that intention; but he knew more of almost every other country in the world than he did of Ireland. To be sure, he had passed most of his life in strange countries, and no country could be so "strange" to Englishmen as Ireland was; he might, therefore, be better than most Englishmen. He must depend, however, for his information upon the people by whom he was surrounded; and, therefore, he (the Marquess of Normanby) complained of the constitution of the Government in Ireland. He had stated many times before that the curse of the country was, that Englishmen knew so little of it. His noble Friend opposite, however, had had his attention attracted to the social condition of the country, and he must, therefore, necessarily have studied the Census Report, by which he would see that on the day on which it was taken, in June, 1841, there were only 28,000 people resident in Ireland who were not born in that country, and nearly one-half of those, it was estimated, were the children of Irish parents, who happened to be born elsewhere. Their Lordships were aware that the number of English who resided in Paris alone amounted to 60,000. He hoped that the reports which he had heard were true, namely, that an illustrious example was likely to be set on that subject this year; and if that gracious intention was carried out, he trusted their Lordships and the Members of the other House would feel that the exercise of legislative functions in other branches of the Constitution required them to know something of a country for which they were legislating, and in which there were so many important points of difference from their own. As to the good results, in the first instance, of that visit, he felt the utmost confidence. No one could speak more strongly upon that subject than himself; for he had the good fortune to witness the devotion of the Irish people, when their present Sovereign, upon her accession to the Throne, testified, within a few days after that event, her sympathy with that people. He had, therefore, no doubt, knowing that the impression of that day was as fresh in the minds of the Irish now as it was then, that, however that illustrious person might have been received in other parts of the country, she would find more joyful enthusiasm in Ireland, than she had met with any where else. But a responsibility would afterwards rest upon noble Lords opposite, as to the result of the contemplated visit. If it was to be merely a useless pageant like that which had once before taken place in that country, he felt confident it would be at variance with the intentions with which it would be undertaken; and it would also be at variance with the expectations which it would justly excite. Let noble Lords, then, maintain (as they were all, he hoped, prepared to combine in doing) the integrity of the constitution of the United Empire. Let them be prepared liberally, and at once, to extend to all parts of the country the equal benefits and advantages of that constitution.

Lord *Stanley* said, it was perhaps somewhat unfortunate, that at a time when Government were about to proceed with measures of the highest importance, affecting the whole State of Ireland, the noble Marquess should have thought proper to enter into various digressions affecting the policy of the Government, not at all relevant to the subject of his Motion; and it was equally a fortunate circumstance, that the noble Marquess, before he sat down, had recalled the attention of the House to the real question before it regarding the Irish Constabulary Force. Among other things, the noble Marquess had taken upon himself not only to cast reflections on the present Government, but to throw out disparaging observations upon all persons in any way connected with it; and he wished to be allowed to say a few words in vindication of the learned personages the noble Marquess had especially attacked. But first he would briefly explain the course of general policy towards Ireland, which it had been and still was the determination of Government to pursue in their administration of the affairs of Ireland. Unbiassed by the extremes of either party, they were resolved to do strict, straightforward, and impartial justice to all Her Majesty's subjects in Ireland, and not, as a Government, to lend themselves to any particular set of men for the sake of courting popularity. They would not consult or conciliate the prejudices of this side or that. But would maintain the prerogative of the Crown, and enforce the due execution of the laws towards all ranks, classes, and persuasions. Little as he doubted the enthusiasm with which the loyalty of the people would display itself should Her Majesty visit the shores of Ireland, he was still more convinced that among the thinking portion of the population—aye, and among the masses too—a forbearing and equable administration of the laws, would obtain more true respect and cordial co-operation, than if Ministers were to adopt a course which might secure them a fleeting popularity, but would not ultimately and substantially promote the welfare of Ireland. The noble Marquess had thought fit to cast some reflections upon the Lord Lieutenant. —[The Marquess of *Normanby:* Quite the contrary.] The noble Marquess had complained that the present Lord Lieutenant knew little of the state of Ireland or the people. He (Lord Stanley) knew no man who had a wider range of mind, greater discretion, or more prudence. And, with all respect for the noble Marquess, he would venture to express an opinion that, at this moment, Lord Heytesbury was as extensively and as accurately informed upon Ireland as even the noble Marquess himself. The noble Marquess had contended that all the legal appointments had been filled up by persons of extreme opinions, and of ascendancy principles. Now, with respect to the appointment of his learned Friend, Justice Jackson, he would venture to say, that though that learned Gentleman had strong religious opinions, there was no man on the Bench of greater honour and integrity. He (Lord Stanley) defied any man to point out an instance, since Justice Jackson had been upon the Bench, in which his tenets had been permitted in the slightest degree to influence his judgment. Was the present Master of the Rolls a partisan? He had been the Attorney General of the Governments of Lords Grey and Melbourne. —[The Marquess of *Normanby*: Mr. Blackburn was not appointed Attorney General by Lord Melbourne]. But he had been Attorney General under Lord Grey, and Lord Melbourne, on coming into office, had continued him in the office. Lord Melbourne had no objection to Mr. Blackburn, and had employed him as his Attorney General. Was the present Attorney General the Representative of violent prejudices? He was the son of Baron Smith, long the advocate of the Roman Catholic claims. The noble Marquess seemed to think that every man who did not go the length of his political notions must be a partisan and a bigot. Then, as to the Solicitor General.—[The Marquess of *Normanby*: I excepted him]. The noble Marquess had been pleased to except the Solicitor General. Was Sergeant Howley—was Mr. Coppinger, a man of extreme opinions? He was not prepared for the digressive remarks into which the noble Marquess had chosen to enter; but these names occurred to his memory, and he might multipy them by many others; he pointed them out to show that the Government of Ireland was not conducted on party principles; and least of all, that it was influenced by religious bigotry. He thought that the noble Marquess might have spared some of his imputations upon Ministers, especially at a moment when, fully estimating the risk they ran of loss of power and support, the Government were persevering, from a sense of what was due to justice, in introducing measures of extreme liberality, as some considered them, with regard to the Roman Catholics of Ireland. He neither denied nor undervalued that risk; but Ministers had counted the cost, and had taken their course; they had determined upon it from a sense of justice, and that, forsooth, was the moment chosen by the noble Marquess for his accusations. Ministers risked private friendships and political supporters, and yet the noble Marquess thought it the best moment to charge them with bigotry. Adverting to the Motion, he (Lord Stanley) did not mean to object to a word of it, if the noble Marquess would consent to carry it back to May, 1836, when the Act regulating the Constabulary Force in Ireland came into operation. The noble Marquess said, that when he was Lord Lieutenant he agreed to leave the appointments in the hands of the Inspector General; and he had taken the occasion of the appointment of Major Priestley, to ask whether it was intended to depart from the usual practice of leaving the higher appointments in the Constabulary to the Inspector General? He (Lord Stanley) saw no reason why the present Government should be bound to follow any regulations laid down by the noble Marquess. He must decline the admission of any such obligation—more especially as he felt, with all his respect for the noble Marquess, that there was no part of his career which he should feel less bound to follow than the course pursued by him as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. It had happened, in fact, that the noble Lord did not feel himself bound to practise his own regulations. Not only had he not left the higher appointments to the Inspector General on any real or supposed understanding, but he had distinctly and repeatedly repudiated such a course from the year 1836 to the year 1838; for in 1838 he lost the services of Colonel Shaw Kennedy, because he (the Marquess of Normanby) would not concede what he now conceived to be the just claims of the Inspector General. In 1836 the Constabulary Force had been increased in Ireland from 5,000 to about 8,000 men; and it was at that time proposed to appoint an Inspector General, four Deputy Inspectors General, forty-two county inspectors, forty-two paymasters, thirty-five sub-inspectors, besides a number of chief constables of the first and second class. This enormous amount of patronage, claimed by the Ministers of that day, had been much cut down in the House of Lords. The forty-two county inspectors were reduced to four, and the forty-two paymasters to eighteen. The main object of the Bill was stated to be to transfer the power of appointment from the local magistracy to the Lord Lieutenant, that the Lord Lieutenant might exercise it through the Inspector General. But how was that practically worked out? Immediately on the Bill taking effect there were 150 offices to be filled up, ranging from 500*l.* a year downwards. Some of these were officers not immediately connected with the police. Now all knew well the statement of Colonel Shaw Kennedy on the subject. The noble Viscount, then Secretary for Ireland, when he introduced this Bill, stated that he did so with the entire concurrence of Colonel Shaw Kennedy; and the Bill principally passed on the assurance of Colonel Shaw Kennedy's high character. Colonel Shaw Kennedy stated that at that time there were eighteen appointments to the situation of paymaster of the police vacant. To these he recommended six chief constables of the Constabulary Force. There were sixty or seventy vacancies to the appointment of stipendiary magistrates, and to these he recommended seven sub-inspectors. But not one of the persons recommended by Colonel Shaw Kennedy was appointed. But although the officers of the force did not receive those appointments they were given to military officers. Of the seven sub-inspectors recommended by Colonel Shaw Kennedy to the situation of stipendiary magistrates, not one was appointed, and, on the contrary, junior officers were put over their heads. In one case out of the seven a junior sub-inspector was placed over the back of one of the oldest officers in the force. The appointments thus made, Colonel Shaw Kennedy went on to state, "placed him in one of two lights before the force—either that he was not willing to have justice done them, or that he was a mere cypher." That was the charge which he made, that the noble Marquess had refused to attend to the recommendations thus made to him. [The Duke of *Wellington*: Out of the persons recommended, only two were appointed?] Only two of the officers recommended by Colonel Shaw Kennedy were promoted. Now, he would refer to the explanation given on the 23rd of March, 1838, by Viscount Morpeth, when he was questioned on this subject after Colonel Shaw Kennedy resigned his situation in consequence of the noble Marquess having refused to attend to his recommendations. Lord Morpeth stated on that occasion that all the appointments which had been made since the patronage was withdrawn from the local magistrates, had been made by the Inspector General. "But with respect to those appointments which had been previously in the hands of the Lord Lieutenant, of course his Excellency retained those appointments in his own gift; nor was it ever understood or admitted that his Excellency was to divest himself of those appointments." But the noble Marquess had stated that a different arrangement had been entered into with Colonel M'Gregor. This arrangement was not actually carried out at the time when the noble Marquess was recalled from the Government of Ireland. It seemed that in 1838, very shortly before he quitted Ireland, a new light seemed suddenly to have broken in upon the noble Marquess, and then it was that he had made up his mind, for the first time, to give the appointments on the recommendations of the Inspector General. When recalled from Ireland, that had been the determination of the noble Marquess—but not till then; and their Lordships would bear in mind the condition of the Government at that time. Thus the noble Marquess's new light was directly opposed to his constant practice all the time he was Lord Lieutenant; and he (Lord Stanley) could not help thinking that the change was a sort of charitable bequest made by a repentant and expiring testator *in extremis* to disappoint the heir at law. He (Lord Stanley) was willing to assent to give the Inspector General full control over the appointment of the inferior officers. He was willing that the Inspector General should be consulted with respect to the appointment of every officer in the force. He thought that whenever an officer was introduced into the force as an original appointment, it was right that the Inspector General should be consulted. But on matters of such importance as the appointment of Sub-Inspectors General, or of the appointment of the four or five principal officers, he thought it absolutely necessary that, with respect to those appointments, the Lord Lieutenant should be perfectly unfettered in his choice. Indeed, upon that point he was not aware that any complaint had been made by the Inspector General. He was sure that it was the anxious desire of the Lord Lieutenant to promote the efficiency of the force, and to give all due weight and authority to the recommendations of the Inspector General; but with respect to the higher offices, he thought that the Lord Lieutenant had a right to maintain the exercise of his own judgment in rewarding public services by higher appointments in the constabulary force. The noble Marquess had alluded to the case of Major Priestley. Now, with respect to Major Priestley, that officer obtained his appointment in the public service on account of his public services, and not through the exercise of any private friendship. He had served in the army for fifteen years, and when he was appointed to the Constabulary Force he was appointed one of the four provincial inspectors, the number of which was afterwards reduced to two. He was then obliged to accept the office of stipendiary magistrate. He continued to discharge the duties of stipendiary magistrate in the province of Connaught until he was sent to the county of Tipperary, at a period of particular difficulty and disturbance. Major Priestley was at that time selected by Earl De Grey to go down to Tipperary as superintendent resident magistrate for three years and a half. Major Priestley continued to discharge those duties, not only without blame or censure, but with the approbation of every one who had observed his public conduct. When that appointment ceased Earl De Grey stated that he would be glad of an opportunity to mark his sense of Major Priestley's merit, and the situation of Deputy Inspector General becoming vacant, Major Priestley was accordingly appointed. Why, then, was this case to be made an exceptional one? It was the duty of the Lord Lieutenant to reward faithful, able, and zealous services, and he had done so. He was not to be passed over because the noble Marquess, near the close of his official existence, had thought fit to enter into some understanding about the sacrifice of his patronage, at a moment when he was on the point of having none to bestow. He had said thus much in consequence of the attack upon Ministers, who were not desirous of exercising any power beyond what the noble Marquess had himself claimed. He had no objection to grant those returns; but he would call upon the noble Marquess to enlarge his Motion, so as to include all appointments since 1836. He would wish the Motion to embrace all appointments, those of head constable included, from the 1st of May, 1836. Upon these conditions, he would have no objection to consent to the production of the Returns moved for by the noble Marquess.

The Duke of *Wellington* said, that nothing had been further from his intention than to misrepresent the noble Marquess, when he spoke on a former occasion. He had done everything in his power to avoid entering into the discussion at all, as he expected to be in a situation which would have rendered it impossible for him to have taken part in it. He had arranged, therefore, that it should be left to his noble Friend the Secretary of State and the President of the Council. When he found that he could not avoid it, it was only two or three days before that debate was to take place, and when the noble Marquess declared that he was resolved to bring it forward. He (the Duke of Wellington) had then made every effort duly to inform himself, by reading all the documents relating to the subject; but still he felt that he was not in a situation to do it justice. He could only regret that the noble Marquess would not postpone the discussion until his noble Friend the Secretary of State could take part in it; and what he (the Duke of Wellington) had said, was founded upon the documents to which he had referred. He repeated, that he had not the slightest intention to misrepresent the noble Marquess. What he had contended for was, that under the Act of Parliament the Lord Lieutenant had certain rights and duties, and he was to estimate the one and the other by the terms of the Statute, and not by any arrangement into which his predecessors might have entered. Most particularly it was to be remembered that the practice of that predecessor had been conformable to the Statute, and not to the arrangement. This was what he had urged on the former occasion; and he had added that no complaint was made that Major Priestley was unfit for the office; on the contrary, the noble Marquess had admitted that he had no ground of complaint against Major Priestley. It was the duty, then, of the Lord Lieutenant to make that appointment; and he (the Duke of Wellington), in justification of it, had quoted the course the noble Marquess had himself pursued all the time he was in office. His impression was, that after the noble Marquess had informed Major M'Gregor that he should have the nomination of the chief constables, he had deprived him of two-thirds of those appointments by allowing him only to name one in three: even in the case of the one, the selection had not always been made by the Inspector General: at times the recommendation of the Lord Lieutenant prevailed over that of the Inspector General. In this statement he was borne out by the evidence before the Committee. It was quite true that Colonel Shaw Kennedy had been mistaken in his construction of the Act, when he supposed that he was to have the selection of all the officers there named, including the magistrates. This could never have been intended; but he thought it was clearly indicated that the paymasters were to be appointed on the recommendation of the Inspector General. These also were taken away from Colonel Shaw Kennedy; and when the noble Marquess was in Ireland, two-thirds of the minor appointments were also claimed by the Lord Lieutenant. If he had misrepresented the noble Marquess, he was sorry for it; but it had been forced upon him, and nobody could have taken more pains than he did not to intermeddle with the discussion.

The Earl of *St. Germans* rose merely to state that the regulations which the present Government found to exist when they entered office had not been in any case departed from. The appointment of the head constable had invariably been made on the recommendation of the Inspector General.

The Marquess of *Normanby* replied, with respect to the enlargement of the terms of his Motion, as suggested by the noble Lord (Lord Stanley), he had not the slightest objection. He should be glad to have everything that had been done by him while governing Ireland laid before the public; and he believed the result would be to prove that the establishment of the Constabulary Force, and every arrangement connected with it, gave satisfaction in every part of Ireland, throughout a most difficult period. With respect to Mr. Brownrigg, he considered that gentleman to have been a very ill-used man; and whatever might be the claims of Major Priestley, he did not think there was any justifiable ground for substituting that gentleman for Mr. Brownrigg. The noble Lord (Lord Stanley) had accused him of having made a wanton attack on Her Majesty's Government in regard to Ireland, at a time when they were bringing forward measures for the benefit of that country. He had not made any such attack; on the contrary, he distinctly stated that he did approve of those measures of the Government, and that he would give them his warm and zealous support, without questioning the motives on which they were brought forward. Nay, he would tell the noble Lord more—that the support which he was prepared to give Her Majesty's Government in their policy towards Ireland was founded, not only on the measures which they had brought in, but still more, perhaps, on the measures which they had not brought in. Their Lordships had in former times heard of a certain Registration Bill. What had become of it? At one period it was considered to be a measure of such pressing necessity, that it was urged upon the House of Commons by the noble Lord (Lord Stanley) then sitting on the Opposition Benches, with so earnest an appeal that not a day was to be lost in the consideration of it. What had become of that urgency? The noble Lord had had a seat in the Cabinet for the last four years, and yet had he once dared to bring forward an Irish Registration Bill? He would repeat, therefore, that he gave his support to the Government, not only on account of the measures which they did bring in, but also on account of the measures which they had abandoned. With respect to what he had said concerning the appointment of Mr. Baron Jackson, he had been misunderstood by the noble Lord. What he stated was, that he considered the previous political conduct of Mr. Sergeant Jackson had been of such extreme violence that it was not likely he would enjoy that confidence, on the part of the Irish people, which a criminal judge ought to enjoy. With regard to the appointment of Mr. Sergeant Howley, he was sorry that he had been obliged by the noble Lord to allude to it; he could only say, that as far as being a conscientious and upright criminal judge in a small court in the county of Tipperary, that learned Gentleman might be without reproach, and perfectly competent to discharge his duty; but when the nature of the office of Sergeant in Ireland was considered, he could not help thinking that in the selection of Mr. Howley a worse appointment, professionally speaking, was never made. The office of Sergeant, it should be recollected, gave the position of precedence or pre-audience to the person holding it above all the rest of the profession. Was it not absurd to confer this on a gentleman who had no practice, though he certainly had been popular and painstaking as the Assistant Barrister of Tipperary? The Government passed over the late Mr. West, who was a distinguished supporter of theirs, because they imagined some professional superiority over him in Mr. Warren. How was this to be reconciled with the appointment of Mr. Howley, unless it were that the Government might be able to boast of having appointed a Roman Catholic to office? The noble Lord, in speaking of the present Attorney General for Ireland, Mr. Smith, said that he believed him to be a very fair person, and that he knew no reason why his appointment should be objected to, for he was the son of the late Baron Smith. The noble Lord (Lord Stanley) had lived a long time in the political world, and had seen some strange changes, and he must know that it did not always follow that the political principles of the father were adopted and acted upon by the son. But he (the Marquess of Normanby) was not the only party who objected to the appointment of Mr. Smith as the Attorney General for Ireland; the objection was strongly felt all over that country. It was universally known that Mr. Smith did, at a public meeting in the city of Dublin, called together to oppose the late Government, state that circumstances had come to his knowledge that would make him hesitate to believe that a Roman Catholic had any regard for the sanctity of an oath. A person making such a statement ought never to have been placed in the situation of Attorney General. He did not think that the charge he had made against the Government had been answered in any way whatever by the noble Lord. All these appointments of which he complained were appointments of the strongest party character. It had, indeed, been stated that the expression attributed to Mr. Smith had never been used by him, and that this passage was not to be found in a corrected edition of his speech. But all the time that he was in Ireland, he never heard the fact disputed, or that there was any doubt that these words were used by Mr. Smith. At the public meeting in the city of Dublin where they were believed to have been spoken, there were reporters present representing the press of all parties, and in all the papers the words were reported as having been uttered by Mr. Smith. He thought the appointment of Mr. Greene as the Solicitor General for Ireland was a respectable appointment; but with reference to all the other appointments, however respectable as private individuals the persons might be, he considered them to give such a character to the governing power exercised at the Castle of Dublin as required all the energy of the noble Lord at the head of the Government there to struggle against it. The noble Lord had said that there was no part of his (the Marquess of Normanby's) public life on which he should be less disposed to congratulate him (the Marquess of Normanby) than that of his Administration of the Government of Ireland—

Lord *Stanley*: I beg the noble Marquess's pardon. What I said was, that there was no part of the noble Marquess's public life which I should so little feel it our duty to imitate as his Administration of the affairs of Ireland.

The Marquess of *Normanby*, knowing what means the noble Lord had on former occasions pursued himself in Ireland, and the impression they had left behind, should have been indeed surprised if he had found the noble Lord following his (the Marquess of Normanby's) example. The observations of the noble Lord did not, therefore, touch him. As for the implied want of the noble Lord's approbation, he must console himself with the kindly recollections of the Irish people.

The Duke of *Wellington* wished to explain. It was supposed in the former discussion on this subject that he had misunderstood the difference between the head constable and the chief constable; but he never did make that mistake. He knew very well what were the gradations, from the sub-constable, the constable, the head constable, and the chief constable. The latter only held the rank of a commissioned officer. Sub-Inspectors he knew nothing of.

The Marquess of *Normanby* wished the noble Duke to state distinctly what were the appointments he (the Marquess of Normanby) was supposed to have taken away from the Inspector General.

The Duke of *Wellington* would repeat what it was he did say. He said, that the noble Marquess, by having given an appointment to a person over the chief constable, the Inspector General was deprived of two-thirds of these appointments, he having been previously told that he was to have all these appointments.

The Marquess of *Normanby*: But that was not the fact. The noble Duke misunderstood the case. The Inspector General was never told he was to have any of these appointments. The first, and indeed the only thing he was told was, that one-third of the appointments should in future be given to him for the purposes of promotion from the ranks. If noble Lords would look to the evidence, they would find that this was the case.

The Earl of *St. Germans* said, although it was contrary to the rules of their Lordships' House for any noble Lord to speak twice in the course of the same debate, still he trusted their Lordships would permit him to refer to one part of the noble Marquess's speech, in which he had alluded to a right hon. Friend of his, who was not present to vindicate himself against a charge which the noble Marquess had thought fit to repeat to-night. He (the Earl of St. Germans) did think that the noble Marquess was hardly justified in the remarks he had made; the charge had been brought against the right hon. Gentleman in the House of Commons, and he distinctly denied and rebutted that charge, and read an accurate report of the speech which he did deliver on the occasion alluded to. The charge was founded on the report of a speech said to have been made by the right hon. Gentleman at a meeting in the city of Dublin, in which he imputed to the Roman Catholics that they were not to be believed on their oaths. The right hon. Gentleman, two days after the meeting, published a corrected report of his speech, in which no such words were used; and he distinctly in the House of Commons denied having used such words. The noble Marquess, knowing all this, was scarcely justified in repeating the charge in the necessary absence of the right hon. Gentleman.

The Marquess of *Normanby* said, that if the right hon. Gentleman had gone to the extent of giving a distinct denial to the charge, of course he (the Marquess of Normanby) was bound to accept that denial. But he (the Marquess of Normanby) happened to be present when the right hon. Gentleman made his speech in the House of Commons in answer to the charge of having used the words imputed to him; and that speech was not considered by any person at the time, certainly not by him (the Marquess of Normanby), to amount to a denial; but what he said was, that whatever words were used by him had been published in a corrected form, and he offered to read his speech to the House, which was certainly a very formidable proposal, and not likely to be accepted. But it was well known that it very often happened that what a man published and what he spoke were two very different things. He (the Marquess of Normanby) did not intend to say that the right hon. Gentleman meant to adhere to the expression; but certainly an impression had gone forth from one end of Ireland to the other that such words had been used by him.

Motion as amended agreed to.

House adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, April 7, 1845.

MINUTES.] BILLS. *Public.*—2°· Mutiny; Marine Mutiny.

Private.—1°· Northumberland Railway; Spoad (Clun), etc., Inclosure; Ely and Huntingdon Railway; Clifton Bridge; Lynn and Dereham Railway; Wilts, Somerset, and Weymouth Railway; Direct London and Portsmouth Railway.

2°· Cornwall Railway; Glossop Gas; Crediton Small Debts; Greenwich Colliery Railway; North Woolwich Railway; Anderston Municipality and Police; Eastern Union Railway; Shepley Lane, Head, and Barnsley Road; Manchester Court of Record; Great Southern and Western Railway (Ireland).

Reported.—Fisher Lane (Greenwich) Improvement; Britten's Divorce.

PETITIONS PRESENTED. From Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in favour of the Jewish Disabilities Removal Bill.—By Mr. Benbow, from Dudley, for Repeal of Duty on Copper Ore.

THE FISHERIES.] Viscount *Palmerston* wished to put a question to the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury, of which he had given notice. It was stated in the newspapers that the French Minister of the Interior (M. Cunin Gridaine) had announced to the Chambers that he was about to propose a Bill for the purpose of carrying into effect certain modifications which the British Government had consented to in the Treaty which was concluded in 1839, between the two Governments, for regulating the fisheries in the narrow seas. He wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman what these modifications were?

Sir *R. Peel* apprehended there must be some mistake in the report of the French newspapers with respect to the words used by the Minister. There was a Convention entered into in 1839 between this country and France with respect to the fisheries of the respective countries in the narrow seas; and the Eleventh Article of that Convention provided that certain regulations should be entered into between Commissioners appointed by the two countries. Those regulations were accordingly agreed upon by the Commissioners, and were embodied in an Act of Parliament which passed through the Legislature of this country, and received the Royal Assent in 1843. By the Convention, it was agreed that each country should, if necessary, pass a legislative measure for the purpose of carrying the regulations of the Convention into execution. We passed, in accordance with that Article, a law to enable us to inflict the penalties awarded under the Convention for breaches of the regulations. The French Government had not as yet passed a similar law; and he apprehended the French Minister (Monsieur Cunin Gridaine) had merely expressed an intention to introduce a law to carry the regulations of the Convention of 1839 into effect. It would seem from the report in the newspapers, as if since 1843, some modification of the Convention had taken place; but no modification had taken place; and he therefore thought that there must be some mistake as to the announcement which was made in the French Chamber.

Viscount *Palmerston* wished to know if he was to understand from the right hon. Baronet that there had been no modification of the Convention, or of any of the regulations which had been agreed upon by the Commissioners under the Convention?

Sir *R. Peel* said, that since the Act of the British Legislature in 1843, an Act passed for the purpose of carrying the regulations into effect, there had been no modification of the Convention or the regulations.

Captain *Pechell* said, that the subject had been brought forward in the French Chamber of Deputies recently, by M. Estancelin, a representative who took a constant interest in the question as it related to the French fishermen. M. Estancelin expressed his opposition to the Treaty of 1839, as fatal to the interests of France; and in reply to those observations, M. Guizot said:—

> "I found the Treaty concluded—its very date proves it. I endeavoured in the negotiations opened on the subject to remedy the evil. My position was rather difficult, for the Treaty was concluded, signed, and ratified, and it was found necessary to reverse certain clauses thereof, which were in full force. The negotiation ended in the adoption of regulations which have, in a great measure, redressed the grievances complained of by M. Fstancelin. Certain clauses of the new Convention will be submitted to the legislative sanction in both countries."

What was that redress, he would ask? Was it to be conceded that the French fishermen should come within a shorter distance of the English coast to fish than they are at present allowed under the Convention? There was no reason why that point should be conceded to the French fishermen. He held in his hand an extract from a petition of the French fishermen of Dieppe, Fecamp, and Boulogne, relative to the decline of their fishery; and that petition was presented by M. Estancelin, who had taken a very great interest in the subject. The extract expressed the views taken by the fishermen; it was:—

> "Nous deplorons vivement l'extremité à laquelle nous sommes reduits, nous voudrions marcher tête levée comme le faissaient nos anciens, mais seuls nous ne pouvons arriver à ce but. Il nous faut l'appui positif et efficace du gouvernement. Nous voulons rendre à notre patrie la pêche nationale dont elle s'est depouillée au profit de l'Angleterre."

Did the Government intend to permit such a modification of the regulations as would seriously affect the interests of our fishermen, by allowing the French to fish within a shorter distance of our shores than that agreed upon in the Convention of 1839? M. Estancelin in effect said the noble Lord (Palmerston) had stolen a march upon them, and that the interests of the French fishermen had not been properly consulted.

Sir *R. Peel* thought it very unwise to enter into the subject of petitions that were presented to the French Chambers, or to quote speeches which had been made upon the subject in the French Chamber of Deputies.

Auction Duties.] House in Committee on the Excise Acts,

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* rose to bring forward his measure for the repeal of the Auction Duties. He said, after the full statement which had been made by his right hon. Friend the First Lord of the Treasury upon the subject, when he made his financial statement to the House, and after the explanation his right hon. Friend had given in reference to the evil consequences of those duties, which were contained in the Report of the Commissioners of Excise Inquiry, he should, under ordinary circumstances, have felt himself exempted from the necessity of troubling the House any further upon the subject; but inasmuch as his hon. Friend the Member for Dorsetshire had intimated his intention of taking the sense of the House upon the proposition, it became his duty to state to the House the reasons which had induced the Government to recommend the total repeal of the auction duties. In the Report of the Excise Commission, the Commissioners stated that they thought the attention of the House ought to be first directed to the auction duties, with a view, if not of repealing them altogether, at least of amending them considerably. He need not state that the auction duties were duties of a character deemed, in a commercial country, most obnoxious. It was undesirable that a tax should be levied upon the transfer of property; it was essential to the interests of a commercial country that there should be as far as possible a repeal of taxes which affected the transfer of property. Such a tax could only be justified by necessity. This particular tax was not only objectionable as regarded the transfer of property, but it was also objectionable as regarded the partial manner in which it worked. It applied only to that particular class of property which was sold by auction, and there were reasons why this mode of transferring property was of all others the most entitled to indulgence. He need not remind the House that sales of property in this country by auction were generally forced upon the parties; and that they had no option whatever in respect to selling. He referred to what were not uncommon instances of the manner in which property was thus transferred. Two cases of this kind had recently come under his observation. Two estates had been lately sold, which nearly equalled each other in value, and for argument sake he would say in round numbers that they sold for 100,000*l.* each. To one of those estates an individual succeeded, whose predecessor had made it subject to a large amount of debt, which should be discharged from the proceeds of the sale. These incumbrances amounted to 90,000*l.* Being obliged to submit the property to auction, the consequence was, that this sum of 90,000*l.* was paid by the individual out of the purchase money, which only left a balance of 10,000*l.* He was, however, obliged to pay the auction duty upon the whole amount, being 3,000*l.*, which left for himself only about 7,000*l.* The other estate was without any incumbrance; and the owner of it put it up to auction with the object merely, as he stated, of estimating its value; he, however, evaded paying the duty of 3,000*l.* upon it by withdrawing it from the sale, and then disposed of it by private contract for 100,000*l.* He gave these instances to show the partial effect which such a law produced in the transfer of property by auction. It appeared by a return which had been laid on the Table of the House, that out of the whole mass of property which had been brought to auction, a very small proportion of it became subject to this duty. The property brought to auction in the course of the year amounted to forty-five millions, whilst the property that actually paid the duty amounted to something short of eight millions, showing to what an enormous extent certain species of property had been exempted from duty. The exemption arose from two causes. The first cause of exemption was the feeling of Parliament that the auction duty was an oppressive tax, and that the exemption ought to be carried to a very great extent; Parliament had therefore been in the habit, from time to time, of relieving particular interests from the operation of the duty, so that there were no less than forty-one classes of exemption introduced by Parliament, with a view to diminish the severity of the operation of this tax. The continuance of the duty upon those who were still subject to pay it was necessarily viewed by them as a hardship. We were not to suppose that because out of forty-five millions, thirty-seven millions might be exempted from the duty, the parties interested were altogether relieved from the charge and trouble of the tax. Far from it. Although the bulk of the property did not pay the duty, it was subject to those restrictions which applied to the other, in order to prevent improper evasions. The auctioneer must give the same notices, he must draw out the same catalogues, he must prepare the same accounts, he must give the same bonds to the Excise which he must give in the case of property which must ultimately pay the duty. The consequence was, that he remunerated himself by charges on those parties whose property it was not the intention of the Legislature to subject to these burdens. It necessarily followed that from exemptions the labour imposed on the Government and the expense arising from the labour, was very considerable; so that a large deduction from the total amount of duty levied must be made on account of the expense of collection. From the best information which he had been able to obtain of the 300,000*l.* which the auction duty produced, 50,000*l.* was spent in the collection; so that the House would see that this tax had the other evil of levying a much larger sum on the public than actually came into the coffer of the Treasury. But the greatest evil which attended the auction duty was the general combination amongst all classes to evade it. Property was put up to ascertain its value; it was bought in, and immediately afterwards disposed of by private contract. In the majority of instances, the ingenuity exercised in evading the tax was successful. This duty operated prejudically on all classes of the community. Take a case immediately connected with trade and commerce: by the auction law, as it at present stood, the first importer, who sold the goods within a limited period after their arrival, sold them entirely free from the auction duty; but the individual who purchased them of him, sell them when he might, was subjected to the full duty. So that this case happened: the cargo arrived and was immediately sold, the seller having paid no duties to the Crown; if the buyer was engaged in trade, and wished to part with the property, he was under the necessity of paying a duty of 1*s.* in the pound. The first seller did not materially profit by his exemption, for he necessarily considered the restrictions to which he was subject, and would not give the importer the full price. In this way the duty affected commercial men; but the evil was not less as affecting the agricultural interest, in whose behalf the hon. Member for Dorsetshire proposed to move an Amendment to his Motion. It was perfectly true that a farmer who sold his stock upon his farm was altogether exempt from the auction duty; and it might be supposed that whatever benefit would arise from the repeal of the duty was already enjoyed by agriculturists; but the evil of the duty applied here as in other cases. It affected but little the man of property, while it pressed severely upon him who was least able to bear it. A great farmer who had a large stock, had enough to attract purchasers and such a competition as would secure to him the full value of the commodity; but a small farmer, who had but few articles to dispose of, could not command the attendance of a large number of persons, by which the advantage of a sale by auction was enhanced. In rural districts large farmers found it convenient to sell in the immediate neighbourhood of great towns, with the view of having more profitable returns; and in order to evade the duty, it had been the practice for farmers so situated to hire land in the immediate vicinity of the town where they wished to sell, and to drive the cattle to the land to be there sold, that the duty might be evaded, whilst they derived advantage from the contiguity of a large population. Take the case of the sale of timber. When it was sold standing, it paid no duty whatever; but suppose the purchaser should wish to dispose of the bark, or those parts which were not valuable as timber, in order to reimburse himself for the amount he had paid for the timber, he was then subject to the whole amount of the duty, as he did not sell on the property on which the timber was grown. Thus the exemption which the farmers appeared to enjoy was in many cases rather in name than in reality. He might give other instances, but enough had been stated to show that the tax operated severely even on those on whom it was the wish of the Legislature that it should operate the least. It might possibly be said that many of these anomalies might be got rid of by a reduction of the duty and an alteration of the system under which it was collected. The attempt had been made. It had not proved successful, and it was found much better to repeal the tax altogether. It was proposed, however, to retain so much of the machinery as imposed a license on the auctioneer by whom the business was to be carried on; and it was proposed that the license duty should be 15*l.* on every auctioneer. The House was aware that at the present moment the ordinary license of an auctioneer amounted only to 5*l.*; but if he sold any article which was subject to excise duty, he was bound to pay, however small the quantity of the article which he sold, the full license for the permission to sell that particular article; and it might, and in some instances did happen, that where, in addition to the sale of ordinary property, he sold wine, beer, or spirits, in all these cases a separate license must be obtained; and there were cases in which auctioneers took out the full amount of these additional duties, and thereby incurred an annual charge of 30*l.*, which was the amount of all these particular duties. In fixing the duty at half this amount, it appeared to him that it was not an unfair compromise of extreme rights. A party having a license for 15*l.* would be at liberty to sell every species of property. What would necessarily be the operation of the duty? It would be, that there being no longer any restriction of sales by auction—the more ready mode of selling property at its value—there would be a great increase of the property really put up to sale and actually disposed of by this mode of transfer. The auctioneer, therefore, would have a very large increase of business throughout the country, arising from the simple circumstance, that there would be no obstacle to the disposal of property. He would also be relieved from other burdens; for in addition to the 5*l.* duty which he was obliged to pay, he was obliged to furnish annual bonds to the Excise, with sureties for the payment of the duties which passed through his hands. These bonds were an annual expense, independent of the expense which was always incident to requiring parties to be sureties. By the removal of the duty the auctioneer was exempted from these onerous burdens to which he was subject with a view to the prevention of fraud—he was relieved from the necessity of giving and receiving notices, and was no longer responsible to Government for large amounts—he was no longer obliged to keep complicated books of accounts, and transmit them for the satisfaction of the Excise, not merely on those sales on which the duties were levied, but those on which duties were due. Taking these circumstances into consideration, it was his firm belief that the charge of 15*l.* would not be so much as that which was now the ordinary duty paid by auctioneers. The right hon. Gentleman concluded by moving,—

> "That it is the opinion of this Committee that all the Duties of Excise now payable in respect of Sales by Auction, and on Licenses to be taken out by Auctioneers, shall cease."

Mr. *Hawes* asked whether the right hon. Gentleman had considered the brokers in the city of London, and other great commercial towns? These brokers belonged to houses where there were several partners. Hitherto it had been the practice for one partner to take out a license, and to sell the commodities which they sold under one single license. He understood the First Lord of the Treasury to have said that the license was to be raised from 5*l.*, the present amount, to 15*l.* each. Now, if every member of these brokers' firms was to take out a separate license, the amount which they would have to pay, instead of 5*l.*, would be 45*l.* He would, therefore, ask if it was the intention of the right hon. Gentleman that each member of a firm should be compelled to take out a license? If such was not the intention, an announcement of the fact would remove the apprehensions which were now entertained on this head by many parties in the city of London.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that the person taking out the license and belonging to a firm, had necessarily the right to sell; but that if two or three members of a firm were engaged in selling by auction, each of them would be obliged to take out the license. Were that not the case, what would be the consequence? There would be a combination of auctioneers in little societies, one of whom would have the license, and the others not. It was only the individual that sold by auction that was liable to pay the license.

Mr. *Bankes* felt that in offering a reply to the statement of his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer he was by no means called upon to make out that no benefit would result from the removal of the tax proposed to be remitted, because no tax or impost whatever could be removed without occasioning a benefit to some party. He trusted that he should place himself in the position he wished to occupy on that occasion, by being enabled to satisfy the House that he could propose a greater and more efficient relief, with the same sum of money, by retaining this duty as it stood, for the present at least, and by relieving those who at the present moment were suffering severely by the pressure of a heavy impost. He felt more particularly called upon at the present time to offer this substitute to the House, because with reference to those propositions which now stood before the House for its consideration, and more especially some that were proposed by his right hon. Friend at the head of the Home Office, there were burdens of the most serious nature to be imposed upon the landed interest. He adverted more particularly to those measures which stood for consideration on that day se'nnight—the Bill of his right hon. Friend, by which he proposed to regulate the Fees of Justices' Clerks, and of Clerks of the Peace, and the Parochial Settlement Bill. These measures might, perhaps, deserve, and very probably, from the support which the Government usually received in that House, would receive the sanction of the House. But it was right that they should be aware of the burdens which these measures would inevitably occasion; and he must tell his right hon. Friends that they would place the agricultural Members in rather an unfair and invidious position, if, when they proposed measures which the agricultural Members wished to support, they felt bound from circumstances to resist them on the ground of the inability of their constituents to bear the burdens which those measures would lay on them. The Bill of his right hon. Friend which related to the clerks of the peace and to the justices' clerks, was one which, if it came into effect, would occasion a greatly increased degree of expense to be paid out of the county rates. The hon. Member for Montrose (Mr. Hume) had given notice that he would move that all fees now received by these officers be abolished. If these fees were abolished, what would become of the fund to which the right hon. Gentleman looked for curtailing the expense which this Bill proposed to place upon the counties? He would remind his right hon. Friend that officers of this kind to be efficient, and to sustain a proper degree of dignity, must not be *ill* paid, and must not be selected from an inferior station in life. The Legislature must be prepared to give these officers ample salaries—salaries worthy of the ambition of such men as the country would desire to see placed in those positions. Not only the clerks of the peace, but the clerks of petty sessions also, should be men of that degree of station and character possessed generally by those who now filled these offices, but who complained that their pay was not a sufficient remuneration for their trouble, that pay being composed of those fees and other means of scanty emolument which were now complained of. It was time that fees were done away with; but if they were done away with, there would come a new burden on the county rates. He, therefore, earnestly entreated his right hon. Friends, before they completed their financial arrangements, which disposed of the whole of their surplus revenue, to consider well the effect of this measure, which they now intended to carry; beneficial he admitted it to be in itself, but which must necessarily be attended with expense. With respect to the other measure—of which he could not speak with the same praise as he was ready to bestow upon the first—he meant the new Law of Settlement—it was one to which he looked with the greatest degree of alarm, and one to which he could not promise any degree of support. With respect to that measure, he begged leave to remind his right hon. Friend, that in addition to other serious disadvantages, a great deal of additional expense would be entailed by it upon the agricultural interest; if that measure were carried into effect, it would occasion a very considerable increase in the poor rates; for if, by union settlements, instead of parochial settlements, they threw all the poor into one large mass, instead of into smaller masses, such as they were now congregated in, they would take away that stimulus which now incited persons residing in separate parishes to provide, as it was their interest to do, employment for the poor, each in their own parish, instead of allowing them to go to the union workhouse. He claimed no merit to the agriculturists for determining rather to employ the poor than to allow them to go to the workhouse. He was aware that they were open to the attacks of those who were ready to say that they did so from the most selfish motives. He was ready to admit, if no better motive could be alleged for them, or if there were those who wished to impute only that motive which was least honourable, that the agriculturists acted from a selfish motive, as it was for their interest to employ the labourer rather than allow him to go to the workhouse. When the law should be altered, as his right hon. Friend proposed to alter it, that motive would cease, and the conduct which it originated on the part of the agriculturists towards the poor would cease also. There was thus another considerable burden to be apprehended, and they would find the poor rates again mounting up rapidly, as the returns would show which would be laid upon the Table. He must be allowed to tell his right hon. Friend that when he referred with so much triumph to the apparently diminished rates, he adverted to that which was in truth a very fallacious statement of the expenses with which the agriculturists were charged with reference to the relief of the poor, because the payment of those sums now paid in the way of finding employment for the poor—those sums now disbursed for labour not absolutely required, was in reality but another mode of paying to the poor rate, although such payments did not appear in the Returns which were laid upon the Table. It was, therefore, very premature for them to congratulate themselves on the apparent diminution in the amount of the poor rates. The agriculturists were paying for labour which they did not require. ["Hear!"] That they were doing so was perfectly true—they were paying for labour which they did not require, rather than that those whom they thus employed should go to the union workhouse. If the contemplated change in the law of settlement should be made, they would see the amount of the poor rates once more increase

—the sums now paid by the agriculturists would again appear in the shape of poor rates, instead of being paid, as at present, for the employment of labour. In a union of large extent it would be absolutely impracticable to treat the poor as the agriculturists dealt with them in their parishes. He ventured to hope, therefore, that Ministers would consider this point in their financial scheme; and that, with reference to those measures which they were now bringing before the House, with the certainty of laying additional burdens upon the agricultural interest, they would pause, at least for a time, and consent rather to retain those duties which they now designed to remit, until they well considered the consequences of those new burdens which they were about to throw more particularly on the agricultural interest. He would advert to another important matter, which he understood was now under the consideration of Government—the establishment of lunatic asylums. A measure with reference to this important object should be considered and adopted with the smallest possible delay. In the county which he had the honour to represent he was happy to say that they had anticipated the intentions of the Government. They had there voluntarily established such an asylum, which they kept up at a heavy expense, and there was none which they were more proud, more happy to pay. It was one of the results of the New Poor Law, that they must have these asylums in every county, or misery and additional evils would be visited upon those who were unfortunately so afflicted as to require such places of refuge. There was another project now proposed, which came as an additional charge upon the county rate. The hon. Member for Lymington had charge of a bill for abolishing smoke; for carrying out the provisions of which inspectors were to be appointed at the county sessions, and paid, as he presumed, out of the county purse. Museums of art were to be established; and they, in the same way, were to be paid out of the rates. When they were making these charges on the county purse, they should at least have the prudence and the kindness to take care that that purse should be decently replenished. He had adverted to those new burdens which might be anticipated; but he must also tell the House that those which already existed pressed in a very heavy manner on the persons liable to pay the county rate, who were frequently of the poorest means. He could not entirely agree with his right hon. Friend (Sir James Graham), when he said that it was a matter of indifference whether these charges were paid out of the consolidated fund or out of the county rate. There was a difference between their being paid out of the consolidated fund and being defrayed by direct taxes levied for the purpose. To show the mode in which the county rate sometimes pressed upon the poorer classes, he would read to the House a letter which he had that morning received from a guardian of the Dorchester Union, to which he would particularly call the attention of his right hon. Friend Sir James Graham. The right hon. Member read the letter, as follows:—

"In some parishes, as for instance in a parish in this neighbourhood, the levy of poor rate, including of course, county rate, is felt as a great burden by the poor. The land in the parish being much of it in the hands of small proprietors has been used for building cottages on, and a great many dwellings for labourers and poor mechanics and tradesmen have been erected there. The parochial authorities, under the direction of the vestry, always apply to the magistrates for those poor persons inhabiting those small tenements to be excused from the poor rate if they belong to the parish; but if they belong elsewhere they do not, and the payment of the poor rates falls very heavily on some so situated. Last week, an old blacksmith, who rents one of those tenements at 5*l.* a year, but does not belong to the parish, applied to me (as the blacksmith in this parish is his brother) for assistance towards paying his poor rate. He only earns about 5*s.* a week, on which he and a daughter in bad health, have to live, and his rate amounted to between 4*s.* 6*d.* and 5*s.* This, of course, was a heavy demand on an income of 5*s.* a week; and there have been many cases before us as magistrates which (under the Act of Parliament) we could not excuse without the recommendation of the vestry, and that recommendation is generally withheld except to a settled parishioner."

His right hon. Friend said that this was one of a class of cases which his new Bill would remedy. Perhaps it might; but in his opinion that Bill would produce infinitely more mischief than good. The object he had in view in reading the statement with which he had just troubled the House—and he had many others in his hand of a similar character, which he could read if they were needed as further proof — was to show that this rate pressed on the poor with great severity. For that reason, if for no other, he was induced to say that the remission of the county rates, to an amount equal to that of the tax which Her Majesty's Government now proposed to remit, would occasion a much greater degree of benefit to the country, as it would be a benefit which would reach the humbler classes of the people, and would give more general satisfaction. Indeed, he should be able to show, when he came to touch upon the auction duty, that although they might relieve and benefit some by their measure, many were, nevertheless, extremely dissatisfied with what they proposed. He had but very slender grounds of hope that he should be able to effect a change of opinion on this subject in the occupants of the Ministerial Bench. With respect to the Bench opposite, he might have better grounds for hoping that he would find those who would concur with him, because it was during the existence of the Government of which the noble Lord the Member for London was a Member, that was first originated the principle of giving a degree of assistance to the county rate, in behalf of which he (Mr. Bankes) now asked for a still larger relief. The noble Lord considered it but reasonable and just that relief should be given to the agricultural interest in respect of payments and charges falling hardly upon them, which were for the benefit of the community at large. He would not speak so particularly with respect to the case of prosecutions. He might admit that it was right that the magistrates of counties, who had the superintendence of prosecutions, should have a direct interest in guarding against any extravagance, and, above all, against the effects of too great a love for prosecutions. With respect to those charges which applied to parties after conviction, when juries had found against them, it was not unreasonable — seeing that the public at large was interested in the matters which caused those charges—that the expenses attending such conviction should be shared by the community. He should say, therefore, with respect to the charges of gaols, and of convictions, a much larger proportion than had as yet been allowed might reasonably be expected to the relief of the county rate. There was another class of Members in the House to which he would also venture to apply—he meant those who were proud to be ranked under the denomination of the Anti-Corn Law League. He did not despair of having their assistance on that occasion, because he was not one of those who considered that those hon. Members were intentionally hostile to the agricultural interest. He believed that what they said they believed to be true—that they wished well to that interest; and when they charged them (the agriculturists) with being blind to their own interests, he would give them every credit for having no intention to molest or to injure the agriculturists as a body, although individuals sometimes fell under their censure and animadversion. He was inclined to believe that they considered that the prosperity of the agriculturist was interwoven with their own. He admitted that if the condition of the agriculturists were more prosperous, the home market for cotton would be more prosperous than it was at present. With reference to this subject he would refer to the last trades' circular of Manchester, which said,—

> "That the condition of the market, during the early part of the last month, continued to preserve its vigour, and that full prices had been maintained—that within the last fortnight, however, a marked change had taken place, and that a dulness, with a drooping aspect as to prices, had succeeded—and that this alteration was attributable to several causes, amongst which, as respected home consumption, might be mentioned, the increased deterioration in the condition of the agricultural population.

He would, therefore, urge those hon. Members, if from no higher motive than a desire for the furtherance of their own interests, to aid in removing this depression as far as lay in their power; and although it was true it was but for little he asked, that was no reason why they should refuse the good which they might, perhaps, ridicule as being too small. He was ready to meet any sneers which might be offered in regard to the amount of relief which he solicited at their hands. It was perfectly true that he might, on the same grounds as those on which he made this application, have joined the hon. and learned Member for Bath, when he proposed to fix on the property of Ireland the Income Tax which was paid by the property of England. The proposition was perfectly just and reasonable in point of principle, and would, if carried, have afforded additional means of aiding those whose distressed condition he was now bringing under their consideration. But he, for one, did not consider it right to give his support to that proposition, nor did he regret that he withheld it. Undoubtedly, if the Income Tax were to be continued as a permanent tax, the extending it to Ireland would be a fit subject for future consideration. He had refrained from offering opposition to the remission of the duty on cotton wool; but he was not so sanguine as to believe that the slightest decrease of the price of cotton garments would accrue to the labourers from the duty being taken off. He had no wish, however, to interfere with any proposition which might affect the manufacturing interests; but if he had waited until the whole financial schemes of the Government had been completed, and then came forward with an abstract proposition, complaining of the county rates, he would have been met by his Friends on that side of the House, and by many of his Friends on the other side, who would ask him why he had not come forward at an earlier period with this application. He believed that his right hon. Friends were not aware of the extent of the distress in the agricultural districts, nor of the precise extent to which the burden of the county rate pressed upon the agricultural interest. That pressure was mitigated in some degree by the attention and care of the magistrates, in excusing those from paying who, they were satisfied, were unable to pay; but many of those who did pay were persons who could little afford the rate, and whom it was their desire to excuse if it were in their power. When he saw new projects to fix new burdens upon this same fund, he felt it to be his duty, before the whole of the surplus at the disposal of the Government was disposed of, at least to make his right hon. Friends acquainted with the fact, that they could not carry out their projects, some of which, he admitted, should if possible be carried out, and fix the burden of them upon the county funds, without creating a degree of distress in the agricultural districts which they were unable to bear. He was surprised to hear, on the part of the right hon. Baronet the Home Secretary, the other night, an attack on the manner in which counties generally kept their accounts; and he would now request the attention of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Montrose more particularly to what he was going to say. It was charged upon the counties that they kept their accounts; in a slovenly manner. As regarded the county with which he was connected, the very contrary was the case. He held the balance sheet of the county in his hand, and could say with confidence that there was not a shilling, not a sixpence in that balance sheet which was not properly accounted for. He was satisfied that every attention was paid to this subject that the most correct financier could possibly require; and he really believed that the hon. Member for Montrose himself would approve of the mode in which the balance sheet to which he referred had been made out. He offered the House a proposition for suspending the proposed remission of the duty which was bringing at the present moment about 300,000*l.* a year to the Public Exchequer. He was aware that from the remission which had taken place in other duties a considerable sum had also been placed at the disposal of his right hon. Friend, who had placed a large number of the officers of Excise on half pay, and that a great many more might yet probably be so disposed of, and thus a larger sum still be left at his disposal very soon. Ministers had given relief to those who were most proud and prosperous—the manufacturers; they ought, then, to give relief also to the agriculturists—to those who were so depressed; and he did not know why relief should be refused to them. He demanded it not only because the agriculturists were distressed, but because their claims to relief were just. As to the auction duties, he could assure the Government that it was a species of remission that did not meet with universal approbation. He had received letters from country auctioneers—letters not sought for by him; but these letters, coming from different parts of the country, all expressed a hope that every resistance would be made to the farther progress of this measure, as it would be injurious to some, and ruinous to others; that is, it would drive them to some other mode of employment. There were in England about 4,000 auctioneers; about 500 of these took out the larger license, the remainder had but the 5*l.* license, and yet the Government proposed to make all those persons pay 15*l.* They could not do that; and many of them he was assured would abandon their occupation. But, then, those who should consent to pay the duty, must get an indemnity from some person—of course the duty must ultimately be paid by those who employed them; and who were to employ them? Why, the agriculturists: those who were now exempt if they sold on their own premises, the Government proposed now to make them pay—and this it was said, was a benefit to agriculturists. It was supposed by the right hon. Gentleman that it was a benefit to the farmer to sell elsewhere rather than on his premises. In that the right hon. Gentleman was wrong. Farming stock sold much better on the farm than anywhere else. It had been urged as an absurdity in the present regulation of the auction duty, that when the first importer of articles sold them by auction, he was liable to no auction duty; but that the second possessor of these same articles, if desirous of selling them by auction, could not do so without incurring the amount of duty. But it was quite a mistake to suppose that any absurdity was involved in a regulation made in accordance with the plainest rule of justice. The first importer does not pay an auction duty upon those imported, because he has already paid the customs' import duty on these very articles; and it could not be considered very reasonable to charge him with two rates of duty in reference to one commercial transaction. But now what is it that is to be done? The corn and flour that is brought from abroad, having been already relieved from the greater portion of the customs' duty, is to be relieved entirely from the auction duty, if parted with by that mode of sale. And yet we are informed by the Members of the Government that this is a change which will have the effect of benefiting the agricultural interest! The foundation of this portion of the Budget was a Report prepared by Sir Henry Parnell, in furtherance of a plan of his, by which all Excise duties were to be entirely altered or abolished; a Report which had been submitted to the House some years ago, but which had never been offered for the adoption of the House, by any of the different Governments that had been in power during that period until now. And it was a fit subject for observation, that in the very outset of this Report, an erroneous impression was conveyed in regard to the origin of this tax. Any one who should give implicit credit to this Report would be induced to believe that this was a tax imposed at a time of great emergency, without consideration, or even with the consciousness of those who imposed it, that the tax was in principle a bad one; but such impressions are very far from the truth. This tax was proposed by one who, though not a very successful Minister, was yet far from being discredited on subjects of finance. Lord North thus expressed himself, when proposing the auction duty in the year 1777: "This tax (he said) was intended to answer more purposes than those of mere finance. Auctions were multiplied of late years in all parts of the kingdom, to that excess, as to be very mischievous to every fair trader; and in many cases were attended with circumstances of gross fraud and imposition. But even where they were accompanied with no such circumstances, they were fair objects of taxation, and were already taxed in Holland, the country in Europe where the public burdens were most judiciously laid on. He believed it would be a very productive tax, but he should take it at 37,000*l.*"—Such was the statement of Lord North when introducing this tax; a tax which was adopted by Mr. Pitt, and being raised in amount, produced at this day a revenue of 300,000*l.*, without complaint from any one single individual. As to the auctioneers who were making large fortunes, he had no doubt but that the removal of this tax would be popular amongst them; and he was quite aware, that if not the authors, they were, at all events, the promoters of the scheme. The auctioneers of a humbler class, however, had a right to expect some consideration on the part of Her Majesty's Ministers. He believed that if they went through the whole body of auctioneers, they would find all except the five hundred who now pay the higher duty opposed to the change. It would gratify only those who had attained considerable eminence, and who, filling a high situation in their rank in life, did not require pecuniary aid; it would injure a very large and estimable class of country auctioneers, whose case deserved consideration; and it would confer no benefit whatever upon the agriculturists. One word with respect to the sale of landed property. His right hon. Friend said that the tax was obnoxious on account of there being so many exemptions. He did not comprehend the full force of that argument. The tax was not obnoxious to those who were exempt from its operation. If the ground upon which the alteration was proposed was the evasions practised with reference to revenue, that was a reason which he could understand. But his right hon. Friend seemed to rest the chief force of his argument on the extreme trouble which the tax caused to public officers; but he really could not consider that as a valid ground. Besides, this tax belonged rather to the Customs than to the Excise Department; and, by transferring the management of it from one to the other, all the mischiefs complained of would at once be obviated. In reply to the objection that landed estates were not generally sold by auction, but were resorted to only as a mode of ascertaining their value, he might observe that practical suggestions had been made, in the very Report now before them, the adoption of which would remove that evil. It would be very easy to exempt landed estates from the auction duty, and to substitute a graduated stamp duty, which would be a security against all evasion of that nature. Admitting, then, as he did at the outset, that some persons might derive benefit from the proposed remission of duty, he thought he had shown that not a few would be greatly injured; and, striking a balance between the benefit conferred by the remission, and the benefit which, if they refrained from making this alteration, Her Majesty's Government might confer by other means, he ventured to hope that his right hon. Friends would think this matter worthy of reconsideration; and it was for the purpose of giving them the opportunity for that reconsideration that he should pursue the course of which he had given notice, by taking the sense of the House upon this subject.

Mr. *M. Gibson* said, that in some of the remarks of the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down he, for one, perfectly coincided. His hon. Friends on that side of the House who thought with him in reference to these matters, were no less anxious to see the landlord, the farmer, and the labourer in a prosperous state than the hon. Gentleman who had introduced this discussion; but they differed from him entirely as to the means of promoting their prosperity. That hon. Gentleman had come forward seeking, as he told them, relief for the agricultural industry of the country; and his proposal had, he said, at any rate, the recommendation of being a modest one. Now, he thought he could show the hon. Gentleman that his proposal was not calculated to benefit the agricultural interest; and, further, that it was any thing but a modest proposal. Why, what was the agricultural interest? When they spoke of the landed interest, did they mean the agricultural labourer, or the farmer, or the landed proprietor? If the hon. Gentleman used the expression in reference to the agricultural labourer, he was utterly at a loss to understand how any remission of local taxation could possibly benefit persons of that class. And even if it would, he did not know why that should be the peculiar moment selected in preference to other periods for dealing with the distress of the agricultural labourer. His distress was chronic; but he contended that at the present time his condition was a shade better than it had been at former periods, in consequence of the cheapness of food and the abundance of provisions. Let a Motion be brought forward for removing the permanent distress of that class, and he would unite with its proposers most cordially; but when he was told that by leaving the auction duties in their present state, by taking off certain local taxation and county rates, and by interfering in some way with lunatic asylums, they would benefit the great body of agricultural labourers in this country, he must say that he was urged to exercise a degree of faith in the hon. Gentleman's infallibility—for the appeal was not made to his reason—which in a matter of this kind it was not usual to expect. Then, with regard to the farmer, how did the county rates affect his interest? He was himself a distressed agriculturist; he was also a justice of the peace, and he knew something of the manner of dealing with county rates. When farmers had asked to have their interests represented with respect to the levying of the county rates and county expenses generally, landed proprietors themselves had said to them, "You don't pay these county rates; they come out of the rent." And they were quite right in the statement. If the hon. Gentleman opposite would take the trouble of reading the able Report on Local Taxation which had been laid on the Table of that House, he would find the Commissioners distinctly telling him that county rates, poor rates, rates for lunatic asylums, and all the local burdens which the hon. Member had mentioned, were merely portions of rent intercepted before they found their way from the pocket of the tenant into that of the owner of the land. What you take from local burdens would ultimately be added to landlord's rent. Well, then, what possible benefit could it be to the farmer, if he were the distressed party whom it was sought to relieve, to deal with local taxation? Who was the third party connected with the agricultural interest whom it was proposed to relieve? Why, the landed proprietor himself. Therefore, he maintained, that he had made out his case. When the hon. Gentleman came there to ask them not to take off a tax which pressed upon the community, but, instead of this, to put money into the pockets of the landed proprietors, he thought he was entitled to say, that the proposal was at least not a modest one. He confessed, that it appeared to him to have as little of the character of modesty, and as much of what he should call cool assurance, as any proposal that had ever been made within the walls of that House. He was not using an expression which he meant to be in the slightest degree offensive to the hon. Gentleman; but he must deal with matters as he found them, and he told him at once that these propositions to benefit the tenant farmer and the agricultural labourer, merely by adding to rent, were propositions which, when once understood, must bring discredit on the landed proprietors of the whole country. Being himself connected in some degree with that class, he totally repudiated such propositions. He said that the owners of land were the parties who were bound to pay these local rates. Those rates came, as they ought to do, out of rent; and they had no right whatever to ask that rates levied for local purposes should be placed on the shoulders of any portion of the community but themselves. It should be recollected that the manufacturing towns and districts paid county rates. They did not claim to have the burden of the county rates which they paid, and justly paid, transferred to others. And neither, on the other hand, would they consent to have the portion of county-rates paid by landlords imposed upon them. He believed it could be proved, if they went into the details of this question, that, in consequence of the mode of assessment, a larger proportion of the county rates was imposed upon the population of towns than upon the owners of land; but, as that was not the question for discussion on that occasion, he would not then enter into it. He attributed this movement of the hon. Gentleman—and a most unfortunate movement it was—to a pressure from without, which he could not withstand, and which obliged him to do something. He had seen a letter in a country paper the other day, in which it was said that hon. Gentlemen opposite had let grease and lard slip through their fingers, and the question was asked, what did they mean to do next? They were not, said the writer, doing their duty to those who had sent them to Parliament. The present debate was, he supposed, an effort to recover lost favour. Such propositions, however, as that of the hon. Gentleman would not have the desired effect. The tenant farmer and the agricultural labourer were too shrewd not to perceive the game which was being played; and this attempt, therefore, to restore confidence would fail. Nor did he believe that they would succeed in persuading the tenant farmers of England that the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government had betrayed the agricultural interest. He had never been at all inclined to that opinion. His view, in reference to this question of treachery was this—Gentlemen had chosen for election purposes, to get up a cry in reference to the agricultural interest. It was quite impossible that the Administration could carry into effect the extreme views which the farmers were told they might expect to see developed; and hon. Gentlemen were now suffering the consequences of having tampered with the county constituencies, and persuaded them that a policy would be pursued by the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government which he never said would be pursued. So far from the right hon. Gentleman having held out such expectations, he recollected passages of his speeches when in opposition, which embodied the same free-trade principles which he had expounded since he had been in power. He remembered the right hon. Gentleman saying, in 1839, that the Corn Law formed no element in estimating the value of land. In the same manner, politicians in the manufacturing districts had practised on the credulity of constituents, and persuaded them that the right hon. Gentleman would go much further in the direction of free trade than he had yet been disposed to go; and upon such persons also similar consequences were being visited. Now, he would advise hon. Gentlemen opposite to endeavour to lead their tenantry to the belief that the Corn Law and the protective system could not last, instead of leading them to believe that this or that Minister would adhere to whatever policy they might choose to propound for election purposes. This proposed exemption from local taxation was entirely a landlords' question. If the people of England were to bring in their Bill against the landed interest, it would completely astound them. Nobody, without examining, could have the slightest idea of the amount of exemptions from taxation which that interest enjoyed then, and had enjoyed for a long period. A great deal was said about the National Debt, and of the public taxes raised to pay the interest of it. But the landlords never told them that they themselves received the advantage of a great portion of the money which was expended in the creation of that debt. A large part of that debt was incurred in the purchase of corn, of timber, and of the necessaries of life. All these articles were purchased at high prices, owing to the war. Those high prices brought extraordinary profits into the pockets of the landed proprietors; and the landed interest, in the shape of immense profits, received a large portion of that money, the expenditure of which had caused what was called the National Debt. Mr. Deacon Hume, whose opinions were so often quoted as authority in that House, instead of speaking of the landowners as a distressed body, said that the possession of an estate of 5,000*l.* a year ought to imply, as a matter of course, the possession of 50,000*l.* consols. But what had been the course pursued by landed proprietors? Their increased incomes had been made the means of obtaining further mortgages. Instead of dealing with income as a sort of capital, they had chosen to live up to it; and, having mortgaged their property, they now called upon Parliament to persevere in a system of policy which would keep up the price of corn, and enable them to pay the interest of the large sums which they had raised through war prices. The bill of charges, if brought against the landed interest, would be perfectly awful to contemplate. It was of all rash proceedings the most rash for hon. Gentlemen to come to that House to ask on behalf of landed proprietors exemptions from taxation. Why, he contended that the local rates were no taxes at all. None of the local burdens appeared in the shape of taxes. The land was reserved in the first instance, subject to such impositions; and they could have no possible claim whatever on the community at large for compensation. They had Corn Laws and monopolies of various kinds, and they were sheltered round with a variety of privileges. The Church, for instance, was theirs. They had a great portion of the patronage of the Church; they had all the privileges of the Court; they had all the advantages of nominating Ministers, and keeping them in power; they had the whole diplomatic service at their disposal. So that their broad acres not only grew wheat, and barley, and oats, but places, and pensions, and sinecures. The possession of these acres was the great qualification for favour with the Administration; that was the certificate by which they obtained place and pensions. He asked them to consider whether the day was not approaching when the mercantile community in this country would ask to be placed on a level with them in the social scale; whether they could now tax the credulity of the people by persuading them that they bore more than their fair share of the burdens of the State? In conclusion, he called upon hon. Gentlemen not to interrupt any longer the public business by making claims which could not be maintained. For himself, being at all times anxious to relieve the country from undue taxation, he must say that he saw no ground whatever for resisting the proposal of Her Majesty's Government.

Mr. *Stafford O'Brien:* The hon. Member for Manchester had given not only a slight interruption to business, but some little sketch also of the future plans and schemes of the Anti-Corn Law League; for it was evident that, having been unsuccessful for seven years in endeavouring to effect the repeal of the Corn Law, they were now going to try what they could do by attacking the Church and the Court. Wishing them success on this occasion—hon. Gentlemen too often committed the error of cheering too soon—wishing them success in their future undertaking equal to that which had attended their past exertions, he might be permitted to observe that, though the hon. Member for Manchester had announced himself as a prophet, he could not as yet declare himself to be the prophet of a fulfilled prediction. He said that the agricultural constituencies were disappointed, and wearied and disgusted with their Members. But he had not brought forward one single proof in support of the assertion. He had simply alluded to one letter in a "country newspaper." Did not the elections that took place as vacancies occurred in the country representation show distinctly whether or not those constituencies were at all inclining towards the policy or the principles of the Anti-Corn Law League? Did the elections to fill up vacancies in Kent or Wiltshire prove that the farmers were disposed to believe that the system of protection ought to be abandoned, and free trade prevail in its stead? He had come down for the purpose of opposing the Motion of his hon. Friend (Mr. Bankes), and he must say that his intention was not altered by the speech of his hon. Friend. His hon. Friend had alluded to several Bills that had not yet gone into Committee; and had taken the extraordinary course of recommending that the proceeds of a certain tax should be appropriated to pay the expenses to which counties would be put by the operation of certain Acts, not one of which he could be answerable for. Another reason which he had for opposing his hon. Friend's proposition was, that though not quite so definite or so clear, it was in principle the very same proposition that the hon. Member for Somersetshire (Mr. Miles) had brought before the House, and to which he (Mr. O'Brien) gave his support. That question having been once decided by a large majority of the House, he did not think it would tend to forward public business, or benefit any class, again to open a discussion upon it. No man was more convinced of the importance of the question of local taxation than he was; but in entering upon its discussion now they kept the country in needless suspense; whilst introducing it merely incidentally in connexion with other subjects, they prejudiced any opinion which might exist in the country with reference to it, and failed to do justice to its merits. Therefore, because he was anxious to reserve himself for the discussion of this important question on its own merits, he should oppose the Motion of his hon. Friend. If his hon. Friend carried his proposition, the agriculturists would not be the nearer to getting the money, which would be only thrown on the floor of the House for a general scramble between hon. Gentlemen, who, his hon. Friend might be quite certain, would not be willing to let so fat and fleshy a bone be carried off by him without a struggle. For those reasons, he would give his hearty opposition to the proposition.

Mr. *F. T. Baring* did not agree with his hon. Friend the Member for Manchester (Mr. M. Gibson) that the discussion of the present question was an unnecessary interruption of the public business; on the contrary, he thought it was most proper that they should consider a little the vote they were about to give. This was not to be looked upon as an agricultural debate; but the question to be considered was, whether the particular tax which the Government proposed to take off was, under all circumstances, the best to be remitted? Now what were the circumstances with which they had to deal? To meet a financial necessity, the House had imposed on the country a tax which—whatever opinion hon. Gentlemen might hold of it in preference to other taxes—must be admitted to be a harsh, a heavy, and an unequal tax. From the imposition of that tax a certain surplus revenue had arisen; and the House having disposed of the greater portion of that surplus in the remission of other taxes, were now called upon to consider what he believed was the last proposition of the Government—viz. to apply what still remained of the surplus so created to the remission of the auction duty, and to say whether that was the best mode of dealing with it. He thought the House was bound, in justice to the community on whom they had imposed a heavy and oppressive tax, not to look upon it as an improper and unnecessary interruption of public business if hon. Members entered into the consideration of the question whether the Government had in this case proposed that remission of taxation which—and this he believed, after all, was the object of hon. Gentlemen on both sides of the House—would give the greatest amount of relief to the poorer classes of the people. That was the view which he took of the Motion, and that was the question to which he should address himself. Hon. Gentlemen would forgive him if he did not enter into the domestic squabbles between the agricultural interest and the manufacturers, (which in modern times took the place of the old party contests and debates, and entered more or less into the consideration of almost every question that came before the House,) but confined himself wholly to the question of whether or not this was the best tax to take off, and, therefore, the best application of the remaining surplus with which the Government had to deal. They must not misunderstand the case. Those hon. Gentlemen who thought there were other modes of applying this surplus, which would confer a greater amount of public advantage than to remit the auction duty, must recollect that if the present Resolution were affirmed to-night, orders would be sent out to-morrow to the Excise, and the tax would be taken off. The right hon. Gentleman had not left them a very large surplus to play with; and this tax being once taken off, it would be in vain to propose to repeal or reduce any other tax which they might consider pressed more heavily and unequally upon the people, especially the poorer classes, than this tax upon auctions. For his own part, he must at once say he did not think this the best tax to remit; and though he had no doubt that the Resolution would be supported by a majority in that House, out of the House the general question was—how on earth could they have thrown away 250,000*l.* in the reduction of the auction duty? The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had referred to the inconveniences of this particular tax. No doubt there were inconveniences attending it; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer was of all men in the world the one who from his office best knew that every tax was inevitably accompanied by inconveniences; and he was surprised at the right hon. Gentleman not having made out a stronger case of inconvenience against this tax. He knew of no single tax against which a case might not be made out on the same ground. Then as to the harshness and inequality of the tax—why, all taxes were harsh and unequal. Next to the discovery of the philosopher's stone, there was nothing so impossible as to find out a tax which should be free from those objections. Harshness, inconvenience, and inequality were necessary evils in all taxation. But the question must be considered in reference to the whole system of taxation—in reference to the many taxes still existing that oppressed the subject—and it must be considered whether this was the tax the remission of which was best adapted to give relief to the people; or whether, with this sum of 250,000*l.*, they might not, by repealing or reducing other taxes, give a much greater amount of relief to that class of the community by whom it was most required? He would ask hon. Gentlemen on that side who advocated the repeal of the duties on butter, on cheese, and on tallow, whether they would propose and vote for the remission of those taxes? ["Hear?"] Very good; but would they in the first place take away the surplus, and having done so propose to bring the finances of the country again into a state of deficiency by reducing the duties on those articles? There were other taxes the remission of which he should prefer to this; and he should consequently vote against the Resolution. He should vote against this remission in order that he might not be misunderstood, in order that he might have a fund in hand to remit taxes more advisable to be taken off. The right hon. Gentleman (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) had spoken of the number of exceptions in the case of this duty. Now he was aware that there was no defending a tax of itself; but so far from the number of exceptions being a proof of the hardships and inequalities of the tax as existing, he believed in most cases they proved just the contrary—they proved that the tax did not work severely; for by those exceptions the hardships and inequality which would otherwise exist were prevented or mitigated. The exceptions, then, were not of themselves grounds sufficiently strong for the removal of this tax. He next came to consider this tax with reference to other taxes, which he thought presented claims for remission. Generally speaking, when a tax was proposed for remission, one ground brought forward for its removal was, that it was so harsh and severe in its application that the complaints against it were loud and general; but in this case not only had no complaints been made, but the right hon. Gentleman (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) had distinctly told the House that the Government had come to the determination of proposing the repeal of this tax without any pressure from without—that he had heard of no complaints against it; but that it was selected because they thought it the best tax to take off. It was true, the opinion of the Government in the matter might be, in some degree, an advantage; but he thought that, to a certain extent, the absence of complaint showed that it was not the most fitting tax to abolish. Then, again, this was not a tax the revenue from which was diminishing. The average annual produce of the auction duties in the three years 1830, 1831, and 1832, was 233,000*l.*; and the average for the h re e years 1842, 1843, and 1844, was 294,000*l.* Seeing, then, that it was an increasing tax in regard to revenue, he thought they might fairly conclude that it was not so oppressive to those who had to pay it as to justify its remission in preference to other taxes. Take the taxes upon all other things, and leave it to any twelve gentlemen as a jury, and he would venture to say their verdict would be, that there was no tax you could find that had not quite as good a case for remission as this auction duty. Take the tax upon assurances—a subject which the hon. and gallant Member for Lincoln had taken under his care—and on that account he would not enter into detail, or trespass on the province of the gallant Gentleman; but—could any man say that that did not present as strong a case for remission? But take the case of some other tax respecting which no notice had been given, and which was therefore free ground. Take the duty on soap, and compare the claims which it had for abolition to those presented by the duty on auctions. In the case of auctions, it was said there were exceptions: was it not so in that of soap? The total amount received from the soap duty was 1,100,000*l.*; of this not less than a quarter of a million was paid back in the shape of drawbacks and other allowances. Then it was urged the auction duty was often evaded, and frauds were committed on the Revenue. Were there no frauds on the Revenue in regard to soap? If the matter were inquired into, it would be found that there was quite as much fraud in soap as in auctions. Again, with regard to the public advantage—he believed, as he had said before, that after all, the great object of hon. Gentlemen on both sides of the House, in taking off duties, was to relieve as much as possible the poorer classes. But would any man tell him that the removal of the auction duty would affect the poorer classes beneficially to the same extent as would the abolition of the soap duty? In the Report published in 1843 by the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the employment of children in agriculture, the Commissioners gave a statement of the average expenditure of the labouring classes in various articles in four different places:—in Yorkshire, in Norfolk, in Gloucestershire, and in Wiltshire; and in each of those counties it appeared that the cost to the poor of this item, soap, amounted to two per cent. upon their whole expenditure. This was a very large proportion. Then, what was the effect of the duty on the price of the article? An hon. Gentleman near him had furnished him with an account in reference to this part of the subject, from which it appeared that the price of a ton of soap, such as was generally used by the poorer classes, was about 47*l.* The duty was 14*l.* 14*s.*, being an increase in the price of 33 per cent. for the purposes of revenue; but was that all? The auction duty, it was true, took money from the pockets of the parties; but it did not control the manufacturer, or interfere with the mode in which he carried on his business; but in the case of the soap duty, it was just the reverse. In that case, the control of the Excise officer was such, and necessarily such, over the manufacture, that it interfered with every improvement of science, and every effort of the manufacturer to make the article cheaper and better. Therefore, while they took 33 per cent. as the increase of price which the duty occasioned, they must take a large increase to that sum added by the control of the Excise, and the fetters that control imposed on the manufacturer. There were various other duties besides that on soap, which he believed it would be more generally advantageous to repeal than that on auctions. They had reduced the duty on sugar, of which he believed the higher classes paid a much greater proportion than they did of the soap duty. He found the consumption per head of soap was about 7lbs. and a fraction; and by a statement which had been prepared by the Board of Trade, it appeared that the lowest consumption of sugar in the worst years was about 15lbs. per head. Now with regard to soap, he found from the accounts of the expenditure of the poor he had before quoted, that the consumption of the poor—that was, the lowest class of the labouring population — was about 3½lbs. annually; that was in regard to the average consumption in the proportion of about 3½lbs. to 7½lbs.; but in regard to sugar it was 3½lbs. to 15½lbs., 15½lbs. being the average consumption. This calculation would give the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer the means of judging how much larger was the proportion paid by the poor of the soap duty than of the sugar duty. Not that he meant to object to the reduction of the sugar duty —on the contrary, he believed the measure was a wise one—not as to the mode and means by which the alteration was effected, but as taking sugar as an object of reduction of taxation. But he contended that a more immediate benefit would have been conferred on the poor if they had taken off the soap duty; and that having reduced the duty on sugar, and having a surplus with which to deal, they should prefer the soap duty for remission to that on auctions. Then he came to the question of authority. He wished to say nothing against the Excise Commissioners; on the contrary, he believed that they had performed their duties to the satisfaction of all parties, and much to the benefit of the country; and he believed that very great improvements had resulted from their inquiries. But were they satisfied with the soap duty as it stood? On the contrary, they proposed a reduction of a halfpenny a pound—the present charge being 1½*d.* a pound—and that recommendation they accompanied with a statement that they believed the reduction would, after a short time, occasion no loss to the Revenue, while it would tend materially to prevent smuggling. Now, 250,000*l.* would enable the Government to adopt that recommendation, and confer that which he believed would be a great benefit to the poor. So much for the authority of the Excise Commissioners. He would now quote a still higher authority—that of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer.

[Hear, hear.] He saw the right hon. Gentleman was aware of the case to which he was about to allude. In the year 1837, his noble Friend the then Chancellor of the Exchequer (Lord Monteagle) was enabled, by the state of the public finances, to take off some duties; and one of the duties which he proposed to reduce was that on newspapers—a duty which was generally looked upon and complained of as a tax upon knowledge, and it was a duty also that had not been altered for a long time. On that occasion the hon. Member for Northamptonshire moved as an Amendment, that instead of reducing the duties on newspapers, the duty on soap should be reduced; and the right hon. Gentleman the present Chancellor of the Exchequer supported that Motion in a speech the most conclusive as against the continuance of the soap duties he had ever heard. He regretted he could not read that speech to the Committee. That Motion was brought forward, too, he remembered, as one likely to benefit the agricultural interest; and his noble Friend the Member for Liverpool supported it on that ground. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he remembered, did not advocate the repeal of the soap duty on the ground of benefit to agriculture, but on the ground of benefit to the poor. Under these circumstances, he could not understand how it was that the right hon. Gentleman should now pass over the soap duty, against which he had himself made out so strong a case, and propose the abolition of the auction duty, against which, comparatively, there was no case at all. Admitting that the auction duty was a bad duty—for every duty was bad, more or less—but comparing it with other duties which the Government now had it in their power to reduce or repeal, not for the benefit of the agricultural interest especially, but, on the other hand, not with a view of shutting out that interest from that fair consideration of its case to which it was as much entitled as any other—and taking a general view of the interests of the country—he believed they might make a much better use of this 250,000*l.* than would result from the proposition of the Government; and upon these considerations he should meet the proposal of the Government with a negative.

Sir *James Graham* concurred with the right hon. Gentleman as to the general principles on which taxation should be reduced, though he differed from him as to the conclusion at which he had arrived. He rose chiefly to refer shortly to some observations that had fallen from his hon. Friend the Member for Dorset; though, having addressed the House fully when the Motion of his hon. Friend the Member for Somerset was under consideration, and which referred to the same subject as that of the hon. Member for Dorset, he should abstain from entering into those topics which he had then touched upon. He was convinced that, from the measures which had been brought before Parliament, much advantage might be expected from greater care in diminishing those charges to which his hon. Friend had referred. He was convinced that a great saving to the ratepayers, and to the general body of the agriculturists, who, after all, were not to be distinguished from the ratepayers, would result from the Bill he had introduced to provide for the payment of justices' clerks, and for the abolition of payment by fees. Another important measure which he had submitted for consideration in reference to the law of settlement had been alluded to—a measure that contained the important provision of substituting union for parochial settlement. With regard to that provision, he wished it to be understood, that if hon. Gentlemen should not be prepared readily to assent to it, he should not feel it to be his duty to press it adversely. This was not to be treated in the least as a party question. He was quite prepared fully and fairly to enter into the discussion of it; but he was not disposed to persist pertinaciously against what should appear to be the will of the House and the opinions of those who were most competent to form a correct opinion on the subject. His noble Friend the Member for Dorset (Lord Ashley) was understood to have it in contemplation to introduce a Bill with regard to lunatic asylums, but no such measure was as yet before the House; and to forego a reduction of taxation to the amount of near 300,000*l.* on the possibility that some proposition might be brought forward, at some future time, in which that surplus might properly be employed, was a proposal, he thought, scarcely tenable. His hon. Friend had commented on some observations of his (Sir James Graham's), made on a previous occasion, upon the subject of county rates. It certainly was his opinion that, with more care and supervision, a very great saving might be effected in that charge, without any alteration of the law. A more rigid economy in the management of the gaols, and the more effective auditing of the county accounts, especially under the head of miscellaneous charges, in which he believed very considerable reductions might be made, would tend materially to reduce this burthen, which now bore heavily upon the land. Another matter had been referred to—the cotton duty. The argument on that question was, that the remission of the duty on a raw material, the staple of a considerable manufacture in this country, would so operate on the demand, and on the cost of the manufacture, as materially to increase the general prosperity of the manufacture itself, and improve the condition of the working classes, by stimulating the general demand for labour. He would say a word as to the speech of the right hon. Member for Portsmouth. He regarded that speech as somewhat ominous; it seemed to augur his speedy return to power. It was so much like the speech of a Chancellor of the Exchequer resisting the remission of a tax proposed by some Member of the Opposition, that it reminded him strongly of the speech of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer in resisting the remission of the window duty. With regard to some of the principal objections against the tax the Government proposed to remit, the amount of property annually charged to the tax was forty-five millions; the amount of property virtually submitted to bear the burden of the impost was only about eight millions; that was about 20 per cent. of the whole: but to levy this the whole cost of collection, as for the whole amount, remained unabated; and so great was the cost of collection, that to obtain a tax producing to the Revenue 250,000*l.*, 50,000*l.* was expended in collecting it in. Then how was the tax levied? It depended in a great degree upon the integrity of the persons who were not officers of the Government, but of those who had to make the returns. The evasion of the tax was easy, the exceptions innumerable, and against frauds there was no protection; the only check being the honesty of those parties who made the returns, in which they had neither interest nor concern. Then, again, it was a most objectionable tax in this way—it was a tax upon poverty and distress. Those who were rich and had land to sell, merely put the land up to auction to ascertain its marketable value; and having done so, the sale was postponed, and ultimately effected by private contract, and no duty was paid; while, on the other hand, a person who was obliged to sell his property to the highest bidder at whatever risk, on him fell with unabated force the whole of the tax. He said, therefore, it could only be regarded as a tax on poverty and distress. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Baring) had referred to the authority of the Commissioners of Excise; but he had not quoted to the House the authority of Sir H. Parnell and Mr. Wickham, the excellent and able officer who now presided over the Board of Taxes. In the Report made by them on this subject in 1835, they said,—

> "It is true that from several quarters we have received a suggestion of a remedy for the evil, by doing away altogether, or very nearly, with the list of exemptions, and by simultaneously reducing the amount of duty. On consideration, however, we are satisfied that such a course cannot, with propriety, be recommended; and that a long list of exemptions, notwithstanding its inconvenience, must, after having been so long recognized as coeval with, and as necessarily attendant upon, this branch of taxation, be considered as an objection inherent in the system itself, and that the only remedy for the evil must be found in the total abolition of the duty."

The amount of the duty on soap, which the right hon. Gentleman referred to, was 1,100,000*l.*, but the gross amount levied by the auction duty was under 300,000*l.*; and the House would bear in mind the circumstances he had already stated in connexion with it. Then, what were the recommendations with regard to the remission of the duty? In the same Report to which he had referred, Sir H. Parnell and Mr. Wickham said,—

> "Under these impressions, it is hardly necessary that we should add, as the principal result of our inquiries into this head of revenue, our recommendation that the duty on auctions should be amongst the first of the taxes to be selected for repeal, so soon as circumstances will admit of such a measure. In the mean time, however, and in case this desirable object cannot be at present conceded, we feel further bound to recommend that an immediate revision of the law relating to auctions should take place, with a view to the introduction of several alterations and improvements, which, in our opinion, in accordance with that of some of the leading members of the trade to whom we have above referred, might be adopted with a prospect of advantage both to the trade and to the revenue, so long as that branch of duty shall be permitted to continue."

A large amount of taxation had been remitted since that period; but this impost still remained. The right hon. Gentleman had referred to a speech that was made by his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer on this subject in 1836. As far as he himself personally was concerned, he might remind the House, that in that year a question was brought forward by the present Duke of Buckingham, similar to that of the hon. Member for Somersetshire, proposing that in the remission of taxation the peculiar claims of the landed interest should not be forgotten. He resisted that motion; and he trusted the House would permit him to read what he then stated:—

> "There are many imposts which demand the attentive consideration of this House. There is one tax immediately affecting the landed interest, (and that part of it which is in the greatest degree distressed,) the revision of which is strongly recommended in the Report of the Board of Excise Commissioners, over which the Treasurer of the Navy presided, and which was adverted to by my right hon. Friend the Member for Tamworth in his speech of last year—I mean, the auction duty. The Commissioners have reported in the very strongest terms that it is a tax of the worst description, pressing hard upon the poor proprietors, who are driven to sell their land for any price it will fetch; and not at all upon the rich, who can afford to wait for a favourable opportunity of disposing of it."

He still entertained the same opinion; he thought that the abolition of that tax was most desirable, and he hoped that the House would prove by its decision that it entertained a similar view.

Mr. *Hume* observed that he was unwilling to go to a division without stating a point in respect to which he thought that the right hon. Gentleman the late Chancellor of the Exchequer was in error. The question before the Committee had nothing to do with the tax upon soap. The Motion they had to entertain was, whether the repeal of the auction duties should be refused, and the surplus applied in payment of the county rates. Yes, that was the question. The right hon. Gentleman said that the soap tax was a bad one. He quite agreed with the right hon. Gentleman. In fact, he defied him to point out a good tax. But the question was this. Here was a tax proposed to be repealed—had it any one of the qualities which a tax ought to have? He defied the right hon. Gentleman to point out a worse tax—worse in any respect. Another point which he wished to urge was this. He objected to partially repealing taxes, particularly as he had found by experience that in consequence of such reduction they never had got rid of any part of the establishments supported by taxation. Such had been the case when the candle duty was abolished, leaving the soap duty in operation; and in the same way, if they got rid of merely $\frac{1}{2}d.$ upon the soap duty now, no reduction could be hoped for in consequence in the expenses of the establishment. They were now in process of getting rid of a great branch of the Excise, and he hoped that others would soon follow. As for applying the proceeds of any remission of taxation specially in favour of the agricultural interest, he would remind them that the agriculturists, when asked, could never point to one tax which specially pressed upon them. On these grounds he should certainly vote for the proposition of Government.

Mr. *Montagu Gore* was in favour of the measure as proposed by Government. The tax was one pressing heavily on the subject. It would be recollected that the duty on the sale of land principally fell upon the vendor, who was often necessitated to sell, and not upon the buyer, who was never compelled to purchase.

Lord *John Russell* said, that his hon. Friend the Member for Montrose appeared to him to have mistaken the nature of the vote which they were about to give. He stated that they were about to record their votes with respect to a question of county rates. Now, as he understood it, there was nothing in the matter relating to county rates, nor, should the present proposition be rejected, would they in any way be pledged to take any step in reference to county rates. The question was this. The Government came forward, and, by the right hon. Baronet the First Lord of the Treasury, and the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, proposed the remission of certain duties. The House had agreed to several of these; they had sanctioned the remission of the duty upon cotton wool and upon glass; and it was now proposed to remit the auction duty, the abolition of which, according to the statement of the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government, would reduce the surplus they had in hand to 90,000*l.* Such being the case, it was quite evident, as his right hon. Friend had stated, that there could be no further remission of duty, supposing the Committee to agree to the proposal of Government, at least in the present Session. The question then was, whether Government had proposed the best remission of duty, or whether there might not be some other tax more worthy of reduction than the auction duties. The House had certainly shown no want of alacrity in consenting to the proposals of Government; but there were proposals which had been made to which he should wish to give assent upon another occasion. There was the proposal of the hon. Member for Dumfries (Mr. Ewart) for a reduction of the duty on butter and cheese. Now he thought a reduction upon butter would be a very excellent measure, and he did not think it would be at all less desirable were the butter to be admitted in a state fit for human food. Then, with regard to the duty upon cheese, he thought that it might very well be reduced. He understood that his hon. Friend proposed a reduction of 50 per cent. upon those articles. The amount of revenue now derivable from them was about 260,000*l.*, and in case of the proposed reduction taking effect they could not reckon upon less than a loss of 100,000*l.* or 120,000*l.* the half of the amount at present collected. Now, with a surplus of only 90,000*l.* he would hardly feel himself justified in voting for such a reduction as the one in question; and they would only be in possession of this surplus were the present proposition of the Government to be carried. He recollected that they had been told by the right hon. Gentleman the late President of the Board of Trade, that the only objection to the reduction of these duties was the want of sufficient revenue. They had been told that they were excessive and absurd duties, and duties such as the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone) could not defend. [Mr. *Gladstone*: I did not say absurd.] Well, if the right hon. Gentleman had not stated that the duties on butter and cheese were absurd, he had characterized them as such as he could not defend. The natural inference then was, that when the Revenue was able to bear it, a suitable reduction should take place. Now, he wished the Revenue to be in such a condition as to enable him to vote for that reduction; and he did not think that, for the purposes of reduction, a surplus revenue of 390,000*l.* was too great to begin with. Indeed, after any reduction, were they to have a surplus revenue left of 300,000*l.*, instead of what they proposed, 90,000*l.*, it would by no means be excessive. He was one of those who would rather — seeing that we had a grievous Property and Income Tax to struggle with — he would rather see a greater surplus of revenue left than that which the right hon. Baronet opposite proposed to allow to remain. That proposed surplus might be sufficient, supposing the state of the country to be prosperous, and that of trade and commerce advancing; but in adverse circumstances he would rather have a larger margin to depend upon than the right hon. Baronet proposed to allow. Therefore, should the right hon. Chancellor of the Exchequer propose a reduction of the soap duties, he could not promise that he would give his vote for such a reduction, because he should hardly like to reduce the surplus to less than it was at present. He would support the proposition of his hon. Friend the Member for Dumfries; but if it were to be decided that the auction duties should be reduced, he could say nothing in their favour, and he could not give his vote for any further reduction of taxation. He had stated his reasons for the course which he should adopt—reasons which he feared would hardly satisfy the hon. Member for Dorsetshire, but the cogency of which he could not help feeling.

Sir *R. Peel* must express his cordial concurrence with certain of the propositions laid down by the noble Lord. He agreed with him that not a word could be said in favour of the auction duties. The noble Lord seemed inclined to resist the repeal of these duties, but not a single word could he say in their favour. Now he hoped that hon. Gentlemen would keep this declaration in mind. The noble Lord was a high authority, and the admission from him was an important one. There was another position of the noble Lord, in which he also cordially concurred. He thought with the noble Lord that 90,000*l.* was a very small surplus; and he concurred with the noble Lord also in thinking that it would be quite impossible, with such a surplus, to consent to any further reduction of duties. He rejoiced to have heard that position from the noble Lord; and he counted upon his cordial assistance in maintaining that surplus, notwithstanding the noble Lord might feel somewhat disappointed; he repeated that he counted upon the noble Lord's cordial assistance, and rejoiced to have an occasion of uniting with him in opposition to any further propositions for reduction of taxation which might be advanced during the Session. He hoped also, that hon. Gentlemen upon this side of the House would at the same time recollect what was the declared object of the noble Lord. Suppose his hon. Friend (Mr. Bankes) succeeded, he would not, perhaps, obtain any very great advantage from it. If the noble Lord and his hon. Friend in concurrence to-night should prevent the reduction of the auction duties, he did not think that his hon. Friend could still keep the 390,000*l.* of present surplus, and, therefore, he thought that his hon. Friend was not likely to derive so much advantage from the noble Lord's aid as he expected. Then, to those who had any interest in the continued protection of butter and cheese, he would say—let them not forget what the noble Lord declared—let them not forget his declaration that were the Government to succeed to-night in abolishing the auction duties, he should feel himself thereby precluded from voting for the reduction of the duty on butter and cheese. Now turning to the question before the House, let them remember what this auction duty was. It was a duty operating in favour of the large proprietor of property who wished to sell, as compared with the poor man. So far as great proprietors were concerned, the tax was merely a device for enabling them to ascertain the value of their property. They were raising the tax nominally upon forty-five millions of money, and they only received it upon eight millions; and in order to levy the amount upon this sum they required an immense establishment and cumbrous machinery. Now what was the course under this law, which they found to be often adopted? A man with an estate worth 100,000*l.* offered it for sale; by that means he is enabled to ascertain its value, and arrangements were made whenever this was effected, to ensure its being brought in. The tax was not then levied, and the proprietor had the advantage of the law and the establishment necessary for its enforcement, without paying for one or the other. But when property was sold under circumstances of distress, the seller had no such advantage. He paid the tax—paid it in spite of all the exceptions they had made. Not a word could be said in favour of the tax, but volumes could be said against it. A case which would illustrate the harsh working of the present law, had been already stated to-night. An estate of the value of 100,000*l.* was to be sold. The incumbrances with which it was burdened amounted to 90,000*l.*: the demand was pressing, there could be no delay, the sale took place. The vendor had to pay 90,000*l.* in order to clear the estate from incumbrances; he therefore really received 10,000*l.* for the property, and of that 10,000*l.* he had to pay 3,000*l.* in auction duty. Now, another man might have an estate of the same value to sell—he would advertise his intention—by means of the present law he could ascertain the amount he could count upon. He would then sell it by private bargain to the highest bidder. He would pay no auction duty, and he would be thus employing the auctioneer, and setting in work the machinery of the law, and at the same time evading the tax which the law imposed. Again, could there be anything more advantageous to a commercial and agricultural country than to have a free circulation of property, and to abolish the distinction between certain modes of sale, so that the seller should always enjoy the highest price which he could command. But above all, considering under what circumstances the property of those who were distressed was often exposed for sale, surely the system which levied a duty on such sales, but exempted from duty sales conducted by those who were under no obligation to part with their property, was a most unjust as well as unadvisable system. They were likely—society was likely—to reap great social, if not great pecuniary, advantages from the change now proposed. Indeed, he could not conceive anything more advantageous in a country like this, than that property should be exposed to sale so as to bring to the proprietor the highest attainable price. He hoped, therefore, that the House would agree with Her Majesty's Government in removing this tax; although at the same time he was free to confess that he believed that, by doing so, they would be leaving a surplus amount of revenue less than was desirable.

Colonel *Sibthorp* recommended the abolition of the duty on fire insurances.

At a future period, he would take the sense of the House upon that proposition. Generally, he would be prepared to support any measure tending to the relief of the agricultural interest.

Mr. *Cobden:* The appeal of the right hon. Gentleman to the agricultural Members is certainly anything but flattering. He says, "If you vote for the Member for Dorsetshire, there will be a surplus of 300,000*l.*, which the noble Member for London warns you may be applied to the remission of the duties on butter and cheese. Remember, you are interested in preserving these duties." Did we ever say anything so insulting to you as that? I have sometimes said at Covent Garden that there should be written over this House—"Dealers in corn and cattle, and no competition allowed with the shop over the water." But I never said you were cheesemongers and dealers in butter. Is it not most degrading to you to say that the wretched serfs who earn 8*s.* or 9*s.* a week, cannot purchase butter or cheese at a somewhat cheaper rate, because you are interested in keeping up the prices of these necessaries? I am not misrepresenting the right hon. Gentleman; but I must say I am surprised that he should allow his meaning to be so transparent, as that the country should be able to understand perfectly the motives by which his supporters in this House are actuated. I shall vote for the reduction of the auction duty, and also for the abolition of the duties on butter and cheese. I hope when the hon. Member for Dumfries brings the latter forward, the country will be prepared to judge of the motives of those who vote against it.

Sir *T. Acland:* I do not recollect my right hon. Friend attributing such motives as that supposed to the class to which I belong. [Sir *R. Peel:* "Hear, hear."] If he did, it escaped me. Appreciating fully all the hon. Gentleman's intelligence, and the labours in which he is doubtless sincerely engaged to amend the condition of his fellow-men—for whom, he will permit me to say, the greatest professors do not always feel the most real interest—I will not consent that he should be the exponent either of my right hon. Friend's address, or of the motives which I am surprised to find he should think any class capable of being actuated by—particularly of a body of whose sentiments he has no right to speak. I think my right hon. Friend's appeal was but a pleasant turn of an argument, and not meant as a serious appeal to the self-interest of his supporters. It struck him, however, that his hon. Friend was in error when he talked of "your auctioneer"—the State having no auctioneer. It appears that the landowners are exempted from the duty when an auction takes place of certain products of their own lands. Now, though this is an advantage shared in common with persons of some other avocations, still, as it is in some degree invidious, I think the landed interest should be the last to complain of that exemption being extended. As to the supposed advantage which the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel) said the landowners had in selling their estates, it amounted to this—that when an estate was not knocked down at an auction, they had the advantage of knowing the highest bidder; and if they sold the estate to him afterwards, they escaped the duty. But this was no fraud; it was an usage of the country; and the landowner often ran no slight risk; for if the estate was not knocked down, the purchaser was not bound to stick to his bargain.

Mr. *Labouchere:* I must say, the hon. Baronet has introduced a degree of heat into this discussion which does not appear to me to be warranted. I confess I understand the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Treasury exactly as my hon. Friend the Member for Stockport interpreted his words. I understood him seriously and gravely to remind his supporters, (and if his meaning was jocular it was never more completely concealed,) if they voted against the remission of this duty, they would run the risk of having the protection of butter and cheese endangered. Now, that was not only one of his arguments, but it was the most powerful he used in the course of his speech. The only reason I was astonished at such an appeal was, that it contrasted strangely with the explicit declaration made by the right hon. Gentleman some time since, when he said that the taxes on butter and cheese were objectionable, and that nothing prevented his taking them off but the state of the Revenue. Such is the frail tenure on which hon. Gentlemen opposite hold their "protection." It is very easy to bring forward many and just charges against the duty on auctions, but

I should certainly give a preference to the abolition of the duties on cheese and butter.

The Committee divided:—Ayes 167; Noes 30: Majority 137.

List of the AYES.

Acland, Sir T. D.
Acland, T. D.
Acton, Col.
Adare, Visct.
Arkwright, G.
Arundel and Surrey, Earl of
Bailey, J.
Bailey, J. jun.
Baillie, Col.
Baillie, H. J.
Baird, W.
Barclay, D.
Baring, T.
Baring, rt. hon. W. B.
Beckett, W.
Benbow, J,
Bentinck, Lord G.
Bernard, Visct.
Blakemore, R.
Boldero, H. G.
Borthwick, P.
Botfield, B.
Bowes, J.
Bowles, Adm.
Bowring, Dr.
Brisco, M.
Brotherton, J.
Browne, hon. W.
Bruce, C. L. C.
Bruce, Lord E.
Buckley, E.
Buller, E.
Cardwell, E.
Carew, W. H. P.
Chelsea, Visct.
Chute, W. L. W.
Clerk, rt. hn. Sir G.
Clive, hon. R. H.
Cobden, R.
Cockburn, rt.hn.Sir G.
Colebrooke, Sir T. E.
Collett, J.
Coote, Sir C. H.
Copeland, Ald.
Corry, rt. hn. H.
Cripps, W.
Dalrymple, Capt.
Damer, hon. Col.
Darby, G.
Dickinson, F. H.
Drummond, H. H.
Duke, Sir J.
Duncan, Visct.
Duncan, G.
Duncombe, hon. A.
Duncombe, hon. O.
Dundas, D.
Du Pre, C. G.
Egerton, Sir P.
Ellice, rt. hon. E.
Ellis, W.
Elphinstone, H.
Emlyn, Visct.
Entwisle, W.
Escott, B.
Ewart, W.
Feilden, W.
Ferguson, Sir R. A.
Fitzroy, hon. H.
Flower, Sir J.
Forbes, W.
Forman, T. S.
Forster, M.
Fremantle,rt.hn.SirT.
Fuller, A. E.
Gaskell, J. Milnes
Gibson, T. M.
Gisborne, T.
Gladstone,rt.hn.W E.
Gordon, hon. Capt.
Gore, M.
Goulburn, rt. hn. H.
Graham, rt. hn. Sir J.
Greenall, P.
Grimston, Visct.
Hamilton, W. J.
Harcourt, G. G.
Hatton, Capt. V.
Hayter, W. G.
Henley, J. W.
Hepburn, Sir T. B.
Herbert, rt. hon. S.
Hope, hon. C.
Hope, G. W.
Hume, J.
Humphery, Ald.
Hussey, A.
Hutt, W.
Inglis, Sir R. H.
James, Sir W. C.
Jermyn, Earl
Jocelyn, Visct.
Jones, Capt.
Lambton, H.
Lascelles, hon. W. S.
Lawson, A.
Lemon, Sir C.
Lennox, Lord A.
Lincoln, Earl of
Lockhart, W.
Lowther, Sir J. H.
Lyall, G.
Mackenzie, T.
Mackenzie, W. F.
McGeachy, F. A.
McNeill, D.
Mainwaring, T.
Mangles, R. D.
Masterman, J.
Mitcalfe, H.
Morgan, O.
Mundy, E. M.
Napier, Sir C.
Newry, Visct.
O'Brien, A. S.
O'Conor Don
Patten, J. W.
Pechell, Capt.
Peel, rt. hon. Sir R.
Peel, J.
Philips, G. R.
Plumptre, J. P.
Plumridge, Capt.
Polhill, F.
Pringle, A.
Reid, Sir J. R.
Rice, E. R.
Sanderson, R.
Sheppard, T,
Smith, A.
Smith, J. A.
Smith, rt.hon. T. B.C.
Somerset, Lord G.
Somerton, Visct.
Somes, J.
Spooner, R.
Stewart, J.
Stuart, H.
Strutt, E.
Sutton, hon. H. M.
Tancred, H. W.
Tennent, J. E.
Thesiger, Sir F.
Thompson, Ald.
Thornely, T.
Trelawny, J. S.
Trench, Sir F. W.
Tuite, H. M.
Turner, E.
Villiers, Visct.
Wakley, T.
Warburton, H.
Wawn, J. T.
Wellesley, Lord C.
Williams, W.
Wood, Col.
Wortley, hn. J. S.

TELLERS.

Young, J.
Baring, T.

List of the NOES.

Baring, rt. hon. F. T.
Barnard, E. G.
Baskerville, T. B. M.
Bramston, T. W.
Broadley, H.
Buck, L. W.
Busfeild, W.
Chetwode, Sir J.
Denison, W. J.
Dick, Q.
Dundas, Adm.
Eaton, R. J.
Ebrington, Visct.
Guest, Sir J.
Hawes, B.
Hobhouse, rt.hn.Sir J.
Howard,hon. C.W.G.
Labouchere, rt. hn. H.
Long, W.
Lygon, hon. Gen.
Parker, J.
Russell, Lord J.
Rutherfurd, A.
Sheridan, R. B.
Sibthorp, Col.
Tyrell, Sir J. T.
Vane, Lord H.
Waddington, H. S.
Worsley, Lord
Yorke, H. R.

TELLERS.

Bankes, G.
March, Earl of

On the Question,

"That there shall be raised, levied, collected, and paid, for and upon every License to be taken out by every person exercising or carrying on the trade or business of an Auctioneer in any part of the United Kingdom, the sum of 15*l.*"—

Mr. *Hume* objected to so large an amount. He should move, as an Amendment, that the sum required for auction licenses should be 7*l.* 10*s.* This would bring more to the Revenue, while it would save the poor auctioneer from being swallowed up by the great capitalist. The hon. Member concluded by moving the sum be 7*l.* 10*s.*

Mr. *Hawes* seconded the Amendment. It was true that this duty would fall lightly on the large auctioneers who took out a general license, for the sale of such articles as wine and plate; but it would tax 100 per cent. the small auctioneer who did not take out such license. The Commissioners of Excise recommended that the license should not be more than 10*l.* He believed the mercantile interest were opposed to the remission of the tax, as likely to cause mock auctions throughout the country.

Sir *R. Peel:* By raising the license to 15*l.*, you surely take a greater security against mock auctions. When the Commissioners of Excise recommended that the license should be 10*l.*, they also recommended a modification of the auction duties. Ministers proposed to do away with the auction duties, and as this must give a stimulus to auctions, the auctioneer would be better enabled to pay a higher license than that recommended by the Commissioners of Excise. Government proposed to abolish a number of small duties, which, as Mr. Brown, a respectable auctioneer, said in his evidence, did not increase the Revenue, while they obstructed the facility of holding auctions. Many suggested that the license should be 50*l.*, but Government, consulting the interests of the lower class of auctioneers, determined to fix it at 15*l.*, as that which would give the highest amount of Revenue, and the greatest scope to the holding of auctions.

Mr. *Gisborne* thought the result of imposing a heavy duty would be, that all the auctioneers with a small business, who were gaining their livelihood by diligent industry, would be compelled to abandon their occupation. Suppose an auctioneer had one sale per week—which was more than the great majority had—his profits would amount to little more than fifty guineas a year; and most of them were obliged to eke out a living by carrying on some other trade besides. It was impossible that such a man could go on paying 7*l.* 15*s.* a year for a license. He would suggest that those who confined their auctions to one class of articles should pay the smaller duty, and that the other should be liable to the larger.

Mr. *Williams* did not see why an auctioneer should be called upon to pay a license duty, any more than those classes of shopkeepers which were now exempted from it. The Government, by the measure they proposed, in fact abolished the present auction duty, while they laid on one of another sort which was most unfair.

Mr. *Warburton* said, that 10*l.* or 15*l.* might be a fair amount of duty for a London or Edinburgh auctioneer; but they must consider what would be a moderate duty for auctioneers throughout the country. The House ought to have a return showing the number of auctioneers, and the amount of duty paid by each. He hoped that Government would consent to a reduction of the duty to 10*l.*

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* contended that it was impossible to remit the duty altogether, as the hon. Member for Coventry wished. Sale by auction was particularly liable to be abused and turned to purposes of deception. It was necessary, therefore, to have some check, as a security for the respectability of persons who were engaged in this occupation.

Viscount *Duncan* thought it desirable that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should consent to give the House such a return as that suggested by the hon. Member for Kendal.

Lord *Worsley* thought the judgment of the public would be a sufficient guarantee for the honesty of auctioneers, as if they did not conduct their business with integrity they would not be employed. The duty proposed by Government would press very hardly on those engaged in the business.

Mr. *Turner* thought that auctioneers in the country stood in a totally different position from those in London, and that their case ought to be taken into consideration.

Mr. *Hume* hoped the right hon Baronet would consent to the reduction of the duty, and felt bound to take the sense of the House on the question. Would the right hon. Baronet say 10*l.*?

Sir *Robert Peel* said, he would undertake to furnish to the House all the information which was necessary to throw light on the subject. Government proposed to remit 300,000*l.* of auction duty; but standing there as they did to defend the Revenue, they could not at once consent to make the reduction proposed by the hon. Members opposite.

Amendment and original Resolution were withdrawn, and it was

"*Resolved*—That there shall be raised, levied, collected, and paid, for and upon every License to be taken out by every person exercising or carrying on the trade or business of an Auctioneer in any part of the United Kingdom, the sum of 10*l.*

"*It was also Resolved*—That the duty of Excise now payable upon Sugar manufactured in the United Kingdom do cease, and that in lieu thereof there shall be charged the following Duty of Excise, that is to say, On every hundred weight, and so in proportion for any greater or lesser quantity, of all Sugar manufactured in the United Kingdom, from whatever materials made, 14*s.*"

House resumed. Resolution to be reported.

CUSTOMS (IMPORT DUTIES) BILL.] House in Committee on the Customs Duties Bill.

On the Clause relating to Glass,

Mr. *Spooner* rose, pursuant to notice, to move that the repeal of the protective duties on glass, instead of taking place immediately on the passing of the measure, should not come into operation till April the 5th, 1846. It was unfair to the glass manufacturers, who had large stocks upon which they had paid both Customs and Excise duty, to remove their protection, and subject them to competition with the foreign article, before they had time to dispose of what they had on hand. Though it was his opinion that the glass manufacturers of this country had no cause to fear the ultimate effects of competition, they would be seriously injured by being suddenly exposed to it. One new and important branch—the manufacsure of sheet glass—might be ruined if it were subjected to this sudden struggle. It should be remembered that the English manufacturer, besides paying the Customs duty, had also to pay an Excise duty from which the foreign importer was exempt, and the proposal of Government would, in effect, give 25 per cent. advantage to the latter. No doubt could be entertained that the removal of the duty would confer a great boon on the trade and on the country. But if the manufacturers were at once subjected to the severe competition proposed, the effects of the boon would be thrown away. Capital would be kept out of the trade, and improvement retarded. As they had been compromising to-night—he would consent to a postponement for a shorter period than a year, if his right hon. Friend would not consent to that term. The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving his Amendment.

Lord *Ingestre* stated that he had been requested by his constituents to ask to have some time allowed before the removal of the protective duty.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* opposed the Motion, and expressed his suspicion that his hon. Friend's proposal would go substantially to increase the duty. But, independently of this, he did not think that the British manufacturer needed any such allowance as his hon. Friend proposed. Belgian glass could be imported at the rate of 1½*d.* a pound, and the duty being 14*s.* a cwt., amounted exactly to cent. per cent.; being a higher protective duty than was accorded to any other article, and only to be justified for even a limited period by the fact of the manufacturers having paid a heavy Excise duty on their stocks to which the foreign glass would not be subject. Nothing could be more imprudent than, if the House were determined to remove these duties, to bolster up any supposed interest by an artificial duty for a year or eighteen months; and he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) did not participate in the apprehensions expressed with regard to the effect of the Government measure.

Motion negatived. The Resolutions went through Committee, and ordered to be reported.

House resumed.

IMPORT DUTIES (INDIA).] Mr. *Hume* moved for a Copy of the Draught Act of the Legislative Council in Calcutta for altering the Import Duties, published in the Government *Gazette* at Calcutta, the 8th of February, 1845. He said that he believed that there was no objection to its production, and when it was before the House he should found a Motion on it. He wished, however, then to ask whether this Order in Council was the act of the Governor General, Sir Henry Hardinge, or whether it emanated from this country? A violent attack had been made against the Governor General on this subject; but he had some reason to believe that that gallant Officer had received orders from home to issue this order. If this was the case, he thought that it would only be fair to relieve him from the charge.

Viscount *Jocelyn* said, that there was no objection to produce the draft act of the Council on this subject. He was obliged to the hon. Member for having asked him the question which he did respecting the gallant Officer the Governor General of

India. He (Viscount Jocelyn) could state that the measure which had been referred to emanated from this country. It was adopted and sanctioned in the first place, by the Board of Control here, and the gallant officer received it from this country. There were some erroneous opinions entertained with respect to this measure. The cause of adopting it was, that it was necessary to make up the deficiency in the Revenue occasioned by the removal of the transit duties in the Presidency of Madras, and the removal of other taxes in the two other Presidencies. The question was, whether they should make up the deficiency by increasing the taxes on the ryots and small farmers, who already were so heavily taxed; or by imposing duties on articles only consumed by the higher class of natives, and more particularly the British residents in India.

Mr. *Milner Gibson* stated, that great regret was felt in many quarters at this increase in India of the import duties on British goods. This was the more felt at the present moment, as the trade with India was in a depressed state.

Motion agreed to.

House adjourned at twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, April 8, 1845.

MINUTES.] *Took the Oaths.*—The Bishop of Cashel.

BILLS. *Public.*—*Reported.*—Sugar Duties.

Private. — $2^{a.}$ Boileau's Divorce; Birkenhead Commissioners Dock.

PETITIONS PRESENTED. By Bishop of Hereford, from Dunoon, and 2 other places, for the Suppression of Intemperance.—By Duke of Buccleuch, Bishop of Lichfield, and Lord Denman, from Clergy of Derby, and from 3 other places, against any Increase of Grant to Maynooth. —By Lord Ashburton, from Newcastle-upon-Tyne, for Repeal of 57th Clause of Insolvent Debtors Act Amendment Bill.—By Viscount Combermere, from Clergy and others of Weobley, and several other places, against the Union of St. Asaph and Bangor, and in favour of the Appointment of a Bishop to the See of Manchester.—From Stoddesdon, against the Union of St. Asaph and Bangor.—By Marquess of Breadalbane, from Free Synod of Stirling, and Inhabitants of Melrose and Gordon, for the better Observance of the Sabbath.—By Earl of Shrewsbury, from Cork, for the Repeal of certain Clauses of the Roman Catholic Relief Act.—From Bishop and Clergy of Kilmacduagh, and Inhabitants of Gort, against the Charitable Donations and Bequests (Ireland) Act.

THE IRISH CONSTABULARY.] The Marquess of *Normanby*, after pointing out some clerical inaccuracies in the manner in which the Returns ordered on the preceding night respecting appointments to the Constabulary in Ireland had been entered on the Journals of the House, said he wished, in consequence of the alteration which the noble Lord opposite (Lord Stanley) had made in these Returns as moved for by him, to apply for another Return also, namely, for the date of the Appointment of the present Inspector General of Constabulary in Ireland. He thought it necessary to have that return before their Lordships, because the noble Lord, in the course of the statement which he had made to their Lordships, in reply to his (the Marquess of Normanby's) remarks, had produced considerable effect, by stating that the alterations in the mode of appointments in the Irish Constabulary took place in 1839, and when, as he was pleased to say, the then Government were *in extremis;* that his (the Marquess of Normanby's) new light was directly opposed to his constant practice all the time he was Lord Lieutenant; and that the change which he then made was a sort of charitable bequest made by a repentant and expiring testator. These remarks of the noble Lord excited some applause and some laughter among noble Lords on that (the Ministerial) side of the House; and perhaps that applause was loud and the laughter prolonged in proportion to the ignorance of the noble Lords on the subject before them. He did not wish to bandy assertions with the noble Lord; but he wished at once to state, on the authority of Colonel M'Gregor's evidence, given before the Committee of their Lordships' House in 1839, that these arrangements with reference to his control over the Constabulary in every grade of the force were made previous to his appointment to office. And thus, so far from the arrangements occurring, as the noble Lord had stated, in 1839, they were actually entered into in May 1838. Now, what were the respective positions of the two political parties at that time? The noble Lord had stated that the Government were *in extremis* when the alterations were adopted; but in 1838 there was a pitched battle fought by the noble Lord and his friends against the Government, and the noble Lord's party were worsted on that occasion; or, to use a phrase borrowed from a speech of the noble Lord, they made their rush, and had been defeated. That occurred, as well as he recollected, in the month of May. It was in the first Session of the new Parliament, and it took place in the House of Commons on the Motion, he believed, of Sir John Yarde

Buller. Therefore, the assertion of the noble Lord was groundless, that the Government were *in extremis* when they made arrangements for which he contended with respect to the Constabulary Force in Ireland; and he should say that that sort of declaration was not very discreet, and should not have been resorted to by a person circumstanced as the noble Lord was. The noble Lord was not correct in the substance of his remarks—he was not correct in his dates—and it was also clear that he had not read Colonel M'Gregor's declaration on the subject; for if he had it was impossible that he could have made the charges which he had put forth, and it was equally impossible that those charges could have been cheered by their Lordships if the facts had been known to them. The House might depend on it that when such charges were made against him, he was determined on all occasions to try them by the test of fact; and as he was determined that in the present instance that test should be laid before their Lorships, he had therefore to move for the date of the appointment of Colonel M'Gregor, in order to show by the evidence given by that officer before the Committee of their Lordships' House, that there was no foundation for the allegation of the noble Lord, that the Government were *in extremis* at the time they entered into these arrangements with the Inspector General of the Constabulary.

Lord *Stanley* said, he could not help thinking that the noble Marquess had exhibited some unnecessary warmth on the subject. The assertions which he had made the preceding night were founded on evidence given by Mr. Drummond, the late Under Secretary for Ireland. He would not say that all these appointments were made, as he had described, in 1838, or enter into the subject of those palmy days of the late Government, when, with a Parliament of their own choosing, they had a majority of twenty-one in the House of Commons on a Vote of want of confidence in the Administration. But what he would say was, that these arrangements were not completed in the month of May, 1839; and that fact he stated on the authority of Mr. Thomas Drummond, who declared that the noble Marquess had adopted the alterations with respect to the appointment of chief and head constables at the time that he quitted the Government of Ireland, and that these alterations had been carried into effect by the noble Lord who succeeded him. The noble Marquess quitted the Government of Ireland in May, 1839; and in that month the discussion on the Jamaica question occurred which led to the temporary resignation of his Government. But if these alterations were made earlier, and immediately after the appointment of Colonel M'Gregor, it left the noble Marquess in a worse position than before; for if they had been adopted prior to May, 1838, it was to him inconceivable how the noble Marquess could have instructed his Chief Secretary to make, on the 23rd of March in the same year, a declaration in his place in Parliament that these offices had never been abandoned by the Government, and that they were not intended to be abandoned. The noble Marquess had advised him to be very confident with regard to his dates and facts; he would beg leave to return the advice the noble Marquess had offered him on that point—for the noble Marquess forgot at the time that the palmy and triumphant majority of which he boasted on Sir John Yarde Buller's Motion of want of confidence in the Government was had in 1840, and not, as he had stated, in 1838. The noble Marquess brought forward that error into which he had fallen as a triumphant position; while he at the same time, took the opportunity of warning him (Lord Stanley) to be particularly accurate about his facts and dates. With respect to the other matter alluded to by the noble Marquess, it was evident that a clerical error had been committed in entering the return, which should of course be corrected. According to the doctrine of the noble Marquess, the appointment of Major Priestley was an original appointment, and therefore the Inspector General had nothing to do with it.

The Marquess of *Normanby* said, he was very unwilling to detain their Lordships; but the noble Lord had shown such extreme carelessness as to the facts stated in the evidence, that he was compelled to call their Lordships' attention to what had been distinctly stated by Colonel M'Gregor before their Lordships' Committee. That officer stated that there were to be no original appointments made in the force except to the office of Chief Constable; and yet the noble Lord now says, eight years after, that the appointment of Major Priestley did not come within the terms of his objection, because it was an original appointment. The very essence of the understanding with Colonel M'Gregor was, that all officers should rise step by step to the higher appointment; and if that were so, he would like to know what variance did the noble Lord detect between the evidence of Colonel M'Gregor and that of Mr. Drummond? Colonel M'Gregor said, that the appointment of all the higher grades should be left to him; while Mr. Drummond's evidence was on an entirely different subject—namely, that the Government of the day had not any plan in contemplation for making still further concessions. The noble Lord accused him of having fallen into a mistake about the date of Sir John Yarde Buller's Motion; but if that were so, then the noble Lord had fallen into a still greater mistake, for he accused him (the Marquess of Normanby) of having been influenced by the result of that Motion the year before he said it was carried. It was plain that the noble Lord's party did not make any attack on the Government sooner, because they did not feel themselves strong enough, since the moment they had the power they did not hesitate doing so. There was one other point in reference to the debate of the preceding night, on which he wished to offer a remark. He had mentioned to the noble Lord that he had received information of a Constabulary officer, at a dinner given by the High Sheriff of Armagh to the grand jury of that county, at which he attended in his uniform, having drunk a toast which was regarded as hostile to the feelings of the great mass of the population of the country. He would not now mention the name of that officer, as he believed him to have been borne away by the acts of companions in a superior position; but he would communicate his name to the noble Lord opposite in private, and after allowing sufficient time to make inquiries on the subject, he would again allude to it in the House. He might also take that opportunity of observing that he had, last year, recommended that Colonel Verner, who had been removed from the commission of the peace for drinking a party toast, should be restored, as he probably regretted the act since then; but he should now beg to retract that recommendation, as he understood the gallant Colonel was present at the dinner to which he alluded, and had joined in the objectionable toast drank at it.

Alteration in the Returns agreed to.

House adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, April 8, 1845.

Minutes.] **Bills.** *Public.* — 1°. Sugar (Excise Duties).

Reported.—Customs (Import Duties); Public Museums, etc.; Glass (Excise Duty).

Private.—1°. Coventry, Bedworth, and Nuneaton Railway; Edinburgh and Northern Railway (No. 2); Saint Ives Junction Railway.

2°. Rye and Tenterden Railway: Harrogate and Ripon Junction Railway; Belfast Improvement; Wear Valley Railway; Manchester, Bury, and Rossendale Railway; Blackburn, Darwen, and Bolton Railway; Bedford, and London and Birmingham Railway; Glasgow Police; Middlesbro' and Redcar Railway; Oxford, Worcester, and Wolverhampton Railway; Huddersfield Waterworks.

Petitions Presented. By Captain Jones, and Messrs. Gladstone, Hamilton, and Lefroy, from several places, for Encouragement of Schools in connexion with Church Education Society (Ireland).—By Mr. Bright, and Mr. F. Maule, from several places, for better Observance of the Lord's Day.—By Viscounts Duncan, Ebrington, Ingestre, and Pollington, Lord G. Somerset, Sirs W. Joliffe, C. Knightley, and J. Tyrell, Col. Wood, Capt. Jones, Dr. Bowring, and Messrs. Bright, Broadley, Brotherton, Christopher, Chute, Collins, Craig, Deedes, Dickinson, Denison, Egerton, Entwisle, Grogan, Lefroy, Lawson, Long, Marjoribanks, F. Maule, Mundy, Ord, Patten, Plumptre, Trevor, Turner, and Yorke, from an immense number of places (148 Petitions), against the Grant to Maynooth College.—By Lord Courtenay, Mr. Mundy, Mr. Estcourt, and Col. Trevor, from several places, against Union of St. Asaph and Bangor.—By Mr. Bright, from Brill, and by Lord Courtenay, from the Torquay Anti-Slavery Society, against Importation of Hill Coolies into the Colonies.—By Mr. Hutt, from Shipowners of Robin Hood's Bay, Stockton, and Middlesbrough, for Reduction of Tolls and Dues levied by Lighthouses.—By Mr. Charteris, and Mr. Dickenson, from several places, for Relief from Agricultural Taxation.—By Mr. Hutt, from Shipowners of Australia, for Reduction of Duty on Australian Corn.—By Mr. Denison, and Sir J. Tyrell, from several places, for Repeal of Malt Duty.—By Mr. Bright, from Basket Makers of Rochdale, for Repeal of Duty on Osiers.—By Mr. T. Duncombe, Sir C. Napier, and Mr. E. Turner, from several places, for Inquiry into the Anatomy Act.—By Captain Gordon, from Peterhead, against Alteration of the present system of Banking (Scotland).—By Mr. Brisco, and Mr. Stuart Wortley, from several places, for Alteration of the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons Bill.—By Col. Trevor, from several places, in favour of the County Courts Bill. By Mr. F. Maule, from the Fife Prison Board, for better Accommodation of Criminal Lunatics (Scotland). — By Captain Pechell, from Mathew Phillips, for Inquiry into his case.—By Mr. Bouverie, from Glasgow and Greenock, in favour of the Ten Hours System.—By Mr. B. Escott, from Charles Bird, of Exeter, for Inquiry.—By Mr. J. Bailey, from Worcester, for Alteration of Game Laws.—By Mr. Mackinnon, and Visct. Mahon, from Manchester, and Paddington, for Sanatory Regulations.—By Mr. Brotherton, from Salford, for Repeal of Insolvent Debtors Act, and in favour of the County Courts Bill.—By Mr. Chute, and Mr. Cripps, from several places, against Justices' Clerks and Clerks of the Peace Bill.—By Mr. Forbes, from several places, for Alteration of Mines and Collieries Act.—By Mr. Serjeant Murphy, from Cork, for Abolition of Ministers' Money (Ireland).—By Mr. Chute, Mr. Baillie, and Mr. Rice, from several places, in favour of the Museums of Art Bill.—By Mr. Bright, and Sir G. Strickland, from several places, against Increase of Naval Force.—By Sir J. Tyrell, Col. Wood, and Messrs. Carew, Chute, Deedes, Dickinson, Greene, Egerton, Patten, and Waddington, from a great number of places, against the Parochial Settlement Bill.—From Fordingson, in favour of the Parochial Settlement Bill.—By Sir C. Napier, from Marylebone, for Inquiry into the Treatment of Pauper Lunatics at the Asylum at Hanwell.—By Viscount

Ingestre, Lord Hervey, Captains Pechell, and Harris, and Messrs. Bailey, Brotherton, Denison, Egerton, Hope, and Sheridan, from a number of places, against Physic and Surgery Bill.—By Mr. Dickinson, from Guardians of the Yeovil Union, for Amendment of the Poor Law.—By Lord John Russell, Sir G. Strickland, Col. Trevor, and Messrs. Aldam, Bright, Broadwood, Carew, and Strutt, from a great number of places, for Diminishing the Number of Public Houses.—By Mr. Bright, from Modbury, for Abolition of Punishment of Death.—By Mr. Dickinson, from Bradford, for Alteration of Law relating to the Sale of Beer.—By Captain Dalrymple, Mr. Forbes, and Mr. Oswald, from several places, for Ameliorating the Condition of Schoolmasters (Scotland).—By Viscount Ebrington, from Plymouth, in favour of Smoke Prohibition Bill.

Opening of Letters at the Post Office.] Mr. *T. Duncombe* rose, in pursuance of a notice which he had given, to move for leave to bring in a Bill to secure the inviolability of letters passing through the Post Office. He felt that it was a reproach to the Government under which we lived, as well as a reproach to those free institutions which we felt a pride in possessing, that any Member of that House should be under the necessity of bringing forward a Bill, the object of which was to secure the inviolability of correspondence in this commercial country. In submitting this Motion to the House, he should abstain from introducing anything which could by possibility bear a personal or individual application. It was with the system he was at war; and that system he felt it his duty, if possible, to destroy. Whatever Government had originated this assumed power, and whatever cause was assigned for its assumption, he had the highest legal authority for stating that there was no law to justify the exercise of that power. The subject was during the last Session brought before Committees of that House and of the House of Lords. The Committee of the House of Commons had not in their Report stated whether the exercise of this power was legal or not; although it had stated that the law on the subject was the same in 1844 as it had been in the reign of Queen Anne, but had not said what that law was. The Committee of the House of Lords, however, had expressed itself more clearly: it went a step further, and described the terms of the provisions of the Act of the 9th of Anne, c. 10, and stated, that the Act of Parliament of Anne led to the supposition that the power had been fully recognised in the Secretary of State, and that from an early period it had been recognised by the Acts of Parliament. That was all which the Committee of the House of Lords said on the subject of the law; it did not state that there was any law to justify the exercise of the power; it merely stated that the power appeared to have been recognised, and that its recognition was sanctioned by old usage; but he had the best authority for stating that there was no law to justify the exercise of that power. There had been no proof given to the House that such a legal authority existed, nor had there been any proof given that at former periods such practices took place as those which had happened recently in this country. Letters might have been stopped in the Post Office; but there was no proof that at former periods private letters were opened, and forwarded to their proper destination after the examination of their contents at the Post Office. There was, he maintained, no proof that such a system of fraud and forgery as that had been practised by former Governments. It had even been shown that letters stopped in the Post Office were used in a court of law; but that had failed in establishing the legality of exercising that power; for the question as to where was the warrant under which the letters were opened and detained was not allowed to be asked in court, so that the question as to the existence of a legal authority for opening those letters had not been proved in that case. It could not be ascertained who opened the letters —to whom the power was delegated; it was only ascertained that the letters had been opened, and they had, therefore, nothing before them to establish the fact that they were opened and detained in the exercise of a legal authority. The Act of Anne had been cited as an authority by the Committee of the House of Commons; but the Act which was at present in force on the subject of the detention of letters in the Post Office was the Act of the 1st of Victoria, which repealed the Act 9th of Anne, but it neither added to nor diminished the power with respect to the detention of letters, leaving that in the same condition in which it was before the passing of the Act; and, he repeated it, he had the highest legal authority for stating that legally no such power existed. All that was done by the Act was to relieve the servant of the Post Office from a misdemeanor in detaining or opening any letters. It left the legality of the warrant totally and entirely untouched, just the same as a constable who produces his warrant is exonerated from all responsibility as to the legality of that warrant. The same thing might be said of the orders that were given for the admission of strangers into the gallery of that House. If a stranger in that gallery were to be apprehended for breach of privilege in listening to their debates, he would produce the order as his protection. Yet it was clear that the power of admitting strangers to be present at their debates was not possessed by any Member of that House. But admitting that the Government possessed the power of opening letters, the question the House had to decide was, what advantage they had obtained by its exercise. They all knew the difficulties in which the present Government had been placed; and they all knew the ill feeling which had been created by the exposures in that House with reference to this subject. It might, indeed, be said that there ought to be some means of control over the correspondence of persons engaged or about to engage in treasonable plots, if such correspondence were forwarded through the Post Office. If there was any benefit of that nature to be derived from it previously, he would ask any rational and sensible man whether, after the disclosures which had been made, a man engaged in a treasonable correspondence would not be an idiot or a fool to send that correspondence through the General Post Office. He said, therefore, after the exposures which had taken place, that the value or utility of this practice had been destroyed. If this system was to be of any value at all, it must be practised with secrecy and fraud. There was no middle course. They must either stand by the present system, or abolish it altogether. Why should they not expunge from the Statute Book the Act giving this odious power, if it existed? Such a power existed in no other country. One of the Articles of the Belgian Constitution protected the correspondence of the Belgian people. The power of opening letters did not exist in the United States, nor in Canada; but it was preserved in Ireland, in England, and in Scotland. It was not exercised in our Colonies, although it was exercised in this country. It did not exist in France. Monsieur Guizot had declared in the French Chamber, that in law, and in fact, the correspondence of the French people was inviolable. [*Laughter.*] Right hon. and hon. Members opposite might smile, but that declaration had been made in the French Chamber by the Minister for Foreign Affairs. If letters of individuals in this country were opened, they were opened without any responsibility on the part of the person so acting, and the individual whose letters were opened had no redress. There was no responsible person in the Post Office; and if a person asked who it was that opened his letters, he was unable to get that information, so that he did not know where to apply for redress. When that power was questioned before in the House of Commons, Sir Robert Walpole said, "It was a power which ought to be exercised only in a time of a great internal danger." It had, however, been increased since that period, and was extended from criminal to political offenders. If the powers were confined to criminal warrants, perhaps there might be no such objection to its use; but it was not confined to those warrants. It was stated on a former occasion that letters had been opened by Lord Sidmouth, and he was able to state to the House that the nobleman alluded to had refused to exercise that power in a case where a banker required its assistance in order to obtain the address of a clerk who had committed forgery. He (Mr. Duncombe) had it from a banker in the city of London, that he applied to Lord Sidmouth to issue a warrant for opening the letters of a clerk who had committed forgery, and had gone away, as the banker was anxious to ascertain his address, in order to effect his apprehension; and the answer of Lord Sidmouth was that he would never issue such a warrant unless in a case of high treason. He again applied to Lord Sidmouth, and asked leave to see the superscription of a letter in the Post Office, without detaining it, in order to find out the address of the clerk; Lord Sidmouth then stated that he would send an answer in the evening. He did send that answer, and it was to the effect that he considered the Post Office so sacred he could not allow even the superscription of a letter to be seen. It might be said in defence of this power, that it was necessary for the detection of criminals; but he (Mr. Duncombe) believed that, with the means for the detection of criminals which the

Government possessed, without this power, it was not necessary to apply it for that purpose. The Government had been asked to show the warrants under the authority of which the letters had been opened. But those warrants had not been produced. It was true that warrants of the Duke of Newcastle and of Mr. Pitt had been brought forward; but the House had no means of ascertaining if those warrants were the models after which the warrants issued by the present Government had been formed. Were the warrants issued by the present Government framed after the model of those issued by Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Newcastle? [Sir *J. Graham:* They were not.] Of what use, then, were the warrants of Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Newcastle? For his part, he looked upon this power of opening letters as inefficacious; and he believed that, in addition to its inefficacy for the purpose for which it was intended, it was calculated to demoralize the servants of the Government in the Post Office, and all those who were connected with the opening of letters. He could not give a stronger instance of the demoralizing effects which the exercise of such a power had on those who were engaged in the Post Office, than a notice which was put up in the Post Office some months ago, after the discovery that some letter-carriers had opened the letters addressed to certain sporting gentlemen, and that notice he would read to the House. It ran thus:—

> "The Postmaster General having had papers laid before him relating to the gross conspiracy which has existed among certain carriers, and having ascertained that Lang, Bell, and Saunders, have been in the habit of opening the letters of sporting gentlemen, his Lordship is pleased to dismiss them the service."

The defence, or rather the plea in mitigation, which those letter-carriers would set up in case of a prosecution, would be that they had only done what their superiors had done. It would be proved that those letter-carriers opened letters addressed to certain sporting gentlemen, for which offence they were liable to transportation; but they would plead in mitigation of their sentence that they had only done that which they knew had been practised by those in authority over them. That was the course which had been taken with respect to those transactions in the Post Office; and he had mentioned them on this occasion in order to show the demoralizing effect of this system on the servants of the Post Office—a system which had the effect of preventing the infliction of an adequate punishment on those men for an offence which they would allege was of a similar nature to that course which had been sanctioned by the Prime Minister. Those men ought not to have got off with such an inadequate punishment; they ought to have been severely punished. A Committee sat on the subject of opening letters, and the Gentlemen who composed it made a Report, from which it was impossible to say whether they were for or against the practice of opening letters in the manner and to the extent which had been complained of. It was impossible from the Report to ascertain whether they were for or against a continuance of that power. It was stated, forsooth, amongst other arguments, that such a power would be calculated to prevent a Minister from forming any exaggerated idea as to the danger, in case of any outbreak or disturbance. Now he would ask the House to imagine how such a result could be produced by the exercise of this power? Suppose the Secretary of State to have read an account in the *Morning Herald*, or some such paper, the organ of such a Minister, that a dangerous conspiracy existed, and that an outbreak was to be apprehended, and that in consequence of such a statement he resolved, on coming down to the House, to ask for additional powers to meet that anticipated danger—if, when he was about to set out, a messenger from the Post Office came to him and said, he found out, by the letter of one of the conspirators, that it was a very trivial affair—perhaps a conspiracy of the Conservative Operative Association, in that case the Minister would not ask for additional powers, but would put the letter and the *Morning Herald* at the back of the fire. And yet such a contingency was one of the reasons assigned for the continuation of this power. It had been also said, that if this inviolability were secured, the Post Office might be made the vehicle for the conveyance of treasonable correspondence; but that would apply equally to all modes of transit; and it was at best but one of sentiment—it would apply to railroads, to omnibuses, and to taxed carts. If he said to a person that he would carry letters for him to Edinburgh, and that subsequently another person represented to him that there might be treason conveyed by those letters, would it be a defence for his violation of confidence, in case he opened them and found nothing wrong, to say he feared he might be subjected to punishment for carrying a treasonable correspondence? But as the law stood at present, if a treasonable correspondence were sent through the Post Office, there was as perfect a power to seize it as there was to seize papers on his (Mr. Duncombe's) person, or in his desk, if they contained anything treasonable. The Goverment had great advantages in the way of preventing and detecting crime, without resorting to this power; they had the rural police in almost every county; and in every borough and city they had the metropolitan police. What did they want more? If they wanted further assistance, they had it in a loyal and affectionate people; if they were wise, they would rely on that means of safety; and they would find it a better mode of securing the safety of the Throne and the country than could be obtained by the use of all the dirty powers which they now exercised. Let them pass the Bill which he would introduce, and there could be no room for any mistake in future as to the extent and legality of this power; for it would effect an unconditional repeal of it, if any such power existed under an Act of Parliament. This power of exercising fraud and forgery could not be ameliorated; it must exist in its present shape, or be discontinued altogether; and he was not to be made a fool of by leave being granted to bring in a Bill, and then having it frittered away, or strangled, in some of its subsequent stages. He was not aware that the Government intended to bring in any Bill on this subject; he asked leave to introduce a Bill which would have the effect of making this power cease altogether. He hoped the right hon. Baronet would rise in his place and say, that as this was a power of so odious a nature for a Minister to exercise—a power so repugnant to the best feelings of a free people—he would take the question into his own hands and say, the law shall at once be expunged from the Statute Book. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would take that course with the expectation, aye, and the clear understanding, that any ill feeling or suspicion, whether just or unjust, which before existed, should now and for ever be buried in oblivion. If that course was followed, and hereafter any Foreign Minister, the agent of any foreign despot, should sneak to the door of the Secretary of State, he would be able to say to the agent that the power of opening letters was no longer in existence; that whatever redress or protection the laws of England or of nations permitted he was willing to give; but with regard to the use of treachery he must deny any assistance; and he could say, pointing to his (Mr. Duncombe's) Act of Parliament, that such treachery as had before been exercised was no longer at the command of a Foreign Power. With those views and those objects, he should conclude by moving—

"That Leave be given to bring in a Bill to secure the Inviolability of Letters passing through the Post Office."

Dr. *Bowring* seconded the Motion. The right hon. Baronet the Secretary of State for the Home Department had stated that Mr. Mazzini was an unprotected foreigner—that he would inquire into the statements made with respect to that gentleman, and that if he found himself misinformed with respect to him, he would make every reparation to Mr. Mazzini. He was quite sure, from the well-known character of the right hon. Baronet, that he would make the necessary inquiries, and would take the earliest opportunity of making reparation to Mr. Mazzini, if he found that the allegations with respect to him could not be substantiated. Some documents which had relation to Mr. Mazzini had been laid on the Table of the House; and he would ask the right hon. Baronet, if those documents contained the only matter upon which the charge against Mr. Mazzini, of being connected with certain proceedings in France, rested? The only charge contained in the despatch of Sir A. Foster to Viscount Palmerston, was one containing very vague allusions; and he would ask if there were any particular statement to authorize that vague charge? The passage to which he (Dr. Bowring) referred, in the despatch of Sir A. Foster, was as follows:—

"The Austrian Minister professes to have got hold of a number of letters of instructions from Mazzini, who was expelled from Genoa, and is head of the secret tribunal, author of the atrocious murders lately committed at Rodez."

In this case, it appeared that no charge was brought forward against Mazzini, and that the Austrian Minister only professed to have got hold of the letters. He would ask the right hon. Baronet (Sir James Graham) if he had taken steps to ascertain if such letters were in existence, and if their contents had been communicated to our Government, and whether any further information had been obtained with respect to this calumniated, and, as the right hon. Baronet had himself called him—this unprotected foreigner?

Sir *James Graham:* Sir, I will commence the observations which it will be my duty to address to the House by first noticing the questions put to me by the hon. Gentleman who seconded the Motion. Upon a former evening I stated — and stated with accuracy—that until the hon. Member for Finsbury mentioned in this House an article in the *Westminster Review*, which contains a defence of a portion of Mr. Mazzini's conduct with reference to a transaction brought by me under the notice of the House, I was not aware of the existence of such an article. I then stated, that it would be my duty to make inquiry, in order to the removal of certain doubts respecting that portion of the case in which Mr. Mazzini was concerned, and to which I had alluded. I should have been most happy to embrace the first opportunity of declaring that my doubts had been removed; and I certainly did, in the first instance, endeavour to inform myself upon the subject. I inquired, and from the best authority, with respect to an article in the *Moniteur*, whether any prosecution had been instituted against that paper by Mr. Mazzini. From the best authority I learned that a prosecution had been threatened, but had never been instituted; and from the same high quarter no notice whatever was conveyed to me of the prosecution now said to have been instituted against M. Gisquet, for the republication of the article. Since that statement was made by the hon. Gentleman, I felt that it was my duty to make further inquiries in respect to that transaction. It is due to myself to say, that I only heard of that article on Tuesday last; and since then I have not received any additional information on the subject. As soon as I receive any, I shall feel it my duty to redeem my promise and to lay it before the House; and I shall make as frank a statement as to the impression on my mind as possible, after a full inquiry. Having said this, I think I may relieve the House from hearing any further observations upon that part of the subject. As to the other part of it, painful as these discussions have been to me on many former occasions, I am bound to say, that the hon. Member for Finsbury, in introducing a grave question—a question of great importance—for the consideration of the House, has done it on the present occasion in a manner as fair and dispassionate as I could desire. And certainly, however painful my experience has been when I have had to follow the hon. Gentleman on former occasions, I feel comparative ease in following him now when the debate is stripped of all personal and acrimonious topics. I am far from contending against many of the positions of the hon. Gentleman; on the contrary, they have my entire approval. For instance, I agree with him, that upon this question no middle course can be taken. This power must either continue as it is, or entirely cease. I do not believe that it would be useful to maintain this power, unless secrecy is preserved; and if the power be continued, I do not think the exercise of it can be materially altered. To these leading observations I entirely assent. I need hardly state to the House, that the hon. Gentleman has treated this subject in a manner which has almost seduced me from my strict line of duty. I admit at once that this power is an immense and odious power—one that is viewed—and justly viewed—with jealousy by the people of this country; and if it were consistent with my sense of public duty, after the painful experience I have had, to accede to the Motion of the hon. Gentleman, nothing, I assure him, would exceed my delight in doing so. But I am forced to consider this question with reference to the public interest, and to the public interest only. First of all, I must venture to treat of the law of the subject; and here I must state that I differ from the hon. Gentleman. I altogether dissent from the proposition that this power, such as it is, was first given by the Statute of Anne. I contend distinctly that the inverse is the true state of the fact. No doubt the opening of letters is a great moral offence, when committed by parties to whom they are intrusted in confidence. But prior to the Statute of Anne it was part of the Royal Prerogative to carry letters; and I believe it was notorious at that time, that the Government, from time to time, whenever grave suspicions arose, did, without hesitation, open letters; and prior to the Statute of Anne, so far from its being a legal offence, such opening was not only not a misdemeanor, but it did not even form a ground for a civil action. The Statute of Anne created the misdemeanor; and it also created the exemption in favour of the Crown. It was made under the Statute of Anne, as it is now under the Statute of Victoria, a misdemeanor to open a letter, except under a warrant by the Secretary of State. Now, if this is the clear interpretation of the law upon this point, as I conceive it to be, the effect of a simple repeal of the Statute would be, that the opening of letters in the Post Office would not only not be a misdemeanor, but it would be no offence cognizable by law. The effect of the present Statute, therefore, is a restraining effect generally; while, at the same time, it makes an exception—a single exception only—on behalf of the Executive Government, allowing letters to be opened under the warrant of the Secretary of State. The hon. Gentleman has stated fairly the general purport of the Report of the Committee. He says, the people of this country object to the violation of their correspondence; and this Report states expressly, that except under the warrant of the Secretary of State, the correspondence of the people is inviolate. The Report goes on to state that the average number of warrants issued in the last twenty-two years is eight a year; two-thirds being connected with criminal offences, and not of a political character. Therefore, it appears from that Report, that the average number of warrants per annum, issued for opening letters of a political character, does not exceed two or three in each year on the average during the whole of that period. The Report also states, that there has been a great alteration and improvement in the check kept in this department of the Post Office since the time of Lord Spencer, in 1806. All the warrants are carefully preserved. Is there no other check? No Secretary of State can now issue a warrant without three persons as well as himself being cognizant of it—two Under Secretaries and a confidential clerk. Besides these checks each original warrant is kept; and every warrant issued by me was produced from the Post Office before the Committee. I gave an account *seriatim* of the reasons which led to the issue of all the warrants signed by me. Now, it appears to me, that this is a matter not so fit to be made the subject of enactment as of regulation, and there are certain regulations which, on the part of the Government, I am willing to adopt. I admit, that while in criminal cases a record has been kept of the peculiar nature of the reasons for issuing each warrant, such has not been the case with respect to political warrants; and, feeling the force of the desire expressed by the head of the Government, the three Secretaries of State are prepared to make a regulation that the reasons and grounds on which every political warrant is issued shall henceforth be recorded in a book kept for that purpose; and that record shall be signed by the Secretary of State. I do not think the regulation can be carried further. Is it for the public interests that this power should be treated as if it never had existed? I cannot think that it is safe or expedient to treat this power as if it never had existed. If it were the first time the question had arisen as to whether this power should be given or not, I might hesitate in deciding that it would be wise to bestow it. But this power having been intrusted to the Executive Government from the earliest period; bearing date even prior to the Revolution, and being exercised from the time of the Revolution downward; being confirmed by the practice of the best of times; not having been abused—for the Committee tell you so—and not being exercised from personal feelings, or from political hostility, but for the public interest—I say it is quite another thing that the House should now declare that this power—so established and so exercised—should no longer exist; and that the General Post Office should be made a safe and inviolable medium in future for the transmission of correspondence, whether foreign or domestic, of the most treasonable and dangerous character. The hon. Gentleman says, the rule to be effectual must apply to railroads and other conveyances. The great distinction is, that the Post Office, necessarily for the public good, is placed under the Royal authority and the control of the Executive Government; and it is too much to expect that that part of the Royal Prerogative, conducted by the responsible servants of the Crown, should be made the medium of communication in the promotion of violent and treasonable designs against the safety of the State, and against peace and good order. I do not wish to dwell upon what the hon. Gentleman has said about the inviolability of letters in the Post Offices of France and Belgium, and other countries. But in answer to that observation I would mention a fact which I have mentioned before, because I hope the House will not lose sight of it. In France, and in every country in Europe except in England, there is a check on the power of admitting foreigners; also there is vested in every Foreign Government the power of sending them out of the country when they become troublesome. In this country no such power exists. I do not ask for the renewal of any such power. I was opposed to it when it was in force; and upon the whole I do not think its renewal desirable. If you allow them to come here, however, and if they abuse your hospitality, you have no power of removing them; therefore I do not think it is too much to have some check upon their correspondence, lest this country be made the focus of political plot and intrigue for the disturbance of the peace of Europe. Having given the subject my best consideration, I have come to the conclusion that it is for the safety and advantage of this country that this power should be retained in the limited form I have described, though I do not set very great value upon it, nor lay very much stress upon its use or maintenance. Indeed, were this the first time it was about to be proposed, I do not think I should be willing to vote for it. But, looking at all the circumstances of the case, particularly with regard to aliens and their foreign correspondence, I must repeat that I cannot, consistently with my sense of duty, support the Motion of the hon. Gentleman. I entirely agree with the hon. Member that any Bill merely to amend the law would be illusory, and that if any enactment on the subject is to be made, the most intelligible and direct mode of proceeding is by way of a Bill to repeal entirely the power at present vested in the Government; but it is with reluctance that I am bound to say on the part of the Government that I cannot give my assent to the Motion of the hon. Member for Finsbury.

Lord *J. Russell:* I agree in the observation of the right hon. Gentleman, that nothing could have been more fairly stated than this case has been by the hon. Member for Finsbury. He has brought it forward as a constitutional question. He has stated the arguments which may be fairly urged for the abrogation of the power at present possessed by the Government for the opening of letters, and has called upon the House to consider whether a legislative enactment for its abrogation may not be passed. I find myself in the situation of neither agreeing entirely with my hon. Friend the Member for Finsbury, nor with the right hon. Gentleman who has last spoken. I think that there is great force in one observation made by my hon. Friend, to the effect that the exercise of this power having been much questioned, and discussed both among the public and in this House, is no longer of the same utility as in former times; and that there now is a sort of notice given to all persons, who may be supposed desirous of using the Post Office as a vehicle for the carrying on of treasonable and seditious correspondence, not in future to attempt to make use of that department for such a purpose. Let me however say, that with respect to the law of the subject, my reflections and investigations, as far as they could proceed on any authority, have led me to the same conclusion as that arrived at by the right hon. Gentleman opposite. It appears to me that the Act of Anne was framed entirely with a view to provide a penalty and a punishment against clerks and other persons engaged by the Post Office, and not to cripple or take away any power which the Crown previously possessed. I have asked several Gentlemen engaged in legal affairs what sort of criminal proceeding could take place, supposing that a private individual, intrusted with a letter, so far betrayed the trust as to open it; and I have been unable to find that there is any power of punishing such a party. The purpose of the Act of Anne was to give the public a security that their letters should not be opened unauthorizedly by persons engaged by the Post Office, and at the same time to reserve to the Crown the power which was considered established and recognised. If this were so, it was not, of course, necessary to confirm this power by Act of Parliament; but it was only requisite to refer to it indirectly. In the course of the discussions which have taken place on this subject, it has been urged that this power ought in future to be used with more formality and precaution, for the sake of the liberty of the subject, than have hitherto been shown in its exercise; and a noble Friend of mine (Lord Radnor) who has adverted to this subject in the House of Lords, is prepared to propose—I do not know whether he has done so yet—that in all cases of opening letters there should be information on oath, on which the warrant should issue. I understand, also, that it is the opinion of a person of high authority, Lord Denman, that there should be this control laid on the issue of warrants for the opening of letters; and, considering the discussions which have taken place, and how desirable it is that all powers of this nature should be brought as much as possible into a legal and definite form, I think that this restriction should be placed on the power of opening of letters. But my hon. Friend (Mr. Duncombe) seems to go beyond this. He considers that letters in the Post Office should have a peculiar inviolability, and that persons carrying on treasonable and seditious correspondence should have a security given them by the Bill which he proposes to bring in. I cannot, therefore, vote with him for the introduction of that Bill; but if a Bill comes down from the other House, or should be introduced in this House, such as proposed by Lord Radnor, I am prepared to give my vote in its favour. Such a Bill would have one effect, which I, differing from the right hon. Gentleman opposite, think would be beneficial. I take it, that if a restriction of the kind I have referred to were imposed, there would then be no danger, if any representations were made by the Minister of a Foreign Power that letters should be opened for the purpose of preventing insurrection in a Foreign State, that the power of opening those letters would be exercised. I look upon the opening of letters for such a purpose as an unjustifiable use of the power of the Crown. I do not mean to say that the right hon. Gentleman opposite, in the course he pursued, did not act on what he conceived to be a sense of duty. I do not mean to say that he acted from corrupt or improper motives; but from a feeling that the public interests were to be served by the line he adopted. But I think that such a use of the power as would oblige the Secretary of State to give assistance to Foreign Powers for the purpose of qnelling insurrections in Foreign States, without reference to any degree of tyranny which may prevail in those States, ought not to be maintained; and, therefore, I should not wish to see the power possessed by the Secretary of State exercised in such cases. I have now expressed shortly my view with respect to this power; and I cannot give my vote in favour of the proposed Bill of my hon. Friend; but I shall be ready to impose on the use of this power such a restriction as I have already stated, and such as, I understand, has the authority of Lord Denman in its favour.

Mr. *Warburton* entirely approved of the course which his hon. Friend had taken. He agreed with him that there was no medium, but either to abrogate the practice altogether, or to allow it to remain as at present. Having been a Member of the Committee appointed to inquire into this subject, he must say that, it being admitted the Government were in possession of this power, or, at least, the practice being established on the part of the Secretary of State of opening letters, he must give credit to the British Government generally that for the last twenty-two years the power had been exercised with so much forbearance that on an average only eight warrants for opening letters had been issued in the course of a year. And, whatever the practice of Foreign Governments might be, he thought that foreigners, knowing this was the practice amongst us, would concur with him in this opinion. Something had been said about the authority on which the power of opening letters rested; and he supposed it would be admitted that that practice rested either on the Prerogative, on Common Law, or the Statute of Queen Anne. There were, indeed, various writs issued by the Edwards and the Henrys on this subject; but if they were examined, it would be found that, with one or two exceptions in the course of a century, they were writs issued by the Crown at the instance of Parliament to search persons coming into or leaving the country, on suspicion that they carried with them Papal bulls or other ecclesiastical documents. Nothing, therefore, could be founded upon that. The Tudors and the Stuarts had issued writs more nearly resembling the present practice; but no person would draw constitutional precedents from those times. As well might it be contended that the examination of prisoners of State by torture was legal, because it had been practised by the Privy Council down to the meeting of the Long Parliament; and Fortescue and other writers, who had written in praise of the English laws, because it did not allow of the use of torture, had their names appended to some of the Privy Council warrants, authorizing torture to be used against prisoners of State. Then with regard to the power resting on Common Law, where were the volumes of the jurists, or the decisions of the judges, on which they could venture to justify the exercise of this power. There was, indeed, one *obiter dictum* of a judge, but it was made after the Statute of Queen Anne was passed. Therefore, he did not think they could found much upon that rule; so that if it existed at all it must exist by Statute. In looking into some papers which had been published by Bishop Hoadley, who wrote articles in the *Intelligencer* newspaper, justifying the administration of Sir Robert Walpole and his conduct in the trial of Bishop Atterbury, he founded his justification of the Government in opening the letters of that Prelate solely on the provisions of the then recent Act of Queen Anne being used in the suppression of correspondence. He thought this opinion of a contemporary showed that the Act was really the ground on which the Crown exercised its right. He had no doubt whatever that in the opinion of those who passed the Act it was the only foundation on which they could exercise such a right. It had been stated as one reason why the power should be retained, that the Government could, in this way, not only exercise control over the correspondence of the natives of this country; but that, unless such a power was maintained, they could not control the conduct of the various foreigners who resided here. Now, he should like to ask whether foreigners were the only persons who interfered in the affairs of foreign nations? They had amongst their own body individuals who had taken an active share in the proceedings, both civil and military, of foreign nations; and what reason was there that they should exercise this power in the case of foreigners, which did not apply to the case of natives of this country? He thought, therefore, that this argument of the right hon. Gentleman went too far. He contended for the total abolition of this power—being persuaded, after the exposure which had taken place, that if parties had a treasonable correspondence to carry on, they would take good care not to send it through the Post Office. In the next place, he thought it clear, from the Reports of the Committees to both Houses of Parliament, that neither in criminal warrants nor in political warrants had information been obtained, by opening letters, which was of any importance. The practice was a breach of public morality; and to continue it, there ought to be made out in its favour a strong case, proving that it had been productive of eminent public good. But what was the fact? There was positively no proof whatever that any good had ever been effected by the practice; and he would say that in a case which was altogether exceptionable, which was a breach of the great maxims of public faith and morality, they ought to abrogate it altogether when it was shown, as in this case, that it was not of that utility on which alone an argument could be founded in its favour.

Viscount *Howick* could not give his vote in favour of his hon. Friend's Motion without stating, in a few words, why he did so. He thought his hon. Friend had rather, in his generosity, made a larger concession to the right hon. Gentleman opposite than was altogether discreet. He admitted that the power of opening letters could not exist at all except in its present state. Now he for one, could not agree in that opinion. He believed the power of opening letters might usefully exist, and safely exist, provided the system of secrecy were put an end to. He believed that if they would not resort to the practice of resealing letters, or of defacing post marks—if it were known in what way letters were opened, he believed that such a power might be usefully and safely exercised. But if his hon. Friend should carry his Motion, and the Bill were to be brought in, it would be competent for any hon. Member to propose a clause placing the exercise of the power under such restrictions. He would vote for a clause of that kind, and on this simple ground, that though, by the existence of such a law, they would not obtain the advantage of spying into a man's secret actions, yet they would prevent the Post Office from being used as the medium of carrying on a treasonable correspondence; for then no man engaged in carrying on a treasonable correspondence could use the Post Office as a vehicle of transmission, without the risk of a warrant being issued, by which his correspondence would be seized and used in evidence against him. On the other hand, if they said that they must either have the power as it was, or not at all, he, for one, was perfectly prepared to say that they should not have it at all. He was prepared to say that the danger of abuse in the present form of the power was greater than the advantages that would result from its use. He said that the present system of forging seals and of defacing post marks were what the hon. Member for Shrewsbury had said of another subject — an organized and legalized hypocrisy. It was falsehood—practical falsehood—carried on under the authority of the Government. To that he objected, as demoralising and discrediting to the Government. He held the opinion expressed last year by the noble Lord the Member for Dorset—that what was morally wrong could not be politically right. He believed that that opinion was true. He was prepared to carry it out to the utmost — it was morally wrong. It could not be defended on any ground of morality — to reseal letters with forged seals, to deface their own post office marks, showing the day and the hour on which the letter was put in, so that the parties might not suspect it had been opened—that was falsehood—it was morally wrong, and could not, therefore, be politically right. No doubt it was true that the exercise of this power might sometimes detect plots and conspiracies. Who doubted it? Who doubted that by the employment of these vile and treacherous means they would sometimes arrive at important information? That was precisely the argument that might be used for the employment of spies. The right hon. Member for Edinburgh had truly said, on a former debate on this subject, that precisely the same argument might be brought forward to justify the paying a man to offer himself as a servant to one of those foreigners whose conduct was suspected, and to report to Government all his proceedings. Precisely the same argument would tell in favour of the one case and the other. In both cases there was falsehood—deliberate falsehood—practised under the sanction of Government, enabling them sometimes to obtain information which might prove useful. He did not deny that there were some advantages in such a case; but he believed that in the long-run the advantages would be found to be all on the side of open and fair dealing. He would not, for the sake of any temporary advantage, sanction a system of fraud and forgery. Therefore, if he were driven to choose between the exercise of the power as it now stood, or to part with it altogether, he would say that his choice was made—he would part with it altogether. But it was a great fallacy to tell the House that by supporting the Motion of his hon. Friend, it necessarily implied that the power ought to be parted with. It was quite competent to introduce a clause allowing letters to be opened by warrant from the Secretary of State, if the letters were not to be resealed. He was told that it was the practice in Foreign nations so to exercise the power—that in Austria, in particular, letters which were opened were resealed with the Post Office seal. Let the House follow that example—let them not farther adopt a system of fraud and forgery, which foreign nations repudiated. For these ample reasons he for one had no hesitation whatever in voting for the Motion.

Mr. *Hume* thought the country was indebted to the hon. Member for Finsbury, for the courage and tact he had displayed throughout the discussions of this question. He could not understand how the noble Lord the Member for Sunderland, who had laid down the principle that the power was rather a disadvantage than an advantage, could yet consent to continue that power to the Government. The question ought to be, had they any proof that the practice was of advantage at all? Had it been productive of any public good? He knew of none; he had heard of none. The right hon. Baronet had not alleged that any had been produced. Then, why should they continue the power? He denied that this power was exercised under the Prerogative of the Crown; would the Prerogative fine him *5l.* for sending a letter by a private hand? The whole of the Post Office was established by Acts of Parliament, and by Act of Parliament it ought to be regulated. The agitation of this subject had damaged the right hon. Baronet both in his public and private character. ["Oh! oh!"] Hon. Gentlemen opposite might not think so; but that was his opinion, and a large portion of the people of England thought with him. He urged the House to make its legislation on this subject as satisfactory to the public as possible, and retaining the power as it at present stood would not be satisfactory to the community at large. He should certainly support the abolition of a power which he was satisfied no honest Minister would have recourse to.

Mr. *T. Duncombe* was sorry to hear the determination of the right hon. Baronet. He was convinced the country would not be satisfied with that decision; it would not be satisfied with the retention of this power by the Government. The noble Lord the Member for the City of London had said, that he (Mr. Duncombe) appeared to think letters passing through the Post Office ought to have some peculiar privilege over all others. He had never said anything of the sort; what he stated was this—that if they took away this power the Government had assumed, but which he denied it possessed, then letters passing through the Post Office would stand exactly in the same position as papers in the writing desk of any individual, liable to be examined under a search warrant issued on oath. If they were apprised that a treasonable correspondence was passing through the Post Office, they would still have the power of seizing it. One Member of the Committee (Mr. Warburton) had spoken that evening; no other Member of it had condescended to give an opinion on the question; he had a right to assume, therefore, that his hon. Friend had expressed the opinion of that Committee. No other Member of it had come forward. He saw the noble Lord the Chairman of that Committee (Lord Sandon) opposite; had he given any reason for the continuance of the power? The noble Lord had not. He might be accused of a "prurient curiosity" in submitting such a question to the noble Lord; but he would ask him whether he thought such a power ought to be continued? It was impossible this question could stop here; a high authority had stated, that this power was not a legal one; and when the petitions of these foreigners were presented to the House the right hon. Baronet had said, if the parties were aggrieved, let them indict those of whose conduct they complained. These individuals were poor, and had not the power of seeking legal redress; but if there was law or justice to be had, he (Mr. Duncombe) would test this power—he would prove that his letters had been detained and opened, and he would try whether it had been done by law or not. If Lord Denman and Lord Campbell said this was not a legal power, and if the Government required a bill of indemnity for what it had done, he did say the right hon. Baronet was not justified in telling the House he had acted in strict accordance with the law. The Law Officer of the Crown was present; he should like to hear his version of the law on the subject. If possible, he would take him into the Court of Queen's Bench; the hon. and learned Gentleman should there defend this law, and then the extent of it would be tried. The right hon. Gentleman said last year, let the individuals who complained indict the parties who had detained their letters, and then the warrant would be produced. He would see whether it would be produced or not, by carrying the case into a court of justice. He had hoped the House would have entertained the question, and that there would not have been that anxiety to stifle this discussion. He had observed during the speech of the hon. Member for Kendal, hon. Gentlemen evidently had more consideration for their dinners than for the reasonable wish and desire of the majority of the people of this country that this odious and iniquitous power should be extinguished.

The House divided:—Ayes 78; Noes 161: Majority 83.

List of the AYES.

Aglionby, H. A.
Aldam, W.
Bellew, R. M.
Berkeley, H. C.
Bernal, R.
Blewitt, R. J.
Borthwick, P.
Bouverie, hon. E. P.
Bowes, J.
Brotherton, J.
Browne, hon. W.
Buller, C.
Busfeild, W.
Butler, hon. Col.
Byng, rt. hn. G. S.
Chapman, B.
Christie, W. D.
Collett, J.
Curteis, H. B.
Dalmeny, Lord
Dennistoun, J.
Divett, E.
Drax, J. S. W. S. E.
Duncan, Visct.
Duncan, G.
Dundas, Adm.
Ebrington, Visct.
Ellice, E.
Elphinstone, H.
Forster, M.
Guest, Sir J.
Hanmer, Sir J.
Hawes, B.
Heron, Sir R.
Hobhouse, rt. hn. Sir J.
Howard, hon. C. W. G.
Howick, Visct.
Humphery, Ald.
Hutt, W.
Macaulay, rt. hn. T. B.
Mangles, R. D.
Manners, Lord J.
Marjoribanks, S.
Marsland, H.
Martin, J.
Mitcalfe, H.
Mitchell, T. A.
Morris, D.
Murray, A.
Napier, Sir. C.
O'Conor Don
Paget, Col.
Parker, J.
Pattison, J.
Pechell, Capt.
Plumridge, Capt.
Ponsonby, hon. C. F. A.
Protheroe, E.
Rice, E. R.
Ross, D. R.
Rutherfurd, A.
Sheil, rt. hon. R. L.
Sheridan, R. B.
Somerville, Sir W. M.
Strickland, Sir G.
Strutt, E.
Tancred, H. W.
Thornely, T.
Trelawny, J. S.
Tuffnell, H.

Villiers, hon. C.
Wall, C. B.
Warburton, H.
Wawn, J. T.
Williams, W.
Worsley, Lord
Yorke, H. R.

TELLERS.

Duncombe, T.
Hume, J.

List of the Noes.

Ackers, J.
Acland, Sir T. D.
Acland, T. D.
Acton, Col.
Adare, Visct.
Arbuthnott, hon. H.
Arkwright, G.
Bagot, hon. W.
Bailey, J. jun.
Baillie, H. J.
Baird, W.
Baldwin, B.
Bankes, G.
Baring, rt. hon. F. T.
Baring, T.
Baring, rt. hon. W. B.
Baskerville, T. B. M.
Bateson, T.
Benbow, J.
Bentinck, Lord G.
Beresford, Major
Blackburne, J. I.
Blackstone, W. S.
Boldero, H. G.
Botfield, B.
Bowles, Adm.
Brisco, M.
Bruce, Lord E.
Buller, Sir J. Y.
Campbell, Sir H.
Cardwell, E.
Carew, W. H. P.
Christopher, R. A.
Chute, W. L. W.
Clerk, rt. hon. Sir G.
Clive, hon. R. H.
Cockburn, rt. hn. Sir G.
Codrington, Sir W.
Corry, rt. hon. H.
Courtenay, Lord
Cripps, W.
Damer, hon. Col.
Darby, G.
Deedes, W.
Denison, E. B.
Dickinson, F. H.
Douglas, Sir H.
Douglas, Sir C. E.
Douro, Marquess of
Drummond, H. H.
Duff, J.
Duncombe, hon. A.
Duncombe, hon. O.
Du Pre, C. G.
East, J. B.
Eaton, R. J.
Egerton, W. T.
Egerton, Sir P.
Emlyn, Visct.
Escott, B.
Estcourt, T. G. B.
Fellowes, E.
Fitzroy, hon. H.
Ffolliott, J.
Forbes, W.
Forman, T. S.
Fremantle, rt. hn. Sir T.
Fuller, A. E.
Gaskell, J. Milnes
Gladstone, Capt.
Gordon, hon. Capt.
Gore, M.
Gore, W. O.
Gore, W. R. O.
Goring, C.
Graham, rt. hn. Sir J.
Greene, T.
Grimston, Visct.
Grogan, E.
Hale, R. B.
Hamilton, G. A.
Hamilton, W. J.
Hamilton, Lord C.
Harcourt, G. G.
Harris, hon. Capt.
Hayes, Sir E.
Henley, J. W.
Hepburn, Sir T. B.
Herbert, rt. hon. S.
Hope, hon. C.
Hope, A.
Hope, G. W.
Houldsworth, T.
Howard, P. H.
Ingestre, Visct.
Irton, S.
Jermyn, Earl
Jocelyn, Visct.
Johnstone, Sir J.
Jolliffe, Sir W. G. H.
Jones, Capt.
Knight, F. W.
Lambton, H.
Lawson, A.
Lefroy, A.
Legh, G. C.
Lennox, Lord A.
Liddell, hon. H. T.
Lincoln, Earl of
Lockhart, W.
Long, W.
Lowther, Sir J. H.
Lyall, G.
Lygon, hon. Gen.
Mackenzie, T.
Mackenzie, W. F.
Mackinnon, W. A.
McGeachy, F. A.
Masterman, J.
Mildmay, H. St. J.
Morgan, O.
Munday, E. M.
Newry, Visct.
Norreys, Lord
O'Brien, A. S.
Palmerston, Visct.
Patten, J. W.
Peel, rt. hon. Sir R.
Peel, J.
Pennant, hon. Col.
Plumptre, J. P.
Polhill, F.
Pollington, Visct.
Praed, W. T.
Pringle, A.
Reid, Sir J. R.
Repton, G. W. J.
Round, J.
Rous, hon. Capt.
Sandon, Visct.
Shelburne, Earl of
Sibthorp, Col.
Smith, rt. hon. T. B. C.
Somerset, Lord G.
Somes, J.
Sotheron, T. H. S.
Spooner, R.
Stewart, J.
Stuart, H.
Sutton, hon. H. M.
Tennent, J. E.
Thesiger, Sir F.
Tollemache, hon. F. J.
Tollemache, J.
Trench, Sir F. W.
Trevor, hon. G. R.
Tyrell, Sir J. T.
Verner, Col.
Villiers, Visct.
Wellesley, Lord C.
Wortley, hon. J. S.

TELLERS.

Young, J.
Baring, H.

HEALTH OF TOWNS.] Report of Ecclesiastical Commissioners, Feb. 1832; Report of Select Committee on Health of Towns; Supplementary Report to Report on the Sanatory Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain; Second Report of the Commissioners appointed for inquiring into the state of Large Towns and Populous Districts having been read,

Mr. *Mackinnon* said: Three years are past since first I called the attention of this House to the practice of interments in large towns. My suggestions were in the outset little attended to, even much laughter was excited: the idea was by many deemed novel, if not visionary; but at length, with some reluctance, a Committee was granted by the House to investigate the question. When the evidence of parties acquainted with the practice of intramural interments was brought before the Committee; when the evidence of medical men, the first in this town, was given, the members of whom the Committee was composed were astonished and shocked at the abominations disclosed; and they came to the unanimous resolution to recommend the abolition of interments within large towns and populous districts. Since that period petitions without number have been presented, and the shocking practices prevalent in the grave yards of the metropolis have appeared in various forms before the public, and excited equal indignation and disgust. It is neither my inclination nor my intention to enter into any statement of the customs of ancient times; I will only observe, that from the time of our Saviour and of the early Christians, until corruptions entered into the Church, no interments in churches or in towns took place. All the early Christians were interred out of the precincts of the living. Not to take up the time of the House, I will at once proceed to the Report of the Commission, the Ecclesiastical Commission, which is as follows:—

> "The practice of burial in the church or chancel appears to us in many respects injurious, in some cases offensive, in some instances by weakening or deteriorating the fabric of the church, and in others by its tendency to affect the lives or health of the inhabitants. We are of opinion, that in future this practice should be discontinued, so far as the same can be effected without trenching on vested rights."

Now, Sir, by whom is this signed? Not by any Members of Parliament hostile to the Church, or desirous of innovation; not by any Members of the Opposition, but by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the following names: Durham, London, Wynford, Lincoln, Tenterden, C. N. Tindal. Now let us see what say the Committee of this House when it gives its Report:—

> "*Resolved* (1842)—That the practice of interments within the precincts of large towns is injurious to the health of the inhabitants thereof, and frequently offensive to public decency."

On what is this Report founded but on the most shocking evidence disclosed of the manner in which the remains of the dead are treated, and of the unhealthiness of the practice of putting the dead amongst the living. When Sir B. Brodie is asked, "Do you consider the state of the grave yards in the metropolis as one cause of fever and disease?" his answer is, "I have always considered that as one cause." What states Dr. Chambers? "I have no doubt," he answers, "that fever called typhus, even in the cleanly quarters of London, owe their origin to the escape of putrid miasma. I should presume that over-crowded burying grounds would supply such effluvia most abundantly." When this last Report was alluded to by me in this place two years ago, my right hon. Friend the Secretary for the Home Department declared he was not yet satisfied; that he must require further evidence; and a Special Commission was issued to a very able and intelligent gentleman, Mr. Chadwick, to investigate the subject. What says his Report?—

> "That all interments in towns where bodies decompose, contribute to the mass of atmospheric impurity injurious to the public health."

This able Report is so well known, and has been so generally perused, that I need not comment on it any longer; but I will next proceed to the last Commission on the Health of Towns, whose Report was published early this Session, which says—

> "Amongst other causes of the deterioration of the atmosphere in towns, our attention was called to the practice of interring the dead in the midst of densely populated districts. Instances have been brought before the Commissioners of the great evils arising from the condition of the grave yards in several large towns, Shields, Sunderland, Coventry, Chester, York, &c., and we deem it right to draw attention to the existence of such complaints."

Now, Sir, it may seem that quite enough has been said by the Commissioners on the Health of Towns, and by the Committee, to satisfy the most incredulous that the nuisance exists; but my right hon. Friend still doubts, he is not yet satisfied: like St. Thomas, he is still incredulous. I cannot help thinking my right hon. Friend does not like to believe in the nuisance, because it may be very difficult to remedy the same. One of the Popes in days gone by, when told the earth moved round the sun,—that such was discovered by Copernicus, said, "It may be true, and I believe it, but I shall save much trouble to myself if I say I do not believe it, and I will persist that such is not the case." Now the right hon. Gentleman says the people are still desirous to continue the custom of interring the dead in the midst of the living; but I confess I am at a loss to see what portion of the community is so desirous. Not the upper class. I am sure the middle classes are not; and I see no appearance in the lower class: on the contrary, I have presented petitions signed by thousands against interments in towns, and none have appeared except from a few interested persons, speculators in grave yards in this metropolis in its favour. What says the gentleman who is Principal of Clement's Inn? I will just read his letter to the House.

> 24, *Surrey Street, Strand,* 3rd *March,* 1845.
>
> "Sir—Observing that you intend to call the attention of the House of Commons to the necessity of promoting the health of large towns by preventing interments within their precincts; I beg, as the Principal of one of the minor Inns of Court (St. Clement's Inn), to furnish you with a few facts of the most startling and disgusting character, and which

establish at once a case of great injury to the health of a thickly populated district, and of disgrace to a civilized community. Within one-eighth of a mile from Lincoln's Inn, and abutting on St. Clement's Inn, is a building known as Enon Chapel, now used by what is called a Temperance Society in the morning for an infant school, and at night as an assembly room for dancing. The building measures less than sixty by twenty-nine feet, and the part occupied by the living is separated from the place of interment (a cellar) by an indifferently constructed wooden floor, the rafters of which are not even protected with lath and plaster. From 1823 to 1840, it is stated and believed, that upwards of ten thousand bodies were deposited in the cellar, not one-fiftieth part of which could have been crammed into it in separate coffins, had not a common sewer contiguous to the cellar afforded facility for removal of the old, as new supplies arrived. In the cellar there are now human remains, and the stench which at times issues through the floor is so intolerable as to render it absolutely necessary that the windows in the lantern roof should be kept open. During the summer months a peculiar insect makes its appearance; and in the adjoining very narrow thoroughfare, called St. Clement's Lane, densely inhabited by the poor, I need scarcely inform you, that fever, cholera, and other diseases, have prevailed to a frightful extent. Over the masses of putrefaction to which I have alluded, are children varying in number from one to two hundred, huddled together for hours at a time, and at night the children are succeeded by persons, who continue dancing over the dead till three and four o'clock in the morning. A band of music is in attendance during the whole night, and cards are played in a room adjoining this chapel-charnel house. The police have declined to interfere, alleging that the building does not come under the description of a place of amusement, as defined by the Act of 25 Geo. II, c. 36; and as there is no probability of the inhabitants in the immediate neighbourhood giving evidence of their own amusements being a nuisance, there is little prospect of the saturnalia being discontinued, unless the attention which you may be able to excite shall lead to the adoption of some extraordinary means for removing the Enon plague-spot from the centre of the metropolis.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your very obedient humble servant,

"George Brace.

"William Alex. Mackinnon, Esq., M.P."

Now here is a highly respectable gentleman, a lawyer, the head of Clement's Inn, who tells you of the evil, and openly gives his name, and permits me to mention it to the House. Before I sit down, allow me, Sir, to allude to the opinion of a very good and able person, so early as the days of Charles II., Evelyn, the author of the *Sylva*, who says,—

"The custom with the early Christians was, *In urbe ne sepelito ne urito.* If then it was counted a thing so profane to bury in cities, much less would they have permitted it in their temples. Now, after all this, would it not raise our indignation, to suffer so many persons without merit, permitted to lay their carcasses, not in the nave and body of the church only, but in the very chancel, next the communion table, ripping up the pavements and removing the seats, &c., for some little gratification of those who should have more respect for decency at least."

Now, Sir, I will only add, that in this metropolis, the number interred in the midst of the living, is one thousand in a week nearly; in the whole of the kingdom that number per day. What a hideous and dreadful apprehension does not this number of dead interred among the living create as to the future consequences that may arise! What will this House have to answer for, if at the end of an uncertain period, but at some period, a pestilence or some direful malady should arise in the population, and spread universally through the ranks of society! What would, what will be said by Europe and the world, if in the nineteenth century, the disgraceful practice of interment of the dead in the midst of the living, is not only permitted, but practised, by the most civilized nation, in the most civilized metropolis, and amidst the most wealthy population of the world? Sir, I hope the vote of this night will at once declare the sense of this House, and put an end to a disgraceful abomination, of which the most barbarous people in this globe would be ashamed. If I succeed in moving my Resolution, that in the opinion of this House the interments in the precincts of large towns and of populous districts is injurious to the health of the inhabitants, and contrary to public decency, I shall then proceed to bring in a Bill to that effect, not under a very sanguine hope that I can pass such a Bill unless supported by Her Majesty's Government, but to keep up the public feeling, and to act as a pioneer in a work which I deem not only absolutely necessary for the health of the people, but required by public decency, and creditable to the Legislature by whom such sentiments are entertained, which sooner or later will and must be adopted. The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving—

"That this House is of opinion, that the practice of Interment in towns and crowded districts is injurious to the public health, and exposes the places of sepulture to desecration, and the remains of the dead to acts revolting to moral and religious feelings, and that such practice ought to be abolished as early as is practicable, consistently with the object of making due and proper provision for Interment, and for the protection of vested interests in all accustomed fees or emoluments."

Mr. *Hume* seconded the Motion. He considered the subject one of great importance; and he waited with some anxiety to see what part the Government would take with respect to it. Nothing, he thought, could be more disgraceful to them in that House than that their time should be engaged in party contests, instead of being devoted, as it ought to be, to the public welfare. In no country in the world—neither in Germany, nor Spain, nor France—was this practice continued. Surely the exposure that had now taken place, the details contained in the letter written by a person on the spot, the knowledge that had been obtained, the evidence of their own Committee, as well as the accurate details given by Mr. Chadwick, must prove the necessity of exertion on this truly important question. He had read over, with great anxiety, the details given by Mr. Chadwick; and having done so, he could not allow himself to think that his hon. Friend would have occasion again to trouble himself on this subject. The Government, in appointing a Commissioner, had excited expectation, which, now that they had information, he was sure they would not disappoint. Let them remember, that whilst they had been occupied in mere party squabbles, inquiries directed by themselves had proved the people in the towns to be living in filth, in squalor, and in misery, that were almost incredible, had they not been so distinctly proved. It was discreditable to them, as a nation of civilized and Christian men, that these things should be. They were shocked at the descriptions of the inhabitants of savage nations putting each other to death; but how much more shocking was it to think that in a civilized country like this—as it had been proved by facts that could not be contradicted nor denied—that by their own ignorance and apathy they were causing the death of thousands of their fellow-citizens—that by their neglect they permitted to be enervated their labouring classes, upon whom the strength and stability of the country depended; that they permitted them to have bad food and bad air—to live in filth, poverty, and misery, when their first duty ought to be to remove all the causes that led to their depression and degradation. He would recommend hon. Members to read Mr. Chadwick's little book on the subject, in every page of which they would find full evidence of the magnitude of the evils complained of. And he would recommend those hon. Members who were desirous of improving the condition of the working classes, and increasing their health and comforts, to deal with those evils, and, if possible, to devise a remedy for them, as a more practical means of accomplishing their object, than by interfering between the master artisans and the workmen, when in a healthy state, to limit the hours of labour. In one page of Mr. Chadwick's work was a long and important statement as to the practice in France, and the experience of that country as to the effect of interments in towns on the sanatory condition of the people; so that this evidence rested, not upon what had occurred in this country alone, though that he thought was conclusive enough, but also on the experience of foreign countries. Professor Brande had stated that much of the well water in London—many of the wells being in the immediate vicinity of churchyards—was contaminated, and rendered unwholesome by water from the neighbouring graves mingling with it. Eighteen years ago, he (Mr. Hume) moved for a Return of the number of churchyards in the metropolis, their superficial extent, and the number of bodies interred in them in each of the previous ten years. Let any hon. Gentleman look at this Return, and recollect that ever since interments had been going on at the rate of 1,000 a week, and say whether the practice was not sufficient to disgust anybody. Talk of savage manners and brutal practices! Could there be a more savage practice than this? And not only was it to be deprecated on account of the disgust and horror it was calculated to excite; but more so on account of its fatal effects upon the health of the people, especially the working classes, who were most exposed to its influence. Dr. Reid had spoken of the extent of the evil arising from the miasma of graveyards. He had detected deleterious gases escaping from graves twenty feet deep, and stated that he had found the ground in many churchyards perfectly saturated with carbonic acid gas. He thought, for the sake of decency itself, even if the more important consideration of the health of the people did not require it, some assurance should be given by the Government that they would turn their attention to the subject, with a view to devise some remedy for the evil. Hon. Gentlemen, who could reside where they pleased, and command what accommodation and comfort they required, might not be aware of the consequences of the practice which it was the object of the hon. Member for Lymington to put a stop to. It was the labouring classes who felt the evil in its full force—those who were compelled to live in narrow courts and alleys, and were obliged to crowd together in single rooms and in cellars; those whose condition was in itself sufficiently miserable, without having added to it the sufferings which arose from this most deleterious and disgusting practice. Those philanthropists who, anxious to improve the condition of their fellow-man, employed thousands and tens of thousands for the benefit of people in foreign countries whom they knew nothing of, might turn their humane intentions to the position of their fellow-countrymen at home. He agreed with the hon. Member for Lymington, that a case against the practice of interment in towns was made out. Why, then, should the Government hesitate to propose a remedy? The right hon. Baronet (Sir J. Graham) shook his head; intimating thereby, he supposed, that the difficulties in the way of passing any such measure were insurmountable. Let the right hon. Baronet but bring forward a Bill on the subject, and he would pledge himself that it would be carried. He was sure no man in that House would be found to oppose such a Bill on the plea of vested rights. If there were vested rights, pay them and get rid of them; but let justice be done to those large masses of the community who were less fortunate than themselves. He trusted the right hon. Baronet would adopt the course recommended by the Commissioners who had investigated the subject, and not allow trifles to prevent them. He seconded the Motion of his hon. Friend with great pleasure.

Sir *J. Graham* said, the hon. Member for Montrose had expressed a hope that he would hear something from him that would be satisfactory to the hon. Member for Lymington, and those who were anxious that the Government should take this matter into their hands with the view of proposing to Parliament some measure of legislation on the subject. He was, however, afraid, from what appeared to him to be the exaggerated views entertained on the subject, that he should disappoint him. His hon. Friend the Member for Lymington had stated that when the case was first brought forward by him, some years ago, it was received by the House with derision, cheers, and laughter. He thought his hon. Friend's memory in this respect was not quite correct. He had heard the subject frequently discussed, and never on any occasion did he remember its being received with any violation of decorum. No Motion on the subject had, he believed, been met in that House (as his hon. Friend seemed to suppose) with levity and neglect. His hon. Friend had accused him, not certainly in direct terms, but still he had intimated in a manner not to be misunderstood, that he had been guilty, in dealing with this question, of supineness, timidity, and negligence, and that he was courting a spurious popularity; and his hon. Friend had gone still further, and had charged persons in his position, and Members of the House of Commons, with being from their situation disposed to despise the claims of the lower orders. Now he could assure his hon. Friend that he was influenced by nothing but a sense of duty in the course he felt bound to follow in regard to this matter. He was fully alive to its importance, and to the wants and feelings of the humble classes in regard to it; and it was because he was so alive to their feelings and wishes, that he hesitated to pledge himself to bring forward any such measure as that suggested. The experience of foreign countries had been referred to, and the practice in these countries with regard to the interment of the dead had been compared with that which existed in this country. Now, in the first place, he must say that the customs of foreign countries were not applicable to the consideration of this question with us. In foreign countries there was no hesitation on the part of the people in large cities to adopt means for the more rapid decomposition of human remains. Burning, lime, and other devices were had recourse to for that purpose, which in this country would not be tolerated. Then, again, with regard to the feelings of the poor themselves, it was no easy or safe matter to declare at once by Act of Parliament that people should no longer be buried in those places in which the remains of their kindred lay. This was not a mere question of expense—it was not a question of mere outward decorum; warm feelings in reference to this subject of the interment of the dead obtained in the hearts of the people—feelings that were entitled to respect, and which must not be lightly nor unnecessarily violated. His hon. Friend the Member for Lymington had said that the practice prevailing in large cities in regard to the interment of the dead was abhorrent to human nature, created disgust, and in the opinion of foreigners classed us with barbarians; and he had further called upon him, on considerations of the public health, to devise and submit to Parliament some measure for putting an end to the practice. He was aware that the question was one connected with the public health, but he was not prepared to admit that the public health was endangered. He believed it was an undoubted fact that there was no metropolis in Europe in which, looking at the density of the population, the public health was preserved so well as in London. The hon. Member for Montrose had stated that health was impaired by a residence in the neighbourhood of churchyards. Now, he had very high authority, and he believed he should commit no impropriety in naming it—that of the Bishop of London—for stating that that was not the case. The right rev. Prelate had informed him that when he was rector of Bishopsgate he resided in the rectory, which was immediately contiguous to the churchyard, and that during that period, himself, his wife and family, which was a large one, never enjoyed better health. Then there were the rectories of St. James's and St. Giles's, both contiguous to churchyards; but he did not believe any complaint of ill health on the part of the residents as resulting from that contiguity had ever been heard. Again, in the immediate vicinity of that House there was a churchyard; but he had never heard that the houses in Great George-street, or the other houses near St. Margaret's churchyard, were unhealthy; on the contrary, he believed there was no part of the metropolis in which the health of the people was better preserved. His hon. Friend had called upon the House to affirm a mere abstract Resolution. Now, what he wanted to see was the Bill by which his hon. Friend proposed to meet the evil of which he complained. No man was more competent to embody his views in the shape of an enactment than his hon. Friend. He had acted as the Chairman of the Committee by whom the inquiry had been made—he had bestowed great attention on the subject—an attention which he regretted to say that he had not been able to pay—and his hon. Friend was consequently most competent to determine what the remedial measure should be. It was to be regretted, therefore, that his hon. Friend had not at once brought forward a Bill upon the subject. At all events he should say the House ought not to proceed in this matter by an abstract Resolution; a mere abstract Resolution, such as that now proposed, would be rather an impediment than an aid to legislation. What, therefore, he entreated of his hon. Friend was, that as the pioneer of the Government he would not press his Resolution but at once bring in his Bill. Let them look at the importance of the subject in reference to what the Resolution called upon the House to pledge itself to. Was it wise, in a deliberative assembly like that House, when the remedial measure, in the shape of an Act, was still doubtful—was it prudent at once to declare, by this Resolution that interment in cities and towns was injurious to the public health—a breach of public decorum inconsistent with the social and religious feelings of the people, and with a due regard to decency? Now, he for one was not prepared to affirm that interment in towns was inconsistent with the public health, or opposed to the social or religious feelings of the people; nor did he believe that any new legislation was necessary to check those infringements of public decorum and decency which had been stated. With regard to the case that had been recently brought forward of the Spafields burial ground, he had thought it necessary at once to institute a prosecution; and that matter was now pending. At the instance of the Government the parties accused of the offence had been prosecuted, and before a judicial tribunal the case would be fairly heard; and if the facts were proved to be as alleged, he had no doubt that the law was sufficiently strong to grapple with the abuse. Again, with regard to what had been alleged in respect to Enon Chapel, he believed the law was already strong enough to deal with that case also. His hon. Friend had said that there were very strong feelings upon the subject in the public mind. But let them proceed to pass a Bill of a stringent character, prohibiting absolutely interment in cities and towns—adopting Mr. Chadwick's suggestion, for instance—and they would find that public feeling would be excited to the greatest degree, and if they did not take care would be grossly violated by their enactments. Then with regard to the suggestions of the various Commissioners which had been alluded to. In the first place, the Ecclesiastical Commission report only as against interments in churches. Then came the Report of the Sanatory Commissioners, which glanced at the subject incidentally, it was true, but did anything but propose a specific remedy. Mr. Chadwick alone was the person who recommended that burials within the precincts of towns should be prohibited. He admitted that the great question of the health of the people in large towns was about to be dealt with by the Government in a comprehensive manner, by the Bill of which his noble Friend had given notice, and which was now all but prepared, and would be submitted to Parliament at an early period in the present Session. But such had been his feeling in the matter, that though he admitted interment in cities to be intimately connected with the health of the people, yet he thought the subject was so marked and so distinct, and disconnected from all other causes productive of temporary disease, that he had thought it expedient to keep it out of the scope and operation of that Bill. But, to return to the Report of Mr. Chadwick; he agreed that that Report was most laborious, able, and comprehensive, as to the evils he described; but then, as regarded the remedial measures suggested by Mr. Chadwick, he was bound to say that nothing had convinced him more of the extreme difficulty of dealing with the subject than those very propositions which Mr. Chadwick made. His hon. Friend had stated that there were not fewer than a thousand burials within the precincts of this metropolis every week throughout the year. Now, what was Mr. Chadwick's proposal? It was neither more nor less than this—that all the arrangements for interments which were now conducted by upholsterers and others should cease to be left in the hands of private individuals; but that all the arrangements should be in future confided to the Government, and, in point of fact, that the Government should undertake the burial of the people; that they should fix the scale of expense, and that burial places should be provided at the distance of not less than four or five miles from the metropolis, the charge to be met by a parochial assessment. Such was the proposal of Mr. Chadwick. The hon. Member for Montrose had admitted that gradually, without the force of legislative enactment, the inclination of the public led them to adopt burial places outide the towns rather than in the churchyards within them, and that ample facilities were given by private companies for that object. Now, he (Sir J. Graham) would say, take care lest, by a compulsory enactment, they interrupted that course of feeling, which, if left to itself, would remedy the evil. He believed the adoption of the Report of Mr. Chadwick, viz., the abolition, by Act of Parliament, of all interments under the direction ofprivate individuals, would interfere with that feeling, and that such a proposition, if the Government were to embody it in a Bill, whatever success it might meet with in that House, out of doors would encounter great general condemnation. It had been said, that amongst the most determined opponents of any change in the practice of burials in towns was the Church. He did not believe that to be the fact. On the contrary, he believed the Bishop of London had turned his attention to the subject, with a view of introducing a measure directly to accomplish the object which his hon. Friend had in view; but he felt that the utmost caution was necessary in dealing with the question. If he could satisfy himself that the particular measure to which his attention had been directed was safe, and might be adopted without occasioning difficulties still greater than the evil it was intended to remedy, he would not oppose it; but having given to the subject the fullest consideration in his power, he was not prepared to say that, as at present advised, he could hope to be able to introduce a measure that should be worthy the attention of the House; and until he could do this—though he should be at all times prepared to bestow his best attention to the measures of others—it would be impossible for him to undertake on the part of the Government to bring in any measure on the subject. Let us have some Bill, said the hon. Member for Montrose; but the question was what measure would be most likely to meet the difficulty. His hon. Friend said, confirm these Resolutions, and pledge yourselves to legislate. While he was not prepared to give any pledge on the part of the Government to bring forward a specific proposal on the subject, it would be most inexpedient to affirm those Resolutions, the effect of which could only be to excite public attention and public expectation to the utmost on a matter of great delicacy and great difficulty, and upon which there was much feeling in the public mind, without any particular result. His hon. Friend the Member for Lymington, had said, that if the Resolutions were carried, he should himself be prepared to bring in a Bill to carry out his views. He could not see that it was in any way necessary to pass these Resolutions as a preliminary step to the introduction of the Bill. His hon. Friend's Bill must stand or fall on its own merits, independent of any Resolutions; therefore the passing of the Resolutions could have no effect on his hon. Friend's Bill. At the same time he saw great difficulty and inconvenience in approving such a declaration as that involved in the Resolutions. And while he was quite ready to give full consideration to his hon. Friend's Bill when brought in, having made that declaration, until the Bill was before him he must decidedly oppose the adoption of the Motion of his hon. Friend.

Mr. *Bernal* agreed with the right hon. Baronet, that there was great difficulty in adopting the Resolutions proposed; for though he would go far to further the object of the hon. Member for Lymington, he could not accede to all the dogmas contained in those Resolutions. With regard to his right hon. Friend's speech—if he meant to say that there was no danger to the public health, arising from the interment of the dead in cities, or within the walls of towns—that was a proposition which the evidence of all medical and scientific men showed clearly was not tenable. He was surprised that the right hon. Baronet should give currency to such a belief and such a doctrine. When his hon. Friend opposite stated the number of burials in the metropolis at 1,000 a week, he did not know whether he included the burials in the cemeteries from the metropolis. [Mr. *Mackinnon:* Yes.] If so, the statement was much exaggerated; for if the interments in the various cemeteries at Stoke Newington, Hampstead, Kensal-green, Fulham, and other places, were considered, it would make a considerable reduction in the number of burials that actually took place within the town. The mischief of the system was felt principally by the lower classes, who could not avail themselves of the cemeteries. Let any man look at the burial ground on the right hand going out of Clare-market to Lincoln's Inn, or the churchyard of St. Ann's, Soho, and the number of other burial grounds in those densely-populated streets and alleys, which it was the misfortune of our poorer brethren to be compelled to inhabit, and say whether health was not likely to suffer from their contiguity. As his right hon. Friend (Sir J. Graham) had said, he was willing to put the strong arm of the law in force against the practices — the disgusting practices they had heard of at Spafields, and the dancing cemetery in Fetter-lane, and that he would do the best he could to devise means for relieving the poorer classes, he would advise his hon. Friend the Member for Lymington to abandon the subject and leave it in the hands of the Government, who alone could combat the evils and effectually put a stop to the disgusting details which had been described. He agreed with his right hon. Friend that they must not wholly blame the Church in this matter. There were many burial grounds attached to Dissenting chapels, in which the evil was equally great; and in regard to which considerations of a sectarian and religious feeling interfered to prevent a remedy. It was not just to say that it was the ministers of the Established Church only who presented a difficulty to the adoption of a remedial measure. He contended that it was necessary to close the burial grounds abutting upon the city of London. He believed that such a proposition would not meet with that amount of opposition from religious feeling which would prevent its being carried into effect. Some measure might be framed in communication with the authorities of the parishes interested, which might prove of great benefit to those classes of society whose rights were not so well advocated as they would wish to see them.

Dr. *Bowring* was afraid that the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary left but little hope for the hon. Member for Lymington. While country after country had felt the necessity of discontinuing the practice of interring their dead in large towns, we had alone kept up the usage. In France, public cemeteries were now removed from the neighbourhood of towns; in Spain, the same object had been for the most part accomplished. In many cities of Germany, and also in Denmark, a similar progress had been made. In the Oriental world, cemeteries were removed from the neighbourhood of human habitations; everywhere public opinion seemed to have made progress, but here, where they still refused to carry out the object sought for. Could anything be more distressing than the accounts of the manner in which human bodies were treated in our burial places? The Report, so often quoted to-night, gave them many painful instances of the kind. One of the witnesses examined before the Committee, gave the following evidence. He was asked—

"What are the matters objected to that are of common experience in our burials, when the corpse and attendants have arrived within the churchyard?—In certain seasons of the year, when the mortality is greater than usual, a number of funerals, according to the present regulation of the churchyards, are named for one hour. During last Sunday, for example, there were fifteen funerals all fixed during one hour at one church. Some of these will be funerals in the church; those which have not an in-door service must wait outside. At the church to which I refer, there were six parties of mourners waiting outside. My man informed me, that all these parties of mourners were kept nearly three-quarters of an hour waiting outside, without any cover, and with no boards to stand upon. The weather last Sunday was dreadfully inclement. I have seen ten funerals kept waiting in the churchyard from twenty minutes to three-quarters of an hour. I have known colds caught on the ground by parties kept waiting, and more probably occurred than I could know of. It is the practice on such occasions to say the service over the bodies of children and over the bodies of the adults together, and sometimes the whole are kept waiting until the number is completed. Even under these circumstances, the ceremony is frequently very much hurried." How many are there in some parochial burial grounds to be buried at one time?—Sometimes fifteen."

Again, Mr. Dix was asked—

"In the crowded districts is the funeral ceremony often impeded?—Besides the state of the parochial burial grounds, the mode of performing the ceremony is very objectionable, in consequence of the crowd and noise and bustle in the neighbourhood. I have had burials to perform in St. Clement's Danes burial ground, when the noise of the passing and the repassing of the vehicles has been such that we have not heard a third of the service, except in broken sentences."

The middle and higher classes were resorting to extra-mural cemeteries for the interment of the dead. But the reason of the great resistance which was opposed to these cemeteries by other classes was, that monetary interests were often involved. In many instances large fees were payable to the clergyman. There was one case in which the clergyman who officiated in a town burying ground had strenuously opposed the proposition for extra-mural interment. Now, upon referring to the Report, he found that this rev. Gentleman was in the receipt of fees to the amount of 892*l*. 7*s*. 8*d*. accruing from the present practice. Here was his opposition at once explained. Now, he (Dr. Bowring) would be disposed to buy the clergy off. He would not deprive them of their fees. Were they to assure the clergy that they would lose nothing by the change, he had no doubt but that many of the difficulties which at present stood in their way would be subdued. The present state of things was disgraceful. Let any body visit any of our crowded churchyards, let him see the foul and fearful places in which human mingled with its native clay—let him compare these with the churchyards of Turkey. With the latter no revolting associations were connected; on the contrary, they were the sites of healthful recreation. The present state of our burial places was one which should not be allowed to continue; and he would warmly support any proposition for improving our practice in regard to the interment of our dead.

Viscount *Mahon* said, he was a Member of the Committee which had this subject under consideration two years ago, and he certainly had hoped that the Government might have been able to introduce a measure in accordance with the recommendation of that Committee. Conversant as he naturally was with the details of the question from having paid much attention to it when serving on the Committee, he must acknowledge that he did not think the right hon. Gentleman had exaggerated the difficulties of the subject; but he did think that his right hon. Friend had in some degree underrated its importance. For his part, he could conceive no question more closely connected with the health and well-being of large towns. They were told that the Government had other measures in preparation to improve the sanatory condition of towns — measures for better drainage and ventilation and a more abundant supply of water, which were calculated to be of great advantage; but they were trifles in comparison with the subject now brought under consideration. What availed it to introduce a better system of ventilation, if the air they sought to introduce had first passed over an infectious churchyard? And what availed a better drainage, if mouldering infection were condensed on the surface; or a better supply of water, if the water came corrupted and tainted in its course? He maintained, therefore, that this question was one of the very greatest importance to the health of towns, and, great as the difficulties were, he could not think them insuperable when he remembered that this was the only capital in Europe—for it was not allowed even in Constantinople to bury the dead within the walls—where such a system was permitted to continue. He could not agree with his right hon. Friend in treating so lightly the argument founded on the example of foreign capitals; for what they had done gave the sanction of experience to the course he was advocating. He could state that in the Committee further evidence had been again and again offered in corroboration of what was the universal opinion of that Committee; but the evidence was considered already sufficient; they had no doubt whatever as to the existence of the evil; the only difficulty was as to the appropriate remedy. His right hon. Friend seemed to think that there was no strong public feeling on the subject; but he believed that his right hon. Friend was mistaken. He had, for instance, that evening presented a petition from the inhabitants of Paddington, signed among others by his hon. Friend the Recorder of London (Mr. Law), one of the Representatives of Cambridge University, the right hon. Member for Northampton, and by other several Members of Parliament and persons of note, expressing regret that the recommendations of the Committee had not been followed up by some legislative measure, and declaring their conviction of the necessity of such a measure. He still hoped, therefore, that the right hon. Home Secretary would apply his attention to this subject; for no question could be more deserving of his consideration, and nothing could give him a stronger claim on public gratitude than bringing forward an effective measure for remedying the existing evils. Considering the nature and extent of the private interests involved in this question, he did not expect much good from local measures or Private Acts of Parliament; he believed that nothing but the strong arm of the Government could apply an efficient remedy. Yet still so far as private legislation went, he was ready to afford it every aid in his power. With respect to the Motion before the House, he must confess that he could not give his entire concurrence to the terms of the Resolution which had been proposed by the hon. Member for Lymington. That hon. Gentlemen had done him the honour to consult him on this subject; but the terms of the proposition then suggested by the hon. Member differed materially from those of the Motion now before the House. He was quite willing to vote in favour of a general Resolution to the effect that interment in large towns was injurious; but his hon. Friend had introduced a Resolution containing strong terms, which he for the first time had heard—terms which, in his opinion, ought to be avoided, and which had properly been objected to by the right hon. Baronet the Secretary of State. He had another objection to the Resolution in its present shape. He had already expressed to the hon. Member for Lymington his conviction that it would be better, in the first instance, to confine legislation on this subject to the metropolis, or at most to a very few of the largest cities: and if the measure was found practically effective in the metropolis, it might afterwards be extended to other less populous towns. He was not, therefore, at present prepared to give his concurrence to any measure of this nature relating to other than the larger cities and towns, not because he wished entirely to exclude the smaller towns from its operation, but because he considered that it was advisable, in the first instance, to proceed step by step, and not to make legislation on such a subject too extensive. Though he could not concur in the terms of the Resolution before the House, yet he felt all the importance of the question, and he should never cease when an opportunity occurred of urging it by vote and voice on the attention of Her Majesty's Government.

Viscount *Ebrington* said, it was a long time since he had heard a speech with greater pain than that with which he had listened to the right hon. Baronet opposite. He deeply regretted that on a subject which involved no party principles, the right hon. Baronet should be found to countenance so many unworthy and noxious prejudices, and to throw the weight of his high position and eminent administrative ability into the scale to aid in distracting public improvement, and assist private interest in delaying measures no less needed, in his opinion, for the health and comfort, than for the decency and morals of the country. The right hon. Baronet had made statements which were neither borne out by facts nor consistent with the opinions of those best qualified to judge. He begged pardon for taking up the time of the House; he had not intended to speak upon this question, and would not have done so but for the speech delivered by the right hon. Baronet. The right hon. Baronet had most confidently asserted that it was the universal practice on the Continent to accelerate decomposition by artificial means; but in refutation of that statement he would refer him to a passage in the very admirable Report which had been so frequently quoted. He there found that at Frankfort, Munich, and other places where much attention had been paid to the subject, the general rule was not to allow the interment of more than one body in each grave, because this course insured the more regular progress of decomposition. There was no mention of any artificial means being used there to accelerate it. He was aware that at Naples, where burials were generally conducted with little feeling or decency, quicklime was thrown in with the body; but, generally speaking, in the cemeteries on the Continent no such practice prevailed. In Austria, indeed, some such law once existed; but it was now either repealed or had become obsolete. The right hon. Baronet, to shew that graveyards in cities were innoxious, had most unfortunately instanced the churchyard of St. Margaret's. But Dr. Reid, in his evidence, had stated that the most deleterious exhalations proceeded from it, which sometimes extended even to the House of Commons. The right hon. Baronet had said, on the authority of the Bishop of London, that residences close to churchyards in towns were generally not unhealthy; but in the Report, amidst much other evidence, was recorded the case of a clergyman whose house was near a full churchyard, and whose family suffered severely from the effluvium proceeding out it. He did not complain so much of the right hon. Baronet declining to legislate upon this subject, while he had so many other measures upon his hands, though it certainly appeared to him (Lord Ebrington) that, intimately connected as it was with the public health, this subject merited the attention of Government as much as some of those with respect to which they had proposed measures, as of his discountenancing the desired reform, and clinging to the practice of interment in towns. He (Sir James Graham) had spoken of this as a question which did not attract much public attention, and in which the community at present did not take much interest; he (Lord Ebrington) thought that the numerous cemeteries established in the neighbourhood of the metropolis and of the other large towns sufficiently disproved this assertion. In the town which he represented, so intolerable had the nuisance become, and so sensible were the inhabitants of the physical and moral evils it occasioned, that some of the most enlightened and benevolent of them, including the rector, actuated by a desire to remove these evils rather than by the hope that it would prove a profitable speculation, had determined to set up a cemetery company at Plymouth; but until the subject was taken up by the Government, he believed no effectual remedy could be applied: at least no remedy which would meet the case of the labouring classes, who could not afford any additional expense in interments. He would conclude by thanking the hon. Member for bringing the subject before the House, and recommending him to modify his Motion as the noble Lord had advised; if, however, he kept it in its present form, he (Lord Ebrington) would still cordially support it.

Mr. *Hawes;* While he fully admitted the importance of the subject, was deeply impressed with the conviction that they would be doing very wrong to underestimate the difficulties connected with it, and with which, in taking any legislative step, they would have to contend. He remembered, upon a former occasion, a Bill upon the subject had been introduced; but that measure had been arrested in its progress through Parliament, and he did not now see any symptoms of the probability of more cordial support being given to any measure which might be introduced, than that which the Bill which had failed, had formerly experienced. He had heard it stated to-night that it was from the Dissenters that the chief opposition to any measure for the prevention of the burial of the dead in large towns would most probably emanate. He would, however, beg leave to call the attention of the House to that part of Mr. Chadwick's Report which contained the Resolutions passed at a large meeting of Dissenters upon the point. They stated that the meeting would hail with much satisfaction the adoption of any means to correct the abuse of any practices connected with burial grounds which could be satisfactorily established. So much for the anticipated obstacles to be thrown in the way of any reform of this nature by the Dissenters. But was the House aware of the extent of the vested rights which, were they to take the subject in hand, they would have to interfere with? And that was not the whole evil. They would have to interfere with proprietary chapels, containing vaults from which no injurious exhalation could possibly arise. If they meant to prohibit by law all intra-mural interments, they would have to deal with these private chapels. A good deal had been said as to the practice of burial in foreign countries. But were they prepared to adopt anything like the regulations incident to the system practised by these countries? The system of burial abroad was the subject of regular police regulation; and if they meant to establish that custom here—extra-mural interment—they must be prepared also to submit to the establishment of the custom of police regulation. A tariff of charges would require to be drawn up, and stringent rules regularly enforced. The advantages resulting from the establishment of cemeteries he would not underrate; but he would remind the House of some of the regulations prescribed to cemetery companies in the Acts constituting them. Many of these regulations were highly insulting and offensive to Dissenters; and unless they were prepared so to legislate with respect to these cemeteries as to make them acceptable to all classes of the people, he held that they could carry out that system of legislation no farther. It was deplorable to see such a wall built to separate the dead of Dissenters from those of churchmen. With regard to the clergy, again, he thought that considerable difficulty in legislating would arise, and the same thing might be said as respected Dissenting ministers. The latter did not charge fees at all for burial, and being enabled to inter the dead within a short distance of their own residences, they could do it without inconvenience. But if they were to compel these ministers to go three or four, or in some instances as many as fourteen miles, in order to perform their duties, they would be involving these ministers in expenses which it would be difficult for the Legislature to provide for. He had not stated these difficulties in a way inimical to the Bill, but as some justification of the course adopted by the right hon. Baronet opposite; and as some answer to his noble Friend (Lord Ebrington), who, he conceived, had underestimated the obstacles to be overcome, and had not done justice to the right hon. Home Secretary, who knew from experience with what difficulties legislation upon this subject was beset.

Mr. *Borthwick*, though disposed to support the object of the Motion, had very great difficulty in assenting to the terms of the Resolution. He hoped the terms would be made more general, so as to meet approbation and overcome objections. He thought interments might be effected in London without injuring the health of the people; and he felt bound to oppose the Resolution, which he considered too general. He thought it would have been much better if his hon. Friend had introduced a Bill, because then the House would have had something tangible to deal with.

The Earl of *Lincoln* said, that many of the views and opinions which he entertained on the present question had already been so ably and so fully stated by the hon. Member for Lambeth, that he should, in addressing the House, have much difficulty in making the least addition to the force of those remarks which had already been made; and he should have perhaps altogether refrained from occupying the attention of the House, if the noble Lord the Member for Plymouth had not misrepresented, because he had misapprehended, what fell from his right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department. The noble Lord charged his right hon. Friend with endeavouring to revive what he called the old vulgar cry about private interests. Now, so far from that being the case, his right hon. Friend did little more than touched upon the question of private interests; but he urged strongly upon the House the extreme importance of not exaggerating the evils which they sought to remedy. He felt bound, on his own part, and on that of his Colleagues, to say that there did not exist the least desire to throw into the present discussion the weight of private interests. It had been said that his right hon. Friend might well be excused for not bringing in a measure on this subject on account of his not having time to investigate the difficulties with which the whole question was beset; but he must be permitted to say, that his right hon. Friend did not need any such excuse. His right hon. Friend did not put forward any such ground for not introducing a measure upon this subject. The House scarcely required to be informed that his right hon. Friend had devoted much attention to the subject; but he had purposely abstained from bringing forward any measure of legislation, because, notwithstanding that attention, he felt that he could not hope to do so in a manner satisfactory to himself, or calculated to meet the general opinion of the House. But what he wished to impress on hon. Members was this—that considerations connected with vested or private interests had no more than their due weight with the Government. The hon. Members for Weymouth and for Bolton had laboured to put forth as strenuously as possible the necessity of attending to the interests of the poor in this matter. In that he fully concurred. In a case of this kind it was much more important and much more necessary to attend to the interests of the poor than to those of the rich; and on account of the poor did he say that Parliament ought to pause before they favoured restrictions. Let the House look for a moment at the way in which this proposed change affected the pecuniary interests of the poor. The question of burial within or without the boundaries of a city was a matter of little importance to the rich; to the poor it was a very serious consideration. If a poor family were to pay the expense of removing a corpse and of conveying the mourners at a funeral from St. Giles's to Hampstead or Harrow, they would feel the expense to be very burdensome. The House were aware that Mr. Chadwick had made a Report on the subject of providing for the burial of the working classes; and his suggestions, if adopted, would go the length of placing the whole matter under the guidance of the police, and make the rich pay for the poor. To this he did not object so far as the rich were concerned; but then the effect of it would be, that the poor artisan would feel that in obtaining assistance for the burial of his relatives, aid must come out of the poor rates, and that, therefore, the effect of his applying for such assistance would be to place himself in the condition of a pauper. He knew that the proposition now before the House was not intended to apply to rural districts; but the same feelings, though with less intensity, existed amongst the poor of the towns. Whether in town or country, there was a general wish to be buried near one's forefathers; and people in the lower walks of life liked to have their relatives buried in their own neighbourhoods. Of that consolation he did not think that they ought to be compulsorily deprived: he was not willing wantonly to do violence to such feelings. He had very little desire to effect more upon the present occasion than impress upon hon. Members a sense of the difficulty which encircled the present question; but, at the same time, he did not see that they were precluded from considering the details of any plan which his hon. Friend the Member for Lymington might introduce; and he saw no reason why the usual practice of bringing in a Bill should be departed from. His right hon. Friend had told the House that he was not prepared to submit to them any measure on the subject; but he told them, at the same time, that he was prepared fairly and fully to consider any measure which any hon. Member might present to the House. An hon. Member near him had suggested that the present Resolution should be modified. Now, he by no means recommended the hon. Mover to adopt any modification; but, on the contrary, to withdraw his Resolution, and move for leave to bring in a Bill. The hon. Member might be assured of this—that he would not advance the progress of the measure by moving an abstract Resolution Such a Resolution, if carried, instead of assisting, would hamper him, as well as the House, in any attempts at legislating on this most difficult subject. On these grounds, then, he hoped that the hon. Member would withdraw his Motion, and bring in a Bill.

Mr. *T. S. Duncombe* got up to propose an Amendment, by the desire and wish of the hon. Mover. His Amendment was to this effect, that the practice of interment in large cities was injurious to the health of the population, and demanded the serious attention of Parliament. The noble Lord recommended the hon. Mover to withdraw his Motion, and bring in a Bill; but the hon. Gentleman had already tried that, and he now thought it best to propose a Resolution: upon the whole, that did appear to be the best course which he could pursue. He had served with the hon. Member on the Health of Towns Committee, and he had the honour to represent that part of the metropolis in which the Spafields burial ground was situated; he therefore could not help feeling some degree of interest in the proposition now before the House. Every one must know that the feeling which induced men to wish to mingle their bones with those of their ancestors was universal; and no one liked the thought of having the bones of his relatives shoved and knocked about. But people of large fortune had ample means of preventing this and other annoyances. The duty of Parliament, however, was to provide satisfactory resting places for the poor. After all, the great difficulty was in satisfying the clergy, who charged enormous fees, not only for burying the dead, but even for allowing corpses to be removed. What right could a clergyman have to charge 7*s.* or 12*s.* for leave to bury a corpse out of the parish in which the individual might happen to die? As to the Dissenters, the clergy in some instances refused to bury them at all. The fact was, that the Church, and not the people, created the difficulty. The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving—

> "To leave out from the first word 'That,' to the end of the Question, in order to add the words 'the practice of Interment within the precincts of the Metropolis and of large Cities, is injurious to the health of the population, and demands the serious attention of Parliament.'"

Mr. *Mackinnon* felt himself placed in rather a delicate situation. He could not produce a Bill without a great deal of trouble and expense, and at every step he should be met, as usual, with technical objections; and told, that he, as a private individual, was not entitled to propose measures to the House; that his details were imperfect and faulty; and his Bill, if he were to bring one in, would share the fate of many others brought in by individual Members; but if the Resolution, or even the Amendment, was passed, it would give an impetus to the sentiment of the country. Every assertion and every proposition affirmed in the Resolution was strictly true; and he did hope that the House would pronounce some opinion on the question before they separated that night.

Sir *R. H. Inglis* said, that during the eighteenth century the religious part of the polity of England had been treated with great neglect by the Government. The efforts of the Legislature, he thought, should now be directed to extending the parochial system for the living, and also to extending the parochial system for the dead. The inhabitants of parishes should be enabled to join in purchasing burial grounds for their population; but let not the House be led away by the idea that the advocates of burial outside of cities were animated solely by a pure and disinterested zeal for the good of the poorer inhabitants of the metropolis. If the clergy were interested in the continuance of burials within the metropolis, there were other parties much more flagrantly interested in the opposite direction. A large body of the clergy in the metropolis were dependent on surplice fees; and in many parishes in London there were no tithes, the clergy depending on fees, and on the voluntary offerings of their congregations. Unless those vested interests were duly regarded, they would much injure some of the most important interests in the community. After doing this, it would be a very poor consolation for them to reflect that they had encouraged joint-stock companies in seven or eight localities around the metropolis. All he desired was, that in providing a remedy, those interests which he advocated should not be overlooked. He believed that it was possible to provide fitting places of sepulture within the metropolis, and at the same time not to injure the incumbents in the metropolis. For this object, he thought the Amendment proposed by the hon. Member for Finsbury would be the most proper basis.

Sir *G. Grey* said, the proper way to proceed would be by Bill, and not by Resolution, and the Bill ought to be proposed by Her Majesty's Government. The difficulties which had been alluded to by the hon. Member for Lambeth formed an additional reason why this question could not be taken up and a Bill introduced by a private Member. The real question was, after all the facts which had been brought before the House, whether the House would say that this was a subject which deserved its serious consideration. If the Amendment were adopted by the hon. Member for Lymington, he apprehended the result would be merely to express the strong opinion of the House that a Bill should be introduced by Her Majesty's Government. But if the Government wished the hon. Member for Lymington to introduce a Bill on the subject, it was an evasion, and they must be content to sit down under what he must call fearful evils deserving serious consideration. If Her Majesty's Government were not prepared to bring in a Bill, the House ought to interfere, and then the hon. Member might propose his Bill with some prospect of success.

Sir *J. Graham* said, he had addressed the House on the subject in the absence of the right hon. Baronet. He deprecated proceeding by Resolution, because it raised false impressions out of doors, whilst no means were taken of pointing out any particular remedy. The right hon. Baronet hoped the Government would bestow attention on this subject. He had bestowed much attention on it, and had directed the attention of Mr. Chadwick to it, who had applied much industrious research to the subject; but the remedy proposed by Mr. Chadwick appeared to him to be entirely inapplicable to the present feelings and wants of society. It was not because this question affected the clergy that his principal difficulty arose. He did not hold the difficulty pointed out by the hon. Member for Oxford to be insuperable. But it was beset by equal difficulties arising from the objections of Dissenting bodies. To almost every Dissenting chapel there was a burial ground attached, in trust for all who worshipped in that chapel; and not only were their pecuniary interests thus involved, but their feelings also. If they determined that Churchmen and Dissenters should not bury in the accustomed places of sepulture, but at a distance from towns, then every poor individual wishing to attend his friend to his long home must forego a day's wages; and in winter he must travel four or five miles from home and back. To attend a funeral would be extremely inconvenient, unless conveyances were provided; and if they were provided, the cost to the poor would be oppressive. There was a desire in the human breast of laying our bones beside those of our departed relatives and friends. This feeling we could not reason on; it was stronger than reason, and was connected with the best sentiments of human nature. He did not say that it was not possible by very great care and caution to frame some measure to meet the difficulty; but he, on the part of the Government, had said, that having given much attention to the subject, he was not prepared now to bring forward such a measure, and he thought it unwise to insist on such a Resolution. Not being himself prepared to bring forward a measure, if any other Member saw his way more clearly than he did to legislation on this subject, so far from carping at the measure so brought forward, he would use his best endeavours to make it a proper and a successful measure. He had stated what the difficulties were, and he did not see how they could be removed by legislation. He was, however, quite sure that without legislation there was a strong tendency voluntarily to concur in the arrangement of having places of sepulture beyond the walls; and he was sanguine in the hope that in a short time it would be possible to bring forward some general measure. He would continue to give his best attention to the subject. He thought that a little delay would not be loss of time; and that there would eventually be a strong and general disposition to meet the difficulties of the case. He hoped, therefore, that the House would not be precipitate in passing a Resolution of this kind.

The Amendment and the original Motion were both, by leave, withdrawn. The words proposed by Mr. T. Duncombe were then put as an original Motion; and on that question the House divided:—Ayes, 66; Noes, 49: Majority, 17.

List of the AYES.

Ackers, J.
Acland, Sir T. D.
Aglionby, H. A.
Aldam, W.
Armstrong, Sir A.
Baillie, H. J.
Bernal, R.
Borthwick, P.
Bowring, Dr.
Brotherton, J.
Browne, hon. W.
Busfeild, W.
Carew, W. H. P.
Cavendish, hon. G. H.
Chute, W. L. W.
Cobden, R.
Craig, W. G.
Cripps, W.
Curteis, H. B.
Dalrymple, Capt.
Dodd, G.
Duke, Sir J.
Duncan, G.
Ebrington, Visct.
Escott, B.
Esmonde, Sir T.
Flower, Sir J.
Forster, M.

French, F.
Gibson, T. M.
Gisborne, T.
Grey, rt. hon. Sir G.
Hamilton, W. J.
Hatton, Capt. V.
Heathcoat, J.
Heron, Sir R.
Hill, Lord M.
Horsman, E.
Howard, hon. H.
Howard, Sir R.
Howick, Visct.
Hume, J.
Inglis, Sir R. H.
Jolliffe, Sir W. G. H.
Lambton, H.
McGeachy, F. A.
Mahon, Visct.
Manners, Lord J.
Marton, G.
Mitcalf, H.
Morris, D.
Muntz, G. F.
O'Brien, A. S.
Pigot, rt. hon. D.
Plumridge, Capt.
Protheroe, E.
Ricardo, J. L.
Rice, E. R.
Somerville, Sir W. M.
Staunton, Sir G. T.
Strickland, Sir G.
Tancred, H. W.
Trelawny, J. S.
Villiers, hon. C.
Wawn, J. T.
Yorke, H. R.

TELLERS.
Mackinnon, W.
Duncombe, T.

List of the NOES.

Arkwright, G.
Baillie, Col.
Baring, rt. hon. W. B.
Bernard, Visct.
Blackburne, J. I.
Boldero, H. G.
Bowles, Adm.
Bruce, Lord E.
Backley, E.
Buller, Sir J. Y.
Cardwell, E.
Christopher, R. A.
Clerk, rt. hon. Sir G.
Clive, hon. R. H.
Corry, rt. hon. H.
Darby, G.
Denison, E. B.
Fitzroy, hon. H.
Fremantle, rt.hn.SirT.
Fuller, A. E.
Gaskell, J. Milnes
Gladstone,rt.hn W.E.
Graham, rt. hn. Sir J.
Greenall, P.
Greene, T.
Grimston, Visct.
Harris, hon. Capt.
Henley, J. W.
Herbert, rt. hn. S.
Hope, G. W.
Jermyn, Earl
Lincoln, Earl of
Neville, R.
Patten, J. W.
Peel, J.
Pennant, hon. Col.
Plumptre, J. P.
Pringle, A.
Smith, rt. hon. T.B.C.
Somerset, Lord G.
Stuart, H.
Sutton, hon. H. M.
Tennent, J. E.
Thesiger, Sir F.
Thornely, T.
Trench, Sir F. W.
Villiers, Visct.
Warburton, H.
Wellesley, Lord C.

TELLERS.
Young, J.
Lennox, Lord A.

Resolution agreed to.

AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS.] Mr. *Milner Gibson* said, it would be in the recollection of the House that he had moved, in the course of the last Session, for certain Returns illustrating the Statistics of Agriculture. Those Returns had for their object to show the number of acres under cultivation, the different kinds of produce raised, and also the total amount of produce in the United Kingdom. They were, he believed, in entire ignorance of the number of acres under cultivation, and of course of the amount of agricultural produce raised; and he still thought, as he had done last year, that it was very important that this information should be supplied. Her Majesty's Government, on the occasion to which he alluded, expressed their approval of an attempt being made to obtain this information; and the right hon. Gentleman the late President of the Board of Trade then undertook to make an attempt to accomplish the object he contemplated. He would, therefore, not now enter into a detail of the measure, nor need he go at length into the subject, as the importance of it was admitted. He would simply submit to the House the Resolution he had submitted last year, with the view of eliciting from Her Majesty's Government the progress they had made in fulfilling the promise given last year, and of ascertaining whether they might hope that there would be laid before Parliament some information on this very important subject, stating the amount of agricultural produce in the United Kingdom, and also the number of acres under cultivation, with the different kinds of produce raised. It was strange they should be in ignorance on so important a subject. Statements of the most conflicting nature were made in consequence of this ignorance, and he believed that the Public Service had suffered on many occasions from the want of information. He would not trespass longer on the time of the House, but would take the liberty of moving the Resolution he held in his hand:—

"That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, representing that, in the opinion of this House, it is desirable to obtain authentic information upon various matters connected with the agriculture of the United Kingdom; that this information is altogether deficient, so that at this time, even the extent of land under cultivation, and the amount of its produce, are subjects only of vague conjecture; that the total absence of all statistical knowledge in reference to this important subject has at various times proved detrimental to the public interests; and praying Her Majesty to devise measures for supplying to parliament from time to time, statements of the breadth of land under cultivation for each species of produce respectively, with the amount of produce derived from the same, together with such information as will exhibit, as far as practicable, a perfect view of the agricultural capability and production of the United Kingdom."

Sir *G. Clerk* apprehended that the hon.

Member for Manchester, in placing in the hands of the Chair precisely the same Motion as he had made about this time last year, had brought the question before the House rather with the view of ascertaining what steps had been taken on the subject, than with any serious intention of calling upon them to affirm it by a vote; for the same objections still existed to the form of the Motion of the hon. Gentleman, involving, as it did, many minute details; and these objections, he thought, would render it impossible for the House to consent to it. At the same time he was prepared to admit to the hon. Member that this was a question of very great importance, and that very great benefit would arise if they had the means of obtaining complete and accurate information on the points embraced in the Resolution. But in this country, the obtaining of such information with due accuracy was a matter attended with very great difficulties. His right hon. Friend the late President of the Board of Trade had paid great attention to the subject in the course of last year; and in fulfilment of the understanding, he might say the pledge, his right hon. Friend had given to the hon. Member, that this subject would engage the attention of the Government, he did, in the course of last autumn, in conjunction with the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for the Home Department, make an endeavour to obtain, through the assistance of the Poor Law Guardians in the various Unions throughout England, the information required. Questions were referred to the Poor Law Commissioners, with the sanction of the Secretary of State, in order that, through the machinery placed under their superintendence, answers might be elicited. The Commissioners stated, in their reply, that so many practical difficulties existed with reference to the boards of guardians, that, at the present moment, it would be impossible to carry the plan into effect. There was no objection on the part of the Government to lay before the House the letter written to the Secretary for the Home Department by his right hon. Friend the late President of the Board of Trade, with the reply, and the reasons stated by the Poor Law Commissioners why they found it impossible to comply with the proposal submitted to them. It not being in the power of the Poor Law Commissioners or the Government, as the law now stood, to impose on those bodies any duty not immediately connected with the administration of the Poor Law, it was impossible to expect that they would take the trouble of making the returns requested from them. Therefore, although no objection to the Motion was entertained by the Government, it would be impossible to furnish the information in such a shape as would be satisfactory. Under these circumstances—he meant the difficulty of attaining accurate statistical information with respect to the number of acres under cultivation, the various kinds and amount of produce, the question being involved in so great difficulty, that he was not enabled to point out to the House any satisfactory means of overcoming it—he trusted that the hon. Member had no serious intention of pressing the Resolution. He was ready to give full consideration to every proposition made for the purpose of obtaining accurate and complete information, and to do everything in his power to afford it; but the present case being one of so peculiar a kind, he hoped the hon. Member would withdraw the Resolution. He repeated that he had no objection to lay before the House the letters showing the steps which had been taken by Government in this matter, if the hon. Gentleman would substitute a Motion for that Correspondence for the Motion he had submitted to the House.

Mr. *Aglionby* concurred entirely in the view taken by the hon. Member for Manchester as to the importance of procuring accurate information respecting the agricultural produce of the kingdom; and he believed the subject had attracted the attention of the country at large. He certainly should like to see the two letters referred to by the right hon. Baronet opposite, in order that the steps taken by the Government might become known. He must, however, take the liberty to remark that the Government had not done very much, according to what he had heard, to forward the views of his hon. Friend. An application had been made to the Poor Law Commissioners, and through them to the boards of guardians, to get the desired information; but had there been nothing else done? Had any application been made to the Tithe Commissioners, who were probably well qualified to furnish valuable information in some respects? He was quite aware there were difficulties in the way. One said he could not do it, and another said he could not do it. But in his county, he apprehended, there would not be much difficulty, for any or every farmer knew pretty well what land was under tillage in his neighbourhood, and what the nature as well as the quantity of the produce was. He believed that the difficulties apprehended by his hon. Friend would not be found to exist in the north; he himself would readily undertake to furnish the information that was requisite respecting the agriculture of his own parish; and he believed that if the same course was to be proposed to persons similarly circumstanced as himself, the result would be, he did not doubt, to supply very accurate returns throughout the whole kingdom.

Mr. *Christopher* said, that he took quite as deep an interest in the subject as the hon. Member for Manchester, and had made some inquiries as to the mode of collecting information respecting the agriculture of the kingdom. He, however, experienced the same difficulty that had been felt last year, in so far as regarded the Resolution before the House: though he was most desirous that every facility should be afforded him to attain his object, he feared the course pursued would not have the desired effect. It might be easy enough to produce returns annually to that House, and pretty accurate returns too of the number of acres of land under cultivation, and also of the particular description of cultivation; but that would form no criterion whatever of the agricultural produce of the country. He had heard it stated that persons who were desirous of speculating in grain could form, by going through the country and looking into the state of the crops before the harvest, a vague conjecture of what the produce would be; but if they were to have Parliamentary Returns laid upon the Table of that House, with the view not only of guiding those who were interested in speculations in foreign corn, but also of letting the farmer know the best time for bringing his grain to market, he should say that unless those returns were accurate, they would do a great deal more harm than good. He had fully expected that his hon. Friend opposite would have furnished them with some means of arriving at the desirable conclusion which he had mentioned, and he thought that his hon. Friend was bound to do so before calling for the Returns.

M. *Warburton* was glad that there seemed to be a general concurrence by hon. Gentlemen on both sides of the House, that if the information moved for could be obtained, it would be highly desirable. He could not help thinking that where there was a will a way would be found. His hon. and learned Friend the Member for Cockermouth, had told them that the best source for obtaining the information would be the Tithe Commissioners. Every one knew that under the Tithe Commutation Act, surveys had been made of every parish, and the amount of acreage in each parish had been distinctly ascertained; and that, he thought, would be the first step towards obtaining the information sought for by his hon. Friend. He recollected having been some years ago on a Committee, nominated by the late Lord Sydenham, the proposal before which was, that instead of employing the local country surveyors to rectify all the old surveys, the officers of the Ordnance Survey should be employed in making the corrected surveys. They stated to the Committee what the total amount of that survey would be; and he (Mr. Warburton) believed that if their estimate were contrasted with the actual cost of the survey, as paid by the different parishes, it would be found that in all, not less than 700,000*l.* or 800,000*l.* would have been saved. The objection, however, he recollected, which was then raised to employing the Ordnance Surveyors was, "We object to an accurate acreable survey of the different kinds of land, because it might be made the basis, at some future time, of a revision of the land tax." He repeated, however, that where there was a will there was a way, and he thought that the Gentlemen might, if they choose, furnish the Returns which had been moved for.

Mr. *Darby* said, that the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Cockermouth, had stated that the hon. Member for Manchester did not want to ascertain the amount of produce. Why, as it appeared to him (Mr. Darby), that was just the very thing that the hon. Gentleman did want. If they went to those who had valued for the Tithe commutation, he believed that they might obtain pretty nearly the value of the land, and the species of crops which it bore at the time when those valuations were made; but he was fully convinced if the hon. Gentleman imagined that he could get a return of the amount of produce which would not be calculated to deceive persons, instead of affording information, he feared that he was very much mistaken. He asked the hon. Member how he proposed to get this return? The hon. Gentleman was bound to show how he would obtain it, and that it would afford real information, instead of misleading persons, before he asked the House to assent to his proposition. He had no objection to that portion of the Motion which referred to the return of waste land, nor did he think that there would be any difficulty in obtaining it.

Mr. *F. Baring* was glad to find that the right hon. Gentleman opposite, who had spoken, representing Her Majesty's Government on this occasion, had treated the subject in the way that it deserved from its importance; and as he understood that there was every anxiety on the part of the Board of Trade to obtain such information as they would be able to obtain, he was quite sure that his hon. Friend, as well as he himself, however anxious they might be to procure the information, or however valuable they might consider it, would not attempt to move for information which it would be impossible to obtain. As he had understood his hon. Friend, at first at any rate, he was not at all anxious to have such information as the hon. and learned Member for Sussex shadowed to himself; the only object, as he understood it, was, to ascertain the quantity of land in each parish that was employed in the various species of cultivation. He was perfectly aware that whatever other advantages this country might possess, the difficulty of obtaining statistical information was exceedingly great—more especially he knew, that it was excessively difficult for the Government to procure statistical information concerning agriculture. He remembered that his noble Friend the late Lord Sydenham was very anxious to obtain certain statistical information, merely for the purpose of affording accurate information to the country, and he caused certain letters to be written with the view of obtaining it. There was, however, an impression, he (Mr. Baring) supposed, that Lord Sydenham was anxious to get it for some Corn Law or taxing reason; at any rate he could not get the information he required, nor had he any means of procuring it. Since then, the Poor Law and the Tithe Commissioners, with other authorities, offered them a means of procuring that information. He would therefore suggest to the right hon. Baronet the propriety of furnishing some information in order to make a beginning. An impression might no doubt arise that it was required for the purposes of a land tax, or some other tax, but in a short time that impression would subside, as in other cases; such, for instance, as that of the census, from which persons at first shrank, who afterwards freely supplied the desired information. Once commenced, they might rely upon getting the required information more accurately from year to year; and they might discover, too, that the truth, when arrived at, would not be more disadvantageous to the agricultural than any other party. With regard to those statistical returns, "Porter's Tables," which were presented from the Board of Trade, and which were in considerable arrear, although their value depended upon the speed with which they were produced, he begged to express a hope that Her Majesty's Government would give every assistance in their power to enable those returns to be produced from year to year.

Mr. *Henley* said, that if they acted on the right hon. Gentleman's suggestion, and obtained information by dribbles at first, it might be years before they would arrive at the amount or description of information desired. The suggestion of the hon. Member for Bridport to make an Ordnance Survey of the whole country, would also incur a delay which he thought very unreasonable — particularly as they might be certain that four out of five persons would demand to know for what purpose the information was sought before they consented to furnish it. Statistical information, if true, was, no doubt, very valuable; but if of a doubtful character, was worse than useless; and in the alleged difficulties of obtaining that which was now asked for, free from doubt, he fully believed.

Dr. *Bowring* thought that what was done elsewhere might be done here. There were no less than 12,000,000 of agricultural returns made to the Government of France. In Belgium, their statistical information was also very complete; and he did not see why the valuable facts collected by the Tithe Commissioners should not be turned to account in this country.

Mr. *Gladstone* regretted that the hon. Member for Kendal had felt it necessary to say that there seemed to have been a want of will on the part of the Government to effect the object of the hon. Member for Manchester. As far as he was concerned, he disclaimed any indifference upon the subject, because he not only thought the object a valuable one, but held distinctly that the parties to whom it was valuable were, first, the public at large, but particularly and especially the agriculturists. He had last year stated that those who congregated in towns to conduct the foreign corn trade, by their extensive information supplied to a considerable degree the want of accurate details; but the farmer enjoyed no such advantage, and suffered from the want of it. As far, then, as the will was concerned, he thought there should be a common desire on both sides of the House to prosecute the object in view. But the difficulties were greater than some hon. Members supposed. He saw no reason why it should not be stated that the object of Lord Sydenham was sought to be attained through an inquiry addressed to the clergy, from some of whom very good answers were received, from some defective answers, and from some none at all. He did not attribute the last two results to a supposition on the part of the clergy that a change was about to be made in the law—but mainly to the fact that they were too much occupied with other matters connected with their sacred functions; and he should be sorry to see them charged with any such office as the collection of agricultural information. He did not blame those who had applied to them; it was a fair experiment, but for a permanent system he considered it highly objectionable. The hon. Member for Cockermouth said that the Government had not shown sufficient zeal in endeavouring to acquire information. He could only say that they had considered, in succession, every class of officer who was *primâ facie* capable of undertaking the task—the tax collector, parochial officer, churchwarden, overseer, Excise officer, in fact, every class of public functionary. And, as regarded the Tithe Commission, however valuable for its own purposes, it must be put upon a different footing before it could be made instrumental in attaining the object of the hon. Member for Manchester. Its proceedings, after many years' labour, had not embraced above one-half the country. But the necessary tardiness of its labours was not the main objection. It was appointed to make a most important inquiry into each parish once and for all. The inquiry being made, the function of the Tithe Commissioners ceased with regard to the parish inquired into. The proposal of the hon. Member for Cockermouth was, therefore, rather a formidable one, as it would incur the expense of maintaining the Tithe Commissioners in London, as a central authority, with local agents to collect information; and, although desirous that such statistical information should be procured, he was not prepared to consent to such costly machinery. He agreed with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Portsmouth, that they should begin by degrees, and that, having once obtained any information, it would be easy to advance until they obtained it in a shape satisfactory to all. If they were to bandy such accusations as absence of zeal and want of will, then farewell to any hope of agricultural statistics. Upon the subject of the amount of produce, he did not think they could expect any correct information at present. He thought that the first question to be considered was, whether they could ascertain the breadth of land employed for each of the principal agricultural crops—to which he did not see any insuperable difficulties. He would advise, in the first instance, an application to the Poor Law Guardians on that subject. By such a step they would manifest their confidence in them, and do much towards disarming jealousy and dispelling suspicion as to the intentions of the State. The information would be easily obtained by well-qualified persons in the several localities; and it involved no inquisition into private concerns. The nature of the crops was almost a matter of common notoriety, and the acreage of the fields was known quite nearly enough for the purposes of practical accuracy. It would be a great step even to obtain what was now in view—accurate accounts of the breadth of land under each head of produce in the course of the spring. Gentlemen engaged in the corn trade had modes of ascertaining the yield of particular crops with considerable accuracy; it was no mere view of the quantity of straw—no guess-work, but the result of actual examination, though partial, including the number of grains in the ear and the weight of the grains; the farmer was the only person destitute of such information. He (Mr. Gladstone) quite agreed that they ought not to send out inaccurate statements under an imposing title of Parliamentary sanction; but still with regard to the breadth of land accurate information might be had, and even with regard to the yield of the most important crops; though it would be premature to entertain that part of the subject at present, it was not altogether beyond hope that accounts might be procured which should be of material value. He hoped, when hon. Members came to read the correspondence which had taken place, they would be inclined to take a favourable view of the scheme proposed; and if anything could be devised even for the limited purpose now in view, he was persuaded that the benefit would most of all belong to the cultivators of the soil.

Mr. *Hume* was glad at length to hear from the other side of the House that such a proceeding as this was proper. As to the means, the Tithe Commission was now in course of closing, and as far as it had gone the clergy had taken care that every acre should be upon the map; 9,558 parishes had been already surveyed. The mere surface, however, would be of no use; there must be an annual Report, and some resident agent for the purpose in each parish. At the India House a plan would be found accurately laid down, as there was not a village in Bengal in which there was not a clerk resident, who kept an account of every foot of ground: upon that the taxation was levied, and the rent calculated, and the produce of each species of grain could be ascertained. In the United States also the late population Returns gave every bushel of corn grown in every village. The time, he hoped, was coming, when we should have such statistics, taken by the aid of the schoolmaster or some other person in each parish.

Colonel *Sibthorp:* Really the idea of any Gentleman presuming to say that a schoolmaster should come round upon your land and survey its productive properties is one which I never expected to hear proposed. Let me catch a schoolmaster on my land—that is all. The only question would then be whether he would venture to come a second time or not. I wonder how the hon. Gentleman would like it if it were proposed that some person should go into his cellar and see what wine he had got. Certainly we live in very extraordinary times, when these dictatorial attempts are made to invade the sacredness of private property. I venture to say that the hon. Gentleman would not like it to take place in his house in Bryanston-square. But, perhaps, the hon. Member for Bolton, who has already been paid so much money for the statistical information he has afforded, would be willingly employed again in making a survey of the kind. That would not be a less waste of the public money than the former payments to the hon. Gentleman.

Mr. *C. P. Villiers* considered that the hon. and gallant Member for Lincoln had spoken somewhat too plainly, and had only been a little less discreet than other hon. Members around him, who evidently objected to a Motion of this nature on the ground that it was a species of usurpation, very similar to that of a person invading one's cellar, to ascertain what quantity of wine he had got. But he wished to tell the hon. and gallant Member what was the difference between the two cases. The hon. and gallant Member and those about him did not undertake to supply the country with wine; but they did undertake to supply the country with bread, and, therefore, the people were anxious to know what were the means they possessed for supplying them with food. But that was a point of much difficulty; for the hon. and gallant Gentleman and his Friends did not wish to let the country know what was the difference between the supply and demand. But that was a description of information, nevertheless, which it was most desirable to possess. This he conceived to be the principal reason why hon. Gentlemen opposite and the Government itself, as it would seem, objected to this inquiry. The hon. and gallant Member for Lincoln told the House the other night, that his constituents objected to its being ascertained what was the increased produce of the land they occupied. No doubt they did; for no sooner would the fact be known than their rents would be raised. He did not think the House could depend upon the information obtained by any other means than what was proposed by his hon. Friend (Mr. Gibson); for two important classes were opposed to such an inquiry—the landlords, who were hostile to all interference with what they considered their private affairs, and the tenant-farmers, who were afraid that the effect of the inquiry would be to raise their rents. He believed that was the real state of the case. Though hon. Gentlemen appeared to have very little faith in an inquiry of this nature, instituted by the House of Commons, yet they seemed to place great reliance on the Reports of Commissioners who were sent abroad to make similar inquiries. At two distinct periods persons had been sent by Government to the Continent, to collect information as to the means and quantity of production from the land; and when they returned, and made their reports, arguments and legislative measures were founded upon them. Mr. Jacob and Mr. Meek had at different times been employed by the Government on such missions; and it was also the practice of the Government to receive such kind of information from the British Consuls; and he believed that the result was somewhat of an alarming character as to the prospects of the quantity of produce capable of being introduced into this country. He mentioned this in order to show that it was considered by hon. Gentlemen opposite quite possible to ascertain the quantity of the produce of the soil when it served their own purpose. Of this he was convinced, that where there was a will it was very practicable to find a way; and he had no doubt the information which his hon. Friend sought to obtain might without difficulty be procured.

Mr. *Beckett Denison*, for his part, did not think there was any strong objection on the part of Gentlemen connected with the landed interest to the Motion proposed by the hon. Member for Manchester. At all events, he was certain that no such motives as had been imputed to them for opposing the Motion had any existence. He should be glad to have such returns produced, and he thought they might be obtained without much difficulty or expense.

Mr. *Gibson* replied, that the hon. Gentleman complained that he had not suggested a plan whereby to effect the object he wished to attain. He certainly thought it would not have become him to suggest a plan. It was impossible that the House of Commons could go into the details of a plan calculated to effect the object he had in view. It was a much fitter duty for a Committee. But he thought that a plan might be suggested, of sufficient accuracy for practical purposes, to obtain an account of the average number of acres sown with the different kinds of grain. Instead of troubling the House with his own reasons in support of this belief, he preferred quoting the opinion of a Gentleman who had been described by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newark (Mr. Gladstone,) as being, of all men in England, the man most competent to give an opinion upon this subject—he meant Mr. Saunders. That Gentleman was examined before the Committee on Agricultural Distress in 1835, and the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir James Graham) asked him this question,—

> "Do you think it would be desirable to have some more accurate statistical information published annually, with regard to the precise quantity of land sown in the different parishes in England with wheat, barley, and oats?"

Mr. Saunders's answer was,—

> "I cannot conceive a duty more important upon the Government than to ascertain the quantity of food which the public is likely to be supplied with."

He was then asked,—

> "If the Legislature were to endeavour to obtain such returns, do you think they could be made with accuracy?"

The answer was,—

> "I am persuaded they could; and it appears to me strange how Parliament can consent to remain in the dark upon a subject of such importance."

He wished to know how one ought to proceed when one moved a Resolution, and was told by the Government that there was a desire to carry out the object of it. Of all perplexing situations, he was in a most perplexing one, because he did not like to take an hostile course with a Government which seemed favourable to his views; at the same time, when an hon. Member did not carry his Motion to a division, but allowed it to pass off in an easy manner, he was exposed to censure. Would the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel) say this—that if there were found a difficulty in striking out a plan, a Committee should be appointed to examine and discuss the practicability of the different plans, and report their opinion to the House. If the Executive Government had not time for these things, why should they not avail themselves of the services of Gentlemen of the House of Commons, who were competent to give an opinion upon the subject? He, therefore, begged to ask the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Robert Peel) whether he would have any objection, if hon. Gentlemen could be found who would undertake the duty, to take advantage of their services?

Sir *Robert Peel* had not the slightest objection to the object sought to be obtained by the hon. Gentleman; but he did not see how a sound inference could be drawn unless the quantity of the produce of land under cultivation in the three kingdoms was ascertained. He believed that in Scotland there would be no difficulty to collect this information from the parish schoolmasters; but with respect to the employing the Poor Law Guardians, he rather thought that it would be bad policy to mix them up with any political subjects. Although it might be a saving of money, yet he doubted whether the end could be so effectually attained as by the employment of persons expressly for the purpose. At the same time, the employment of different persons in every parish might lead to an unnecessary expense; and it occurred to him whether or not the country might not be divided into districts, and persons be appointed to superintend each district. He thought that would be preferable to taking the localities by parishes. At the same time, he would suggest to the hon. Gentleman to consider whether it would not be better to allow the Correspondence on the subject to be produced before coming to any conclusion. At all events, he trusted the hon. Member would not press his Motion to a division. He begged to assure the hon. Gentleman, and the hon. Member for Wolverhampton, that there was no wish on the part of Her Majesty's Government to prevent the production of the information they wished to obtain by the production of the Correspondence. All that could be said was, that it might be incomplete; but he did not think that that was a very great objection; but he would repeat that it was indispensable that information should be obtained from the three parts of the kingdom; and he must say that no man could more zealously and faithfully have discharged the duty he had undertaken, to perfect some plan for obtaining official information on this and all other subjects, than his right hon. Friend the late President of the Board of Trade. On the whole, he thought that the Executive Government would probably be better able to mature a plan than a Committee of the House; but if the hon. Gentleman despaired of that, then he (Sir Robert Peel), for one, could assure the hon. Gentleman that he had not the slightest objection to the appointment of a Committee. He could assure the hon. Gentleman, and also the hon. Member for Wolverhampton, that there was no ground for their impression that the Government were adverse to the production of the knowledge which they sought; or that there existed in their minds any idea of making a distinction between wine and corn. There was not the slightest foundation for it. He would further assure the hon. Member for Manchester, that the Executive Government would lend any weight it possessed, or apply any machinery it could command, to obtain the object which he had in view.

Motion withdrawn.

House adjourned at twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, April 9, 1845.

MINUTES.] BILLS. *Public.* — 1°· Auction Duties Repeal.

2°· Field Gardens.

Reported. — Infeftment (Scotland); Heritable Securities (Scotland); Mutiny; Marine Mutiny.

3°· and passed:—Public Museums; Glass (Excise Duty).

Private.—1°· Brighton and Chichester Railway (Portsmouth Extension); Scottish Midland Junction Railway.

2°· Erewash Valley Railway; Keyingham Drainage; Battersea Poor.

Reported.—Forth and Clyde Navigation (re-committed); Birmingham and Staffordshire Gas (re-committed); Wallasley Improvement (re-committed); Amicable Assurance Society.

PETITIONS PRESENTED. By Viscount Bernard, and Mr. Hamilton, from several places, for Encouragement of Schools in connexion with Church Education Society (Ireland).—By Sir R. H. Inglis, from Peterstow, against, and by Mr. Muntz, from Birmingham, in favour, of the Jewish Disabilities Removal Bill.—By Viscounts Bernard, Duncan, and Duncannon, Lords J. Russell, and G. Somerset, Sirs T. Acland, W. Clay, H. Douglas, and T. Hepburn, Colonel Peel, Captain Gladstone, and Messrs. Aldam, Bagge, W. Baring, Bernal, Bramston, Broadley, Brotherton, Duck, Busfeild, Christie, Christopher, Clifton, Dawnay, O. Duncombe, Du Pre, Entwisle, Fitzroy, Fox, Fuller, M. Gibson, Granger, Greenall, Hamilton, Hindley, Hussey, Legh, Marjoribanks, Morgan, Patten, Plumptre, Ricardo, Rice, Round, Sotheron, Trelawney, Turner, Walker, Ward, and Wortley, from an immense number of places (234 Petitions), against the Grant to Maynooth.—By Col. Ferguson, Mr. Lockhart, and Mr. Mackenzie, from several places, for Ameliorating the Condition of Schoolmasters (Scotland).—By Sir J. Y. Buller, and Mr. Mainwaring, from several places, against the Union of St. Asaph and Bangor.—By Mr. Aldam, Mr. M. Gibson, and Sir G. Strickland, from several places, against the Importation of Hill Coolies into the Colonies.—By Mr. Du Pre, the Earl of March, and Sir W. Jolliffe, from several places, for Relief from Agricultural Taxation.—By Mr. M. Gibson, from Lancaster, for Repeal of Duty on Copper Ore.—By Mr. Bagge, from several places, for

Repeal of Malt Duty.—By Mr. Ferrand, from several places, for a Tax on Steam Sawing.—By Mr. Bannerman, from several places, against Alteration of Banking (Scotland).—By Mr. T. Duncombe, Mr. Ferrand, and Lord J. Russell, from several places, in favour of the Ten Hours System.—By Mr. Cowper, from Tottenham, in favour of Field Gardens Bill.—By Sir T. Hepburn, from East Lothian, for Alteration of Game Laws.—By Mr. M. Gibson, from Shrewsbury, for Repeal of Insolvent Debtors Act.—By Sir J. Y. Buller, Mr. Henley, Mr. Patten, and Lord C. Worsley, from several places, against Justices' Clerks and Clerks of the Peace Bill.—By Sir G. Strickland, from Preston, in favour of the Museums of Art Bill.—By Mr. Bagge, Mr. Bramston, Mr. Cripps, Mr. Du Pre, Mr. Ferrand, Mr. Greene, the Earl of March, and Mr. Round, from several places, against the Parochial Settlement Bill.—By Mr. O. Gore, from Sligo, against Physic and Surgery Bill.—By Colonel Ferguson, from Burntisland, for Alteration of Prisons (Scotland) Bill.—By Sir T. Acland, Mr. Brotherton, Mr. Mainwaring, Sir G. Strickland, and Lord H. Vane, from several places, for Diminishing the Number of Public Houses.

MIDLAND RAILWAY BRANCHES BILL.] Mr. *Speaker* wished to call the attention of the House, before the conclusion of Private Business, to the Bill to empower the Midland Railway Company to make certain Branch Railways from the main line of their Railway, and for other purposes, in which the following Clause was inserted:—

"And be it Enacted, That in case the proprietors of any manor or estate containing any mines of coal, ironstone, limestone, or other minerals, lying within a distance of five miles from the main line of the said Midland Railways, or any branches thereof, or the renters, lessees, or occupiers of the same, shall find it expedient or necessary to make any Railways or Roads to convey their coals, ironstone, limestone, marble, or other stones or minerals to the said Railway, over the lands or grounds of any person or persons, then and in every such case it shall be lawful for him, her, or them, to make any such Railways or Roads, he, she, or they first paying or tendering satisfaction for the damage to be thereby occasioned to such lands or grounds in manner herein directed with respect to land to be taken for the purposes of this Act; and it shall also be lawful for the owner or owners of and person or persons interested in such lands or grounds to treat and agree with such proprietors, renters, lessees, or occupiers, for the damage the owner or owners of such lands or grounds shall or may sustain by making any such Railway or Road; and in case they cannot agree concerning the amount or value of such damage, or in case the owner or owners of or person or persons interested in such lands or grounds shall refuse or neglect to treat, or by reason of absence or otherwise, shall be prevented from treating, then the same shall be settled and ascertained by the verdict of a jury, in such and in like manner as the value of the lands to be taken for making the several Branch Railways hereby authorized, is by the said recited Acts or this Act directed to be settled and ascertained."

The right hon. Gentleman said, that the said Clause was not within the title of the Bill; that it gave compulsory power to take lands, without any intimation thereof having been given in the Notices; and without the proper Plans and Sections and Estimates having been deposited according to the Standing Orders of the House. Perhaps the House would find it the most convenient course to discharge the Order for the Second Reading of the Bill, and refer it back to the Select Committee on Petitions for Private Bills, by which this Clause might be examined, and referred, if necessary, to the Standing Orders' Committee, in order to see whether it was conformable with the Standing Orders.

Mr. *Greene* said, the House was greatly indebted to the right hon. Gentleman in the Chair for directing their attention to that which was undoubtedly a great violation of the Standing Orders. He begged to move that the order for the Second Reading be discharged.

Mr. *T. Duncombe* thought the principle contained in the Bill atrocious; and he wished to know whether it had been adopted by the Board of Trade; or whether it had been introduced at the recommendation of the Board of Trade.

Mr. *J. W. Patten* did not believe that the Board ever had the subject under their consideration.

Mr. *T. Duncombe*: The Bill must have been before them, at all events; and I have no doubt they reported favourably on it.

Mr. *Strutt* said, it would be impossible for the Committee to read through the whole Bill, but in the marginal notes and in the index through which the Committee had looked, there was nothing to induce the supposition that such a power was conferred in any part of the Bill. It was only a few days ago that his attention had been called to the subject. He found, on inquiry, that he was not only the Chairman of the Committee, but also a landowner affected by the Bill, and he therefore thought the proper course for him to pursue would be to lay the matter before the Speaker, and leave it in his hands.

Lord *G. Somerset* said, the great object of referring Bills of this nature to sub-committees was to prevent the introduction of anything extraordinary and unusual. He was willing to leave it to the Committee on Petitions to consider what course they would take, but he hoped they would do something in reference to this Clause, which he must say had been surreptitiously introduced.

Order for the Second Reading discharged, and Bill referred to the Committee on Petitions for Private Bills.

MR. AGLIONBY AND "THE TIMES."] Mr. *Aglionby* said, that having on Tuesday the 1st of this month, seen an article in one of the leading journals, reflecting upon his conduct as a Member of a Committee of this House, he lost no time, but gave notice the same afternoon that he would call attention to it; and now, by the indulgence of the House for a few minutes, he would state the circumstances which had given rise to the charge. At the time he gave his Notice, he had not seen the letter of Mr. Carrington to Lord Howick, the Chairman of the New Zealand Committee, on which the remarks in *The Times* were founded. He held it now in his hand, and found it to be so unimportant, such mere trash, that were it not for the inferences in *The Times*, he should not have felt himself justified in occupying one moment on the subject. The allegations in *The Times* are—first, "That it was improper that a shareholder in the New Zealand Company should be an arbiter of its claims." On this he begged to exculpate himself from any blame. He had himself strong objections to be named on the Committee, on account of having the bias of pecuniary interests, and he desired that he might not be put upon it. On the same account he offered not a single name of any Member having the slighest personal interest in the Company; but it was stated that it was necessary that he should be on the Committee, for the purpose of full inquiry; that he then suggested that he might attend to assist the Committee, but without a vote. This was refused, as contrary to practice, and he yielded. Second, it is stated as "wrong that he should see a witness under examination." Now all Members used to Committees know that it is the constant custom to see witnesses about to be examined; but in his position he felt scruples on that point, and declined to inquire of the witnesses what they would say before they appeared in the room. This was felt to be inconvenient, and at the urgent desire of the Committee he did at length consent to beg the witnesses to give on paper the questions they wished to be put, and from such papers he did examine them. The third allegation is, "That it was most improper to be in private communication with a witness between the times of his examination, if, as is alleged, for the purpose of inducing him to vary his testimony." In the spirit of this remark he (Mr. Aglionby) most fully concurred. It would, indeed, be most improper, if any Member of a Committee, dissatisfied with the evidence of a witness, were to induce him, by persuasion, promise, or threat, to alter his evidence. He begged to state that of this he was wholly innocent. Though he often met Mr. Carrington between May and July, it was on the subject of Mr. Carrington's own affairs. Mr. Carrington over and over again sought interviews with him (Mr. Aglionby) on a demand which he had made upon the Company. He took much trouble in this matter, and was most anxious that Mr. Carrington should meet with full justice. Mr. Carrington himself certainly did frequently introduce the subject of his giving evidence, and hinted—with what purpose he knew best—that he could say what would prejudice the Company. He always answered that he had nothing to do but to tell the truth. The facts were, that he was originally engaged as surveyor by the New Plymouth Company, formed of many influential gentlemen in the west of England, with the Earl of Devon at their head, and was sent to New Zealand to lay out their settlement, since called New Plymouth. That Company afterwards merged in the New Zealand Company, which, finding it necessary to reduce its establishments, was obliged to dispense with the services of Mr. Carrington and of many others. Mr. Carrington, on receiving notice of this in the Colony, applied to Mr. Barratt, who had been employed by Colonel Wakefield, the present agent of the Company, and as interpreter and assistant in effecting purchases from the natives, and obtained from him a letter addressed to him by Colonel Wakefield, in which Mr. Carrington fancied there were statements tending to show that the Company had not completed its purchases at the time or in the manner stated. This letter, he says, he obtained and brought to

England, with a view to secure himself. Finding that the Company considered his demands to be exorbitant and untenable under his agreement, he went to the Colonial Office and to the Land Emigration Commissioners. He was then called as a witness before the Committee by the hon. the Under Secretary for the Colonies. He certainly had—with reference to the statement that the goods supplied by the Company for the purchase of land from the natives had been sold for a large sum at Wellington—told him to look at the Appendix to the 12th Report of the Directors, and to the Report of Mr. Pennington, the Government accountant, from which he would see that the goods were sent out, not for the purchase of land alone, but for barter, and for the use of the settlers collectively; and, being more than sufficient, the surplus was sold. He referred to this as all he knew on the subject. He did not consider Mr. Carrington's evidence of any importance; but if hon. Members felt the least curiosity on the subject, he begged them to refer to it, and they would see, if Mr. Carrington's evidence should not do him credit, whether it was not to be attributed to his answers to questions put by Mr. Roebuck and Mr. Cardwell, rather than to any impressions received from him. This, he trusted, would be deemed by the House a sufficient explanation; but he begged to add, that if hon. Members should wish to put any questions, he was perfectly ready and willing to answer them.

Captain *Rous* remarked, that any attack upon a Member of that House was always regarded as a matter deserving of its notice, and the reply to it received equal attention. But it was desirable at all times, in compliance with the good old rule, to hear both sides. It appeared that Mr. Carrington had served for fifteen years under the Board of Ordnance, and that his certificates, signed by the official heads of that department, Colonel Mudge and Lord Vivian, bore high testimony to his character and conduct. He had, however, accepted the office of land surveyor to the New Zealand Company; and when a person was induced or seduced by that Company to enter into its service, his labours ought to be treated with proper consideration. It appeared that Mr. Carrington did go out to New Zealand, and performed his duty to the satisfaction of the Company; but after a certain time, without any fault being found with him, the New Zealand Company thought fit to dismiss him from their service, on the plea that their expenses were increasing, and their funds diminishing. That might be a very wise and discreet course under such circumstances; but the fact was, that at this very moment the New Zealand Company had 100,000*l.* in their pockets; their capital was 500,000*l.*, and they had called upon the shareholders for only 200,000*l.* Therefore if they had no other reason for dismissing Mr. Carrington, he had been very ill treated. With respect to the letter from which the hon. Member had quoted, all he could say was, that if half of the substance of that letter was correct, the New Zealand Company had forfeited their charter. With respect to the charge against the hon. Member, his notoriously honourable conduct he was satisfied that Mr. Carrington had not impugned; for he never could imagine that he would apply to Mr. Carrington to induce him to give evidence contrary to truth. He did not stand there to defend Mr. Carrington, whom he had never seen but once in his life; but he thought that when any person was attacked in that House, it was the duty of every Member to get up and defend him.

Mr. *Aglionby*, in explanation, said that Mr. Carrington was sent out by a separate company, which was afterwards merged in the New Zealand Company.

Subject at an end.

FIELD GARDENS BILL.] On the Motion that the Field Gardens Bill be now read a second time,

Mr. *B. Escott* admitted that this Bill professed to have in view a most laudable and excellent object; but he wished to know whether the hon. Gentleman intended to persevere in carrying it forward in its present shape; because he could not help recollecting that when it was introduced, the hon. Gentleman stated that it was not designed to be a compulsory measure. However excellent the object might be, the Bill ought not to be a compulsory one. In the course of that morning he had taken the trouble to go through the Bill, and certainly, if he felt astonished when he recollected that the hon. Gentleman stated that it was not a compulsory measure, he should be much more astonished to hear that statement persevered in. The Bill contained several clauses of a very novel and strange character, all of which were strongly compulsory. In the first place, the machinery of the Bill was to be set to work by a vote of the majority of the owners and occupiers of land in any parish, and that majority was to bind the minority, and in a manner of all others most stringent. He could hardly think the hon. Member would say that a voluntary quiescence only was asked by this Bill to its provisions. The majority of owners and occupiers were to elect field-wardens, who were to exercise their power for three years certain; so that whatever power the Bill gave to the field-wardens was to be exercised either to the benefit or the detriment of the parish for three years certain, during the whole of which time the parishioners would be compelled to submit to their rule. That was the second compulsory part of the Bill. But in a case in which they were most likely to have the opportunity of taking land, namely, under inclosure acts, what was the power of the field-wardens? A power to demand from the Commissioners under the Inclosure Bill a perpetual lease of the land they were to occupy as field-wardens. Perhaps hon. Members had not looked into the provisions of this Bill, and were inclined to support it as a benevolent measure. He recommended them to examine it well before they gave it their support. But, suppose the scheme should turn out a ruinous one; suppose the benevolent object should not be carried into effect, and the field-wardens in occupation of the land of which they had taken possession should find the concern altogether a failure, the Bill would allow them to draw on the parish funds, to call upon the parish officers to pay their rents, tithes, taxes, and rates, which they might be unable to pay for those lands. Hon. Members could hardly think that not a compulsory provision. But it was not to the field-wardens only that a compulsory power was given, but also to the Commissioner, who was invested with most extraordinary power, he having to fix the amount of rent to be paid for the land, and the owner would be compelled to agree to that rent. But the Commissioner had still more extraordinary power, and he was really at a loss to account for the introduction of such a clause into the Bill; he was not only to fix the amount of the rent, but in case the field-wardens should find it a bad concern and should give up possession of the land, he was to say who were to be their successors, and to transfer the property from its legal owner to whom he pleased. He hoped the Secretary of State for the Home Department would look to this. It seemed to him a most monstrous proposition. But there was another body endowed with extraordinary power under this Bill—the Court of Quarter Sessions, which was to revise and fix at the end of every seven years the amount of rent. The allotment system had produced a great deal of good conducted upon the voluntary principle—the owners of the land letting it to whom they pleased, and at what rent they pleased, which was the only proper way of proceeding. Another objectionable part of the Bill was the limitation to half an acre. Supposing the concern should not be a losing but a lucrative one to the field-wardens, then the surplus profits were to be paid over to the poor rates. Now, he thought that any scheme of this kind, in order to be beneficial, must steer clear of any interference with the Poor Laws. In case of deficiency, too, the accounts were to be laid before the vestry, and to be paid by the parish; so that thus the field-wardens would be empowered to come to the parish to be reimbursed for their own neglect. However excellent in intent the measure might be, still, as it contained these objectionable provisions, he thought it was one which the House ought not to allow to go to a second reading. It was his firm belief that such compulsory and obnoxious provisions were calculated to do away with almost all the good which might otherwise result from the establishment of a system of field-gardens, and to bring the proceedings of that House into contempt. He therefore moved, by way of Amendment, that the Bill be read a second time that day six months.

Mr. *Cowper* wished that, as the hon. Member had informed the House that he had only read the Bill that morning, the hon. Member had taken time to read it more carefully. When the Bill reached the Committee, then would be the proper time for the objections of the hon. Member, which related to matters of detail; and he thought that he should be able in Committee to show the hon. Member that his objections were not tenable. The hon. Member described the Bill as a compulsory measure; but he did not think it compulsory, first of all, because it depended on the parish whether or not the Bill should come into operation in that particular parish; and in the second place, because it took no man's land from him without his consent. The hon. Member said that this Bill took certain money from the poor rates without the consent of the ratepayers; but he maintained that, according to the provisions of the Bill, in ordinary cases, and in all cases with a few extreme exceptions, the money advanced from the poor rates would be paid out of the rents of the garden themselves. The hon. Member did not seem to be aware that the clauses which related to land affected by inclosure acts were confined to that particular class of cases, with the exception of which no power was given to the quarter sessions of deciding on the rents to be paid. Seeing that the labouring population were anxious to obtain small pieces of land for cultivation, he trusted that the hon. Member would not object to the second reading.

Mr. *M. Milnes* believed that the Bill would effect some good, though perhaps not all the good which the hon. Member anticipated from it. One good effect of it would be the best possible application of waste land adjacent to great towns; but he believed the Bill would not affect, in any great degree, the general mass of the agricultural population. He conceived that it would be advantageous for mechanics living in large towns to have the opportunity of cultivating, during their spare moments, a portion of land in their neighbourhood, which would afford them some relief from their otherwise monotonous occupation.

Mr. *Bouverie* objected to the Bill; it was a measure that ought not to pass, and he was surprised the right hon. Secretary for the Home Department had not thought it necessary to negative it. The Legislature ought to leave private parties uninterfered with to settle the value of land; and he did not believe it was just to make parties accept less for their land than it was worth. He should support the Amendment.

Sir *J. Graham* hoped the hon. Member for Winchester would not persevere in his opposition to this measure. Should he do so, he should feel it his duty to vote against him. The principle of the Bill was in favour of making allotments for the use of the poor. He believed it was admitted on all hands that the appropriation of portions of land in aid of the comforts of the labouring population of this country was an object most praiseworthy and desirable. The sole intention of the Bill was to facilitate such an arrangement. The hon. Member who had introduced this measure might not altogether succeed in obtaining his object, but a more desirable one could not exist. He was bound to state publicly, what he had told the hon. Member in private, that he should feel it his duty to propose alterations in some of the provisions of the Bill in Committee. He had an insuperable objection to the provision making the poor rate a security for the rent; nor did he approve of the clause constituting the local trust. But these were points that might be better discussed in another stage of the Bill. The hon. Member for Hertford had paid much attention to this subject, and bestowed much trouble on it; he thought, therefore, it would appear somewhat harsh if the Bill should not be allowed to proceed to a second reading.

Lord *J. Manners* congratulated the hon. Member on the success, so far, of his measure; and he congratulated him also on the remarkable opposition that existed between the reasons assigned against the Bill by the hon. Member for Winchester, and those assigned by the hon. Member who spoke last in opposition. The hon. Member for Winchester objected to the Bill because it contained a clause which would prevent land being let above a certain rental; while the hon. Member who last spoke against the Bill objected to the whole system because it was not possible to prevent people taking as high a rent for their land as they could procure. The hon. Member had also said that if it was a good plan, why not leave it to the care of those who were interested in it. Now, his answer to that was short and simple—that the people who were most interested in it were those who were least able to help themselves. It was a cruel assertion to make to the labouring classes that they could and ought to help themselves in the way of procuring the means of comfort, when it was notorious to all that the position in which they were placed prevented them from doing so. The hon. Member for Winchester said, also, that this measure might have been brought forward with more show of reason a few years ago, when the wages of the people were in a depressed state; but now there was no such necessity. If the hon. Member would look at the Report, which was laid on the

Table a few days ago, regarding the condition of the framework knitters of the midland counties, he would find that, however much wages might have risen in other places, the wages of these people were still greatly depressed; and he knew it was the feeling of all classes in the midland counties that such a measure as that brought forward by his hon. Friend would be of great advantage to the condition of that class of the community. He cordially supported the measure; and he trusted, when passed, that it would carry his benevolent wishes into full effect, and convert his hopes into certainty.

Mr. *E. B. Denison* thought the principle of the Bill so objectionable, that if the hon. Member for Winchester pressed his Amendment to a division, he should vote in favour of it.

Mr. *J. S. Wortley* thought the objections to the measure were not well founded. The hon. Gentleman behind him (Mr. Escott) had made an objection to the Bill, which, if well founded, would justify them in rejecting it. If he (Mr. Wortley) really thought it a compulsory measure, he certainly should not support it. It was true, the opinion of a majority was to be taken against a minority; but in what other way could they ascertain the opinions of parties? These points might be discussed in Committee; but they were not fair reasons for opposing the second reading, which he trusted the House would not object to. This was not the first time the hon. Member for Hertford had brought the question before them, and a proposal of this kind deserved all the attention they could give it. There was no subject on which their legislation could do so much good as in connexion with the Field Garden Allotment system; wherever it had been tried it had been invariably attended with success. It was said it would be much better to leave it to be worked out voluntarily and spontaneously; that was perfectly true, in places where the means and materials for doing so were to be found; but in many cases this could not be done; it was this means which the Bill of the hon. Member for Hertford provided. It was desirable to make a beginning, even should all the good proposed not be effected.

The House divided on the Question that the word "now" stand part of the Question:— Ayes 92; Noes 18: Majority 74.

List of the Ayes.

Acland, Sir T. D.
Aglionby, H. A.
Armstrong, Sir A.
Ashley, Lord
Bagge, W.
Baird, W.
Baldwin, B.
Bateson, T.
Blackstone, W. S.
Boldero, H. G.
Borthwick, P.
Botfield, B.
Bowes, J.
Brotherton, J.
Bruce, Lord E.
Buck, L. W.
Busfeild, W.
Byng, rt. hn. G. S.
Cardwell, E.
Carew, W. H. P.
Childers, J. W.
Clerk, rt. hn. Sir G.
Corry, rt. hn. H.
Courtenay, Lord
Craig, W. G.
Damer, hon. Col.
Darby, G.
Deedes, W.
Denison, E. B.
Duncan, G.
Dundas, Adm.
Ebrington, Visct.
Ellice, rt. hn. E.
Esmonde, Sir T.
Ewart, W.
Ferguson, Sir R. A.
Ferrand, W. B.
Forman, T. S.
Fuller, A. E.
Gladstone, Capt.
Gordon, hon. Capt.
Goring, C.
Graham, rt. hn. Sir J.
Greene, T.
Hanmer, Sir J.
Harris, hon. Capt.
Hastie, A.
Herbert, rt. hn. S.
Hill, Lord M.
Hodgson, F.
Hope, hon. C.
Howard, P. H.
Johnstone, Sir J.
Langstone, J. H.
Lennox, Lord A.
Lincoln, Earl of
McGeachy, F. A.
McNeill, D.
Mahon, Visct.
Manners, Lord J.
Mitcalfe, H.
Morris, D.
Mundy, E. M.
Muntz, G. F.
Neeld, J.
Newdegate, C. N.
O'Brien, A. S.
Oswald, J.
Palmer, R.
Palmerston, Visct.
Pechell, Capt.
Peel, J.
Polhill, F.
Rice, E. R.
Round, J.
Russell, Lord J.
Rutherfurd, A.
Scrope, G. P.
Sheppard, T.
Sheridan, R. B.
Smythe, hon. G.
Somerset, Lord G.
Sotheron, T. H. S.
Stewart, P. M.
Sutton, hon. H. M.
Tufnell, H.
Williams, W.
Wilshere, W.
Worsley, Lord
Wyse, T.
Yorke, H. R.
Young, J.

TELLERS.
Cowper, W. F.
Wortley, J. S.

List of the Noes.

Berkeley, hon. C.
Collet, J.
Cripps, W.
Curteis, H. B.
Dennistoun, J.
Divett, E.
Estcourt, T. G.
Fitzroy, Lord C.
Forbes, W.
Hamilton, W. J.
Hawes, B.
Henley, J. W.
Marsland, H.
Round, C. G.
Thornely, T.
Trelawny, J. S.
Wawn, J. T.

TELLERS.
Escott, B
Bouverie, G.

Infeftment (Scotland).] The *Lord Advocate* moved that the House go into

Committee on the Infeftment (Scotland) Bill. He wished the House to go into Committe *pro formâ*, in order to make one or two alterations in the measure.

Mr. *Rutherfurd* did not rise to oppose the Bill; on the contrary, he wished to render his learned Friend all the assistance in his power. The only objection he had to the measure was, that it did not go far enough; but, as far as it did go, he thought it would produce important benefits. The amendments which his learned Friend was about to propose, and which he had had an opportunity of seeing, would, he was satisfied, render the Bill still more valuable.

Mr. *M. Stewart* also supported the Bill, and hoped its progress would not be unnecessarily delayed, as it was waited for in Scotland with considerable anxiety.

Bill went through Committee, and was reported.

MUSEUMS OF ART.] Mr. *Ewart* moved that the House go into Committee on the Museums of Art Bill.

Mr. *Bucke* complained of the absolute power that this Bill gave to town councils to assess the inhabitants for the purposes of the Bill, without any control whatever on the part of the ratepayers. He had no objection to the establishment of museums in large towns, where the inhabitants wished for them; but this Bill extended to small towns as well; and, therefore, he should move that the House go into Committee on that subject this day six months.

Sir *J. Graham* hoped the hon. Member would not press his Motion, because that would amount to an absolute rejection of the Bill. He was sorry to say that he had not given that attention to the subject which he should desire to do; but his right hon. Friend at the head of the Government had assented to the principle. At the same time he must say that he thought the Bill, as it now stood, exceeded the understanding which his right hon. Friend entertained of it. If he recollected rightly, his right hon. Friend was favourable to a Bill allowing existing museums in large towns to be assisted out of the borough rate. But he was not aware that his right hon. Friend had adverted to the powers contained in the Bill, namely, to enable the town council to purchase a site, to build, to found, to institute a museum—in fact, to bear the whole costs of an original institution. There was no limitation to this principle, except one contained in the end of the first Clause, specifying that the rate should not exceed one halfpenny in the pound. But, with this exception, towns with a population only of five thousand, and containing a large rural district, might be assessed for many years for this purpose, and that by the vote of a bare majority of the town council. He was, for himself, very friendly to the institution of museums of art and science in manufacturing towns. He agreed with the hon. Gentleman that it would be conducive to the better taste of the manufacturing population, and also that it was a legitimate amusement for the inhabitants and ratepayers. But he thought that in a measure of this kind great caution was necessary; and therefore he hoped the hon. Gentleman would consent to postpone his Bill to Wednesday next; and in the interval he should have an opportunity of conferring with his right hon. Friend, and he would then be ready to inform the hon. Gentleman exactly what were the intentions of Government on the subject.

Mr. *Ewart* said, as the right hon. Gentleman had expressed his willingness to co-operate with him in the main principle of the Bill, it would be unfair to press it now. He should, therefore, be happy to agree to the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman, and postpone the Bill for a week.

Amendment withdrawn. Committee deferred.

House adjourned at seven o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, April 10, 1845.

MINUTES.] BILLS. *Public.*—1^{a}· Statute Labour (Scotland).

3^{o}· and passed:—Mutiny; Marine Mutiny.

Private.—1^{o}· Dublin and Belfast Junction Railway; Preston and Wyre Railway Branches; Grand Junction Railway; Chester and Holyhead Railway (No. 2) (Mold Branch, and Purchase of Chester and Birkenhead Railway); Exeter and Crediton Railway; Monmouth and Hereford Railway; Runcorn and Preston Brook Railway and Docks; Dublin Pipe Water.

2^{o}· Taunton Gas.

Reported.—Liverpool Docks; Manchester Division Stipendiary Magistrate (re-committed).

3^{o}· and passed:—Thames Navigation Debt.

PETITIONS PRESENTED. By Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Shaw, from several places, for Encouragement of Schools in connexion with Church Education Society (Ireland).—By

Sir P. Egerton, from Wharton, for better Observance of the Lord's Day.—By Viscounts Duncan, Newport, and Newry and Morne, Lord J. Russell, Sirs J. Chetwode, J. Easthope, G. Grey, H. Halford, and C. Lemon, Colonels Lowther, Sibthorp, and Wood, Captains Harris, and Pechell, and Messrs. Aldam, Astell, Beckett, C. Berkeley, H. Berkeley, Blewitt, Broadley, Brownrigg, Buck, Busfeild, Carew, Chapman, Christopher, Clifton, Cobden, Curteis, Denison, Dickinson, O. Duncombe, T. Duncombe, Egerton, Ellis, Gladstone, Gore, Greenall, Grimsditch, Hastie, Hawes, Henley, Hussey, Irton, Labouchere, Marjoribanks, Masterman, Matheson, Mundy, Muntz, S. O'Brien, Ord, Packe, Palmer, Patten, Plumptre, Repton, Sanderson, Sheridan, Smith, Strutt, Tollemache, Turner, Villiers, Waddington, and Wortley, from an immense number of places (552 Petitions), against the Grant to Maynooth College.—By Sir P. Egerton, Viscount Newport, Powell, and Colonel Wyndham, from several places, against Union of St. Asaph and Bangor.—By Mr. F. Maule, from Perth, for Abolition of Tests in Scotch Universities.—By Mr. Heathcote, and Mr. Heneage, from several places, against Importation of Hill Coolies into the Colonies.—By Mr. Allix, and Mr. Plumptre, from several places, for Revision of Corn Law.—By Mr. Bannerman, Mr. Hume, and Mr. Rutherford, from several places, for Reduction of Tolls and Dues levied by Lighthouses.—By Mr. Aglionby, from Farmers frequenting Epsom Market, for Repealing the Malt Duty.—By Mr. Cobden. Mr. Denison, and Viscount Ingestre, from several places, for Alteration of the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons Bill.—By Mr. Escott, from William Taunton, for Regulating Costs.—By Viscount Clive, from several places, for the Establishment of County Courts.—By Mr. Ferrand, Mr. Hawes, and Lord J. Russell, from several places, in favour of the Ten Hours System.—By Mr. O. Duncombe, Mr. Elphinstone, and Mr. Fitzroy, from several places, against Justices' Clerks and Clerks of the Peace Bill.—By Colonel Clive, from Coventry, in favour of the Museums of Art Bill.—By Mr. Allix, Mr. H. Berkeley, Mr. Patten, and Mr. S. Wortley, from several places, against the Parochial Settlement Bill.—By Mr. H. Berkeley, and Mr. Mangles, from Bristol and Guildford, against the Physic and Surgery Bill.—By Mr. Rutherford, from Leith, for Alteration of Prisons (Scotland) Act.—By Mr. Brotherton, and Sir P. Egerton, from several places, for Diminishing the Number of Public Houses.—By Mr. Egerton, Lord Ashley, Sir E. Filmer, and Mr. A. Smith, from several places, for Alteration of Law relating to the Sale of Beer.

GRANT TO MAYNOOTH.] Sir. *C. Napier* said, that having observed it stated that two hon. Gentlemen, holding office under the Government, had abstained from voting on the question of the increased grant to Maynooth, he wished to ask the right hon. Baronet whether they were absent on that occasion by accident or design? And, if they were absent, whether they still remained Members of Her Majesty's Government or not? And if they did so remain, he wished further to ask whether or not the Maynooth Question was an open question in the Cabinet?

Sir *R. Peel* could not undertake to say whether or no the hon. Members to whom the gallant Gentleman had referred were absent from the division on the grant to Maynooth by accident or design. There had been no changes recently in Her Majesty's Government—no removals from office. But with respect to the increased grant to Maynooth, that was certainly a Government question; he considered it a question of the utmost importance, and would do everything in his power to promote its success.

Mr. *Hume* said, that he saw on the Order Book a Notice given by the hon. Member for Sheffield of his intention to move to-morrow, on the second reading of the Maynooth College Bill—"That it is the opinion of this House that any provision for the purposes of the Catholic Establishment in Ireland ought to be made out of the funds at present applicable to Ecclesiastical purposes in that country." He begged, therefore, to ask the hon. Member for Sheffield in what way he meant to bring that Motion before the House to-morrow, as it was of the utmost importance that the course to be pursued should be understood.

Mr. *Ward* said, he was much obliged to his hon. Friend the Member for Montrose, for giving him an opportunity of stating the course he wished to take to-morrow with regard to a Motion which he could not withdraw without making some explanation to the House. When he gave notice of that Motion it was his intention to amend the Bill, and not to throw it out. He had no desire that his Motion should become the rallying point to all parties opposed to the Government measure. He was ashamed to say, after having been so many years a Member of that House, he was scandalously ignorant of the form in which that Motion should be put. He understood now, however—but if he was wrong, the Speaker would put him right,—that the course would be simply this—when he moved his Amendment, the Speaker would put the question, that the words proposed to be left out stand part of the question. Upon that, he understood, that all the hon. Gentleman opposed to the Maynooth grant might vote with him if they pleased, and he believed they would. But he had no wish to give a sort of encouragement to the unhappy feeling prevailing out of doors by even the appearance of a large numerical minority in that House against the proposition of the Government. At the same time, he did not wish to be considered as shrinking from the question. He had, however, made up his mind to abandon the Notice as it stood in his name for to-morrow. But he intended to bring the question on at the very next stage of the Bill at which he could get at a clear and intelligible expression of the sense of the House, and in which he should not find himself in the painful position of obliging many of his friends around him, and among others the Member for Montrose and the noble Lord the Member for the City of London, apparently to vote against a Motion in which they cordially concurred, in order that they might not throw out a Bill of which they approved.

Mr. *Hindley* observed, that the explanation of the hon. Gentleman was no doubt satisfactory. But he wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government if that was not an additional reason for delaying the second reading of the Maynooth Bill? Certainly he and his friends had relied upon a junction of parties in that House for supporting their opposition to the measure. Even the twelve years' experience of the hon. Member for Sheffield in that House had not prevented him from getting into a difficulty, and asking for delay. It was right that delay should be allowed. Would not the right hon. Gentleman delay the second reading of the Bill? He appealed to the Speaker. He wished to ask the Speaker why the Members of that House were required to put their names in the corner of every petition? Were they not by the spirit of that order required to read every petition, in order to know that the prayers of them were respectfully addressed to that House? He had not had time to read every petition intrusted to him. He therefore could not present them. While he would not desire to interfere with the Government or with the business of the House, he asked for time to enable him to discharge his duty conscientiously.

Sir *R. Peel:* I am not quite sure that the hon. Member has asked me any question. I came down to this House under the impression that the hon. Member for Sheffield would make the Motion of which he had given notice. I do not see any reason, in his withdrawal of that Motion, why I should postpone the second reading of the Bill. It is my intention, therefore, to propose that the Bill affecting the Maynooth College shall be read a second time to-morrow. As I have heard representations made from parties calling for a postponement of this Bill, I wish to remind the House that there must be with respect to this Bill an opportunity of taking the sense of the House at another stage entirely involving the principle. Before we can proceed, the House must resolve itself into Committee of the whole House for the purpose of rejecting or sanctioning the proposal I shall make with respect to the grant of Maynooth. I shall think it improbable that that Motion would be made before to-morrow week; consequently there will be an opportunity for those who are opposed to the principle of the Bill again to take the sense of the House, even previous to going into the general Committee on the Bill. Under these circumstances I think it will not be thought unreasonable if I force the second reading to-morrow.

Mr. *T. Duncombe* wished to ask the hon. Member for Sheffield whether, if he purposed moving his Amendment on the Speaker leaving the Chair, he would not be in the same situation that he would be were he to move on the second reading that the words proposed to be left out stand part of the question? He would not have advanced a single iota. Therefore the House should clearly understand whether the Motion was to be given up altogether, or postponed to some particular stage of the Bill.

Mr. *Hume* said, that having had an answer from his hon. Friend already in connexion with that subject, he wished to know from the Chair whether the proper course would not be an amendment on the Bill of the right hon. Baronet when he came to propose from what fund the money for the grant was to be supplied?

The *Speaker* said, the Committee on the Bill could not entertain the Motion of the hon. Member for Sheffield as an instruction, inasmuch as there would be another instruction to the Committee in pursuance of the Resolution of the Committee of the whole House, assuming that that Committee did agree to apply a portion of the public money out of the Consolidated Fund for the payment of the increased grant to Maynooth. The House could not possibly entertain the two instructions; therefore, it was quite impossible that the hon. Member for Sheffield could propose his Motion on going into Committee.

Mr. *Ward* intimated that he would move it as an instruction to the first Committee.

Mr. *Hume;* That is a Committee of the whole House.

The *Speaker* remarked, that it must either be made on the question that the Speaker do leave the Chair upon going into Committee of the whole House, or the hon. Member might wait until the Resolution of that Committee should be reported to the House, and make his Motion as an

Amendment upon the second reading of that Resolution.

Mr. *Hindley* wished to know what course the hon. Gentleman really intended to pursue?

Mr. *Ward;* I will give an answer to-morrow.

Subject at an end.

OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITIES.] Mr. *Christie* rose to bring forward the Motion of which he had given notice—

> "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that She will be graciously pleased to appoint a Commission to inquire into and report upon all matters relating to the Privileges, Revenues, Trusts, and to the State of Education, Learning, and Religion in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and the Colleges of these Universities."

He would make no apology for calling the attention of the House to this subject. He knew the importance and difficulties of the question, and the many great interests and delicate considerations which it involved; he knew that a repugnance was felt by many Members to making the Universities the subject of Parliamentary discussion; and he was perfectly sensible under what great disadvantages he necessarily laboured in endeavouring to encounter that repugnance, and to grapple with the difficulties of so large and complicated a question. But he felt confident that no hon. Member whom he addressed, in an assembly principally composed of sons of one or other of the Universities, however much that hon. Member might differ from his views, or however much he might regret that this Motion was brought forward, would have just fault to find with the language and the spirit in which he introduced the Motion. The question being so large and so complicated, he should have to trouble the House with many details, to which, he feared, no exciting interest belonged, and he, therefore, had peculiar occasion earnestly and respectfully to ask for the indulgence of the House. He had lately moved for some Returns of Payments from the Public Revenue to the Universities. He had not done this with any intention of complaining of the amount of these payments. They were indeed a very small portion of the benefits which Oxford and Cambridge owed to the Crown and the Legislature; but he would take leave to say generally that there was no object to which the liberality of the State, if judiciously exercised, could be more worthily applied than to the maintenance of institutions designed for the encouragement of the higher branches of learning, and for the education of those governing classes of the community on the character and degree of whose education the national civilization mainly depends. Not, then, by way of complaint, but in order to make the facts known, with a view to the proper understanding of the case, he would enumerate the principal advantages which the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge now derive from the State. First, Parliament annually voted the sum of 2,006*l.* to thirteen professors in the two Universities, who, under the prevailing system, had some of them no class at all, and hardly one of whom had twenty pupils. Next, there was a charge on the land revenue of the Crown of 300*l.* for three professors in each University; and Henry VIII.'s endowments of three more Regius Professors in each University; with 100*l.* a year to the two Lord Almoner's professors of Arabic, making 640*l.* per annum more. There were eight canonries, three benefices, and a mastership of an hospital annexed to professorships in the Universities; four of the canonries had lately been annexed: two canonries of Christ Church to two new Divinity Professorships in Oxford, and two in Ely, to the Regius Professorship of Greek and Hebrew in Cambridge. These canonries and several benefices were annexed to headships of colleges in Oxford and Cambridge; so, it must be admitted, the colleges came in for some benefits from the Legislature. Besides these advantages, 500*l.* a year was paid to each University by the Board of Stamps and Taxes; and the history of this payment was a very singular illustration of the power which the Universities had always had of protecting themselves in Parliament. The Universities of old enjoyed by grant from the Crown a monopoly of printing almanacs; this they leased for 1,000*l.* a year to the Stationers' Company. The monopoly was pronounced illegal by the Court of Common Pleas in 1775; and a few years after an Act was passed laying an additional duty on sheet almanacs, and charging 1,000*l.* a year to the Universities on the proceeds of that duty. The almanac duty had since been repealed; but the Universities still received 1,000*l.* a year out of the general proceeds of the stamp duties. Now no one would grudge 1,000*l.* a year to

Oxford and Cambridge; but there should be some service done for it, and known to be done. Again, the Universities shared with the King's printer in England the monopoly of printing Bibles, Testaments, Prayer-books, and Psalm-books; and according to a Parliamentary return, printed in 1815, the average value of Bibles, Testaments, Prayer-books, and Psalm-books printed at Cambridge in each of the previous years was 21,293*l.*; and at Oxford, 30,417*l.*; and calculating the profit derived at 25 per cent., which he understood was a moderate profit, Cambridge got upwards of 5,000*l.*, and Oxford upwards of 7,000*l.* a year by the Bible monopoly. The monopoly, moreover, was exercised under the further advantage, that the Universities were exempted from the duty on paper, and this privilege extended to the paper used for printing books in the Latin and Greek and Oriental languages. A return presented that morning showed that during the last ten years 37,345*l.* of paper duty had been remitted to Oxford, being an average of 3,734*l.* a year; and 22,384*l.* to Cambridge, being an average of 2,234*l.* a year. Now, the hon. Baronet opposite (Sir R. H. Inglis) proposed to set against these items the amount received by the Public Revenue for stamps on matriculations and degrees in the Universities, which, on an average of ten years, was about 2,731*l.* for Oxford, and about 3,243*l.* for Cambridge. But he must deny that that could fairly be treated as a set-off. These payments did not come out of the University chests; they were made by each individual as he took his degree; and moreover, out of all such money paid to the Stamps and Taxes, the Universities were allowed 1½ per cent. back, which allowance was not returned to the persons who had paid the amount, but retained by the Universities, so that instead of a loss to the Universities, these payments were a gain. The Universities had other privileges: they were each entitled to a copy of every published book, which was often a heavy tax on authors, as there was plenty of evidence to show in the Reports of the Copyright Committees. After a long and hard battle, the noble Lord the Member for Hertford (Lord Mahon) secured copyright to authors for a period of forty-two years; whereas all copyrights which were given or bequeathed to the Universities, before publication of the books, belonged to them for ever. The copyright of Lord Clarendon's works, for instance, a very valuable property, was held by Oxford in perpetuity; and it was to be remarked, the recent cheap editions of Lord Clarendon's Life and History, showed, contrary to the arguments of some hon. Gentlemen, that cheapness was compatible with perpetual copyright. Again, the Universities and all their colleges were specially exempted from the Mortmain Statute—an exemption which had not been granted to the University of London and the colleges in connexion with it; though to these, being in their infancy, and having to struggle against many prejudices and difficulties, every additional privilege that could be conferred would be valuable. The two great Universities, further, had most important privileges in connexion with the three great professions. In medicine, they had the power of conferring a right of practice in all parts of England, except London and a circle of seven miles round. In law, their degrees of Doctor of Laws exclusively conferred the right of practising in the Ecclesiastical and Admiralty Courts. In the Church, a degree at Oxford or Cambridge was, till lately, when the new University of Durham was allowed to share the privilege, necessary to ordination. Let him state a fact or two as to the Church patronage, enjoyed by the Universities. The University and Colleges of Cambridge had the patronage of 305 livings, of the annual net value, according to their calendar, of 113,300*l.* a year. The University and Colleges of Oxford had the patronage of 447 livings. The Oxford calendar was not so communicative as the Cambridge as to the value of the livings; but taking the average value of the Cambridge livings, viz. 387*l.*, this would give the Oxford benefices the annual net value of 173,000*l.* As to the right of Parliament to interfere, he would refer them to the preamble of a Commission issued for the purpose of inquiry into other Universities by the right hon. Baronet, now at the head of the Government; then, namely, in 1826, at the head of the Home Department. That Commission—a Commission issued in 1826, and again in 1830, to inquire into the state of the Scotch Universities, and signed by the right hon. Baronet—contained in its preamble these words:—

> "Our Sovereign Lord, considering how necessary it is that Universities and Colleges should be provided with good laws, statutes, and ordinances for the regular government of their societies, for regulating the granting of

degrees to their members, for the management of their revenues, for the exaction of fees, and for eschewing disorders which may happen through the defect of such laws, statutes, and ordinances; and being informed that certain irregularities, disputes, and deficiencies, have occurred in the Universities of Scotland, calculated to impair the utility of these establishments; and, considering also, that it is His Majesty's undoubted right and prerogative to name visitors and commissioners to inquire into such irregularities, disputes, and deficiencies, and to remedy the same."

All he (Mr. Christie) asked the right hon. Baronet to do now, was to apply these principles to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. If it were the undoubted right of the State to see that the Universities and colleges were provided with good statutes, laws, and ordinances, the time had certainly arrived when the House should consider what were the statutes, laws, and ordinances of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. It would not be denied, at all events, that these statutes, laws, and ordinances were antiquated, nor would it be denied that many of them were not observed. Wherever convenience counselled their observance, they were observed; wherever convenience pointed out the inadvisability of observing them, they were taken no sort of notice of. He (Mr. Christie) would wish to make his statements, with reference to the principal features of the present position of the Universities, not on his own authority, but on the authority of persons whose academical experience and position entitled them to respectful attention on the subject. He would first quote the declared opinion of Dr. Peacock, Dean of Ely, whom the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Goulburn) would at once admit to be a high authority, a gentleman thoroughly experienced in college affairs, having been for many years connected with Trinity College, Cambridge, as tutor, and now a professor of the University, as well as Dean of Ely. He said:—

> "They (the statutes of the Universities of Cambridge, dated 1570) will be found to refer to habits of life and to a condition of society which have long since disappeared; they prescribe a course of studies for students of all ages, which the experience of a later age has rejected as unsuited for their preparation for the business of life; they recognise a system of physical and metaphysical philosophy, which the progress of knowledge or the changes of opinion have pronounced to be false or inadequate; they enforce with peculiar strictness and earnestness a most laborious series of scholastic exercises, which, however well calculated to stimulate the exertions and faculties of those who partook in them, have become useless or inoperative, in consequence of the universal neglect and even contempt (whether just or unjust) with which they have long been regarded; and they inculcate and require submission to a system of discipline, which the refinements of modern life would reject as impracticable from its puerile character, or its extreme and oppressive severity."

In another place, Dr. Peacock said,—

> "They were destined to experience the fate which has attended all systems of statutes or laws which have attempted, by being themselves unchangeable, to fix immutably the changeable character of the wants and habits of mankind. The Elizabethan statutes provided most cautiously against the introduction of these amendments in the academical constitution and administration, which might adapt them to the changes which the lessons of experience, or the advancement of knowledge, might render necessary or expedient; and we consequently find, that in latter ages, they either tended to check or to retard the progress of improvement in the system of academical education, or assumed, when their provisions were no longer maintainable, that unreal, yet embarrassing, character which belongs to laws which, though enforced by the most solemn obligations, are either impossible to be obeyed, or have long been habitually and systematically neglected."

The obligations which the Dean of Ely herein referred to, were oaths taken on matriculating, since changed into affirmations, to obey the statutes. He (Mr. Christie) would ask the hon. Baronet opposite, whether what he had here read would not apply fully to Oxford? The professors in the Universities were obliged by statute to give certain lectures, and students were required to attend them; but some of those professors gave no lectures at all, and others gave lectures which were attended by no more than a dozen, or at the most twenty students; whilst all the instruction in the Universities was given by college and private tutors, who were unknown to the statutes. He would quote in support of his statement the testimony of a most distinguished son of the University of Oxford—Sir W. Hamilton—now professor of logic in the University of Edinburgh:—

> "Through the suspension of the University, and the usurpation of its functions and privileges by the collegial bodies, there has arisen the second of two systems, diametrically opposite to each other. The one in which the University was paramount is ancient and statu-

tory; the other in which the colleges have the ascendant, is recent and illegal. In the former, all was subservient to public utility, and the interests of science; in the latter, all is sacrificed to private monopoly, and to the convenience of the teacher. The former amplified the means of education in accommodation to the mighty end which a University proposes; the latter limits the end which the University attempts to the capacity of the petty instruments which the intrusive system employs. The one afforded education in all the faculties; the other professes to furnish only elementary tuition in the lowest. * * * * In the superseded system, the degrees in all the faculties were solemn testimonials that the graduate had accomplished a regular course of study in the public schools of the University, and approved his competence by exercise and examination; and on these degrees, only as such testimonials, and solely for the public good, were there bestowed by the Civil Legislature great and exclusive privileges in the Church, in the Courts of Law, and in the practice of medicine. In the superseding system, degrees in all the faculties, except the lowest department of the lowest, certify neither a course of academical study, nor any ascertained proficiency in the graduate; and these now nominal distinctions retain their privileges to the public detriment, and for the benefit only of those by whom they have been deprived of their significance. Such is the general contrast of the two systems, which we must now exhibit in detail."

That was an account of the system of education which was in operation at Oxford; and the same description would apply with equal force to Cambridge. It was a description written by a man well acquainted with the subject, and one most highly distinguished when at Oxford for his abilities and acquirements. In Oxford, education was restricted to elementary subjects; and this restriction had a most disadvantageous effect. The Rev. Baron Powell, the Jacksonian Professor of Geometry, who published a pamphlet in 1832, entitled, "*The Present State and Prospects of Mathematical and Physical Studies in Oxford*," in which he says of the candidates who came before him in two years when he was examiner, that—

"Out of the whole number of candidates, though a certain portion of them had 'got up' the four books of *Euclid*, not more than two or three could add vulgar fractions, or tell the cause of day and night, or the principles of a pump."

Professor Powell had but six or seven pupils, and sometimes none at all, attending his course of lectures; and it could not be said that the paucity in the number of his pupils arose from the incompetency of the professor; for no man had a higher character for learning than Professor Powell. An attempt was made in 1839, by enjoining attendance at the lectures, to remedy that growing evil, but it was unsuccessful. Dr. Daubeny then published an Address to the Members of Convocation, stating the diminution of the numbers of his class of chemistry:—

"From 1822 to 1830, the average number of pupils was thirty-one; of whom twenty-eight were for the University. From 1830 to 1838, the average number was sixteen; of whom fourteen were from the University. Such a result has fully justified the forebodings of those who contended from the first that an exclusive encouragement held out to one particular class of studies could not but act as a positive check to those which had been passed over; and that, in proportion as the system itself came into operation, would the sinister influence which it was calculated to exert upon the cultivation of those other branches of knowledge, be more distinctly perceived; nor could anything have placed in a stronger light the force of these local obstacles than the fact that the period of such an increasing indifference to scientific studies in Oxford, should have exactly coincided with that of their greatest exclusion elsewhere. I conceive myself warranted, at least, in concluding, that whatever differences of opinion may exist amongst us as to the degree of countenance which modern science ought to receive in Oxford, all would admit the principle that our present system rerequires modification, if it can be shown to be equally unfavourable to every branch of human knowledge lying beyond the pale of those studies which the Examination Statute requires. We all, I am fully persuaded, are anxious to retain the name and character of our University, under which Oxford has heretofore thriven: and, doubtless, it was upon such an understanding, that we felt ourselves authorized in accepting, amongst other donations, the valuable bequest lately made over to us for the exclusive encouragement of modern languages and literature."

That was the language of Dr. Daubeny in 1839; and in 1845 he said,—

"It is notorious that the existing professorships, even when they relate to the popular branches of modern literature or science, are fast dwindling into sinecures, owing to the diminished interest in such pursuits, which causes the natural consequence of the exclusive importance attached to classical studies within this University. It might be expected that any augmentation in the number of such professors and teachers should be accompanied, whenever it was practicable, with measures calculated to induce the students to avail themselves more frequently of the increased means of instruction henceforward to be afforded to them. Such measures, it is presumed, must be framed with a view, either of rendering an attendance on certain of the public courses of lectures delivered in the University compulsory, or with that of holding out some inducements, in the shape of honours or emoluments, to the voluntary prosecution of some at least out of the number of those various branches of knowledge to which these lectures relate."

One effect of Dr. Daubeny's publication in 1839 was to call forth similar statements from other professors of physical science. Dr. Kidd, the Professor of Anatomy, stated that from the year 1819 to 1828 there was an annual average attendance of twenty-three pupils at his lectures, but that average had greatly declined from the latter-mentioned period; and from 1829 to 1839 the annual average was no more than seventeen. The diminution was now more remarkable than ever; and at present the average of pupils attending the lectures on anatomy was ten. The attendance at the lectures on experimental philosophy diminished in an equal ratio from 1828; whilst Dr. Buckland, the professor of geology and mineralogy, stated that for seven years before 1832, he had in his class an average of fifty pupils, and that for the seven years after, the average was thirty; in mineralogy the average attendance for the seven years before 1832, was thirty, and in the seven years after, the average was fifteen. Dr. Buckland in remarking on that decrease says,—

> "As this decrease has been nearly coincident with the increased accommodation for lectures, and the exhibitions of the collections, transferred in 1833 from a crowded room in the Ashmolean Museum to more spacious apartments in the Clarendon, and as it has happened also during a period when the study of geology has been advancing with unexampled rapidity throughout England, and in all parts of the world, it seems reasonable to refer the diminution of attendance which I have experienced, in common with all the other scientific professors in this university, to some internal cause in the system of education and of public examination."

He had not confined his investigation to Oxford alone—he had extended his inquiries to Cambridge, and he would state to the House what the result of those inquiries had been concerning professors, all of whom were included in the annual Votes of the House of Commons. The professor of anatomy had five or six pupils attending his class. The professor of chemistry had last year seven pupils attending his lectures. The professor of mineralogy, and the professor of Arabic, had no class at all. The professor of modern history had a respectable attendance, which was accounted for by the attractiveness of the subject, and Professor Smyth's great reputation. The professor of botany had twenty-five pupils, an attendance on those lectures being required for a degree in medicine; whilst the Jacksonian professor of natural philosophy had only two pupils, the lectures of this professor being on the arts and manufactures of the kingdom, and the professor himself being a man of very great ability and zeal, who went to great expense in providing suitable apparatus. It was worthy of the attention of hon. Members, that although certificates of attendance on the lectures of the professors of chemistry and anatomy were required for medical degrees, yet those professors could not get more than half a dozen pupils to attend their lectures. Degrees were conferred by Oxford and Cambridge which gave an exclusive right to practise in the Ecclesiastical and Admiralty courts, and yet, though there was in Oxford a professorship of civil law, richly endowed, there were no lectures and no examinations. At Cambridge the professor of civil law did lecture; but the degree of doctor of laws might be obtained without attendance at the lectures, the attendance being required only for bachelors of civil law. The Universities had also the power of conferring the right to practise medicine; and he would ask the right hon. Baronet the Secretary for the Home Department, who had recently taken such an interest in the improvement of the law respecting the medical profession, if Oxford and Cambridge, with all these privileges, were or could be good medical schools? In Oxford, they did not even profess to give medical education. The professor of medicine did not lecture; all that they required at that University being a certificate of attendance at the lectures of a school of medicine not in the University. In Cambridge it was better, for there the medical professors lectured, and candidates for degrees were required to produce certificates that they had attended those lectures. The results of such a system were shown by a return which was laid on the Table of the House of Commons that morning; and it did not exhibit Oxford and Cambridge in a light by any means favourable, as compared with the new University of London. From that return it appeared that within the last ten years the number admitted to the degree of doctor of medicine at Oxford was twenty-two, and the number admitted as bachelors of medicine was twenty-nine. In Cambridge, within the last ten years, the number admitted to the degree of doctor of medicine was fifty-one, and to that of bachelor of medicine forty-eight; whilst in six years the University of London had given 176 degrees of bachelor of medicine, and thirty-three were admitted as doctors of medicine, fourteen doctors of medicine having been admitted last year. Notwithstanding the greater number that were admitted by the London University, it was not to be represented in the new Council of Health, whilst Oxford and Cambridge were. He should now advert to that portion of the subject which more immediately concerned the theological studies at the Universities. When the admission of Dissenters is recommended, it is sometimes said that the Universities are theological seminaries. The present Bishop of St. David's (Dr. Thirwall) declared this assertion to be no more nor less than a fiction, and that there was nothing less studied, in Cambridge at least, than theology. The present Bishop of Durham (who was then Bishop of Chichester) declared in a charge delivered in the Archdeaconry of Lewes, that the admission of Dissenters might even promote the study of theology, for it would probably lead to separate theological instruction, which would be more efficient. It was stated by Dr. Pusey, in 1833, with respect to the theological studies at the University of Oxford, that " one fortnight comprised the beginning and the end of all the public instruction which any candidate for Holy Orders was required to attend previous to entering upon his profession." He (Mr. Christie) could not mention the name of Dr. Pusey in connexion with such a subject, without stating that before this was said by Dr. Pusey, and before his name became a symbol of a peculiar theology, or he himself the object of attack and ridicule with many who, whilst they opposed his views, forgot what was due to sincerity and virtue and learning, he had shown the sincerity of his zeal in the improvement of theological education by a munificent foundation of Hebrew scholarships. The Crown had founded two new professorships at Oxford—a new theological examination had been instituted, but it was not compulsory. The majority of the Convocation thought that the examination ought to be voluntary. It had now been in operation a year and a half, and what were the numbers of the candidates who offered themselves for examination during that year and a half? During the first half year there was one candidate; during the next half year there was no candidate; and in the third half year there were two candidates; so that it did not appear there was a more encouraging account to be given of the theological education at Oxford at present than when Dr. Pusey wrote in 1833. From the divinity studies of the Universities, the transition is easy to a subject which it is impossible now not to notice in considering the state of the Universities. It will be supposed that I refer to that important theological movement which has of late years fixed the attention of all Christendom upon Oxford—which has roused that University from a long sleep to plunge her into all the bitterness of fierce theological warfare, the effects of which have been felt in Cambridge also, but which, more especially in Oxford, now places in the strongest possible light before the world the futility and the mischief of her forced subscription to the Articles of the Church. You will say that, if Oxford and Cambridge are not theological seminaries, they are exclusively Church of England places of education. They are; but is it just—nay, look at Puseyism in Oxford, and tell me whether, even for your own purposes, it is politic—that they should be? What is the result of all your endeavours to unite the Universities and the Church in an indissoluble theological alliance, and " crib, cabin, and confine " the theology of the Universities within the limits of the Thirty-nine Articles? Why that, under the very greatest disadvantages, after having been long kept down by the heavy incubus of Oxford and Cambridge conservatism, learning has at last proclaimed her independence — burst your theological fetters; ay, and dragged the Church after the Universities into a latitude of theological speculation which well beseems a place of learning, but is utterly subversive of the foundations of your Church; and the Church of England is at this moment shaken to its centre. The history of Oxford, during the last nine years, is indeed a striking commentary on your vaunted union of the Universities and the Church of England. In 1836, the Crown, the constitutional head of the Church, exercising its power in the usual constitutional mode, appointed Dr. Hampden Regius Professor of Divinity. Oxford is immediately up in arms against him as a heretic: one head of a college, since a bishop (Dr. Gilbert), goes so far as to announce that he will give no testimonials for Orders to any of his undergraduates who has attended Dr. Hampden's lectures; but the bishops, on the other hand, say that they will ordain no one who has not attended them, and the head is obliged to give in. But that is not all. Dr. Pusey rakes up an old statute, which has long become obsolete, about a board of heresy, and succeeds in getting a new statute passed, reorganizing the board, so as to exclude the new Regius Professor of Divinity. A few years pass, and this resuscitated and reconstituted board of heresy turns round upon its reviver, sits in judgment on a sermon preached by Dr. Pusey, and pronounces that sermon heretical. Well, then, now we have, not one heretic only, but two heretics, and both clergymen and dignitaries of the Church of England—canons of Christ Church. The University prohibits Dr. Pusey from preaching for two years before the University — that is, in the church of which he is a canon (by the way, has he received during these two years the income of his canonry?)—but there has been nothing to prevent the Oxford heretic from preaching in any church but his own, if the bishop of the diocese permitted; and it is matter of notoriety that the proscribed of Oxford has had free range in the happy diocese of Exeter. Last year there was a great M'Mullen controversy in Oxford. Now that is a very singular case. The Regius Professor of Divinity—the heretical Dr. Hampden—pronounced one of Mr. M'Mullen's exercises, for the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, heretical; and the grace for Mr. M'Mullen's degree was, in consequence, vetoed by the Vice-Chancellor. Mr. M'Mullen's object in proceeding to the Divinity degree was, that he might continue to hold his fellowship. There is a singular provision in the statutes of this college; that if a fellow is prevented from obtaining the B.D. degree, by the interposition of an officer of the University, as Mr. M'Mullen was, he shall not vacate his fellowship; so that the heterodox Mr. M'Mullen is still a fellow of one of your orthodox colleges; and, what is more, is still a clergyman of the Church of England. This year the great performer has been Mr. Ward, who has been degraded from his degree; but he would still have been a fellow of Balliol if it had not so happened that he preached celibacy, as he subscribed the Articles, in a non-natural sense, and as such might have borne a part in the education of the University; and he still retains his gown. Now, there is an united Church in an united University! Does the hon. Baronet opposite, the great opponent of Popery, know how many conversions there have been to Rome within the last few years in Oxford? I have in my hand a list of twenty-three converts since 1841, almost all members of the University, with all of whom the Oxford Tracts have been the bridge to Rome. Now, I have no quarrel with Puseyism in a University (in the Church it is a different matter): in a place of learning, Puseyite views, and all other theological views, should be allowed to be ventilated. I would refuse no one a degree, and I would degrade no one from a degree, on account of theological opinions; but I ask that the same indulgence should be given in Oxford to every other "ism" which has so long been given to Puseyism. You cannot crush Puseyism by making martyrs of its votaries; make it innocuous by depriving it of its singularity. The effects of Puseyism on Oxford, in its present state of professed restriction to members of the Church of England, are, indeed, such as may fill with serious apprehension friends of the University on both sides of the House; and would that I could receive from some of those gentlemen who joined in the great lay address against Puseyism—to which they received from the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor so satisfactory an answer, telling them that every one signed the Thirty-nine Articles in Oxford — their assistance to abate, by getting rid of the Thirty-nine Articles, the evil which owes to the Thirty-nine Articles its strength, and so arrest the progress of this most angry and lamentable discord, which, if you wish Oxford to legislate for herself, places, as we have had many recent proofs, a dead-lock on legislation in Oxford—which has for some years past imported the *odium theologicum* alike into every the most trivial proceeding, and the performance of every the most solemn duty in the University—which sounds the tocsin of Puseyism on every election in the University, from the vice-chancellorship down to a scholarship in a college — which, not long ago, invading a province that even in Oxford had ever before been kept sacred from the intrusion of intolerance, spoilt with rude clamour an honorary compliment to the distinguished Representative of the United States in this country, because, forsooth, in his past religious creed some orthodox Puseyite had discovered a flaw—which now makes undergraduates, on their first arrival in Oxford, the objects, and in too many cases the early victims, of an ever-watchful proselytizing zeal—and which threatens to absorb every member and every function of the University in the vortex of theological controversy, and to blight for ever, with its all-withering influence, in Oxford, the peaceful happiness of those years of college education which our memories and imaginations combine to paint to us in colours so fresh and fair. There is no practice in the Universities which will contest the pre-eminence of absurdity with the privileges and distinctions granted to wealth and rank. In Cambridge, all plebeians have to wait seven years for the Master of Arts degree; but noblemen and noblemen's sons, and all persons related to the Sovereign by consanguinity or affinity, get the degree in little more than two years, as if there were a noble road to learning. One would imagine these are the very persons who could best afford a longer time for college education; they are certainly those whose careful education is most an object of national solicitude; for they are our future hereditary legislators, and those whose influence in the country brings them straight from college into Parliament. In all the colleges there are distinctions of dress, of table, of seat in chapel, founded on rank and wealth. I am less familiar with the practice of Oxford; but the word tuft-hunter, which Oxford has given to our language, proclaims the sign of nobility at Oxford, and speaks for its results. In Cambridge, it is a very complicated system: there is the nobleman, who is either a Peer in his own right or a Peer's eldest son; the hat-fellow-commoner, a hat being worn in Cambridge by all sons of noblemen and eldest sons of baronets; and fellow-commoners, who wear caps, having nothing but wealth to stand upon. The nobleman wears ordinarily a flowing black silk gown, which, on great days, is exchanged for one of purple and gold:

> "Pictâ pandit spectacula caudâ."

And this fine gown, having been worn perhaps half a dozen times during his undergraduateship, and having cost sixty or seventy guineas, is, on his leaving, a perquisite of the college tutor. The noble undergraduate takes precedence, on all occasions, of the head of the college. Now, if there was any place in which such distinctions should be less encouraged than another; where it might be thought that such fictitious distinctions would be, indeed, carefully excluded; and the "learned pate" not forced "to duck to the golden fool," that place is a university. He had not stated the worst. In his time, the fellow-commoners of Christ's College were only required to go to chapel on Sunday, while all others were obliged to attend every day; and in Queen's College a notice was actually posted up, that fellow-commoners were only expected to attend at chapel four times in the week, while all others must attend every day. He would ask the right hon. Member for Cambridge if he approved of this reversion of chapels to rank, and making payments an alternative of prayers? In 1837, a promise was made in the House of Lords by the two Chancellors of the Universities, in consequence of Lord Radnor's disclosures, that the attention of the colleges should be directed to the revision of their statutes. The Chancellors of the two Universities did endeavour to prevail upon the heads of colleges to revise their statutes; and the consequence was, that at Cambridge five colleges revised their statutes, but in Oxford no revision had taken place. Originally, the fellowships and scholarships were founded for the benefit of the poor, and of those who meant to devote themselves principally to theological pursuits; but those appointments, which were originally destined for the poorer classes, were now held by the rich; and so far from the intentions of the founders being carried out with respect to theological study, those injunctions were observed only in certain forms. In Trinity College, Oxford, there was a provision that after a certain number of years the fellows should either go into holy orders or resign their fellowships. There was also a provision that when they had complied with this condition, they should, after a certain additional number of years, take the degree of Doctor of Divinity; but this latter provision was systematically neglected. A fellow of Trinity College disputed the justice of his being called upon either to take orders or to resign, and appealed to the Bishop of Winchester, who refused his application. This fellow did resign; and his resignation of his fellowship was followed by an appointment which caused a vacancy in a scholarship. There was a curious provision made by the founder, Sir Thomas Pope, who it appeared had an objection to aristocracy, that no fellowship or scholarship should be held by a younger member of any noble family. And yet this scholarship was filled up by Mr. Hobart, the nephew and heir presumptive of the Earl of Buckinghamshire. In the case of an election at Exeter College, the candidates were required to produce testimonials, and to undergo an examination of four days, at the end of which time, however, to the astonishment of all, the rector and fellows announced the election to have fallen upon another person who was not a candidate, who had produced no testimonials, undergone no examination, and had not even been present. Mr. Row, one of the disappointed candidates, determined to appeal to the principal of the college, the Bishop of Exeter; but he was not able to procure a copy of the statutes of the college. There was only one copy of the statutes of Exeter College in existence; it was kept sacred in the library, and even the visitor was obliged respectfully to ask permission to see it. The Bishop of Exeter having received the appeal, called upon the head of the college for a copy of the statutes; but they sent him only extracts, and requested him to return them. The bishop said that the extracts furnished did not give him sufficient materials upon which to form a judgment on the case. He did, however, at length pronounce judgment; and he (Mr. Christie) would ask whether, while the Bishop of Exeter abstained in his own way from giving an opinion, he did not condemn the college. The bishop, after stating that the appellant had not raised the point as to age or standing, proceeded thus,—

> "Whether there be anything in the history of this election which can justify a suspicion that it was not made in full observance of the solemn injunction of the founder, I have not a right, and therefore have no inclination to inquire. The invitation to candidates by public advertisement, the requisition of certain formularies of testimonial, the appointment and actual institution of an examination of the candidates for four days, followed by the election of one who was not a candidate, who did not produce the required testimonials, and who was not examined, nor even present, and this without any declaration on the part of the rector and fellows that the candidates who had presented themselves were in their judgment either insufficient in learning, or defective in morals, or exceeding in opulence—points on which the appellant has not unreasonably dwelt—are, however, considerations wholly foreign from my jurisdiction, and upon them I abstain from expressing, or seeking to imply, any opinion whatsoever."

Mr. Row, the candidate thus rejected, could not be said to be insufficient in learning, or defective in morals, for he had produced satisfactory testimonials on these points, nor to be exceeding in opulence, for he was at that time in narrow circumstances, and was now a diligent curate, in Wiltshire, depending entirely upon the income of his curacy. Mr. Row, the unsuccessful candidate, was a second-class man; the chosen gentleman, a third-class man. The only reason for the election of the individual who was chosen was, that he happened to advocate Puseyite sentiments, which exist in great strength among the fellows of Exeter College. And there happened on the same day, in the same college, another election on another foundation, in which the same process of testimonials and examination was gone through, and the election was notwithstanding declared to be in favour of a gentleman who could not get testimonials, having been rusticated for an offence *contrà bonos mores.* This gentleman bore an honoured Puseyite name. He wished now to say a word on a part of this subject which had often been brought forward separately, and in which a great deal of interest was felt by the public. When two years ago he had the honour of submitting a Motion for the admission of Dissenters to the Universities, he mentioned an instance of a Jew who had kept terms in Cambridge, though he could not get a degree, and advocated the admission of Jews as well as Christian Dissenters; and he remembered that the hon. Baronet opposite (Sir R. H. Inglis) thought the Jew a capital joke. It was at any rate no joking matter now. In the year 1845, no less a person than the Lord Chancellor of a Government which had, if not the hon. Baronet's confidence, his support, had held up as an example to us the Universities of Prussia, where Jews are admitted upon equal terms. The Lord Chancellor need not have gone abroad for an example. There was in this country a college, closely connected by its ceremonies of daily worship and in other ways with the Church of England, of which the visitor was the Bishop of London, almost all of whose professors were of design clergymen of the

Church of England—which, though it was of comparatively recent foundation, and its field of operations limited, could point with pride to brilliant names in divinity and philosophy, which had been associated with it—which had educated Members of that House—of which, and of whose professors, he himself having once been a member, could never speak or think but with gratitude and affection: he referred to the East India College at Haileybury, where, of late years Jews had been educated with no violence offered to their consciences; where they had been among the most distinguished of the students; and from whence, through the wise liberality of the East India Directors, by which Oxford and Cambridge would do well to take example, Jews had gone forth with no disabling or degrading distinction to impede their path, to enter on that great career of usefulness, responsibility, and fame, which lies open to the East India civilian. A Jew might thus in course of time become a Member of the Supreme Council of India; he might for a time be the acting Governor General of India; and the hon. Baronet opposite meant to make a battle about a beggarly Bill for allowing Jews to be aldermen in this country, and treated their admission to the national Universities as a joke. He would venture, on this part of the subject, to appeal respectfully to the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government. Will you (said the hon. Gentleman), to whom all the great recent triumphs of religious liberty are owing, and who are emphatically the Minister of religious toleration—who have emancipated the Catholics—who are beginning to emancipate the Jews—who in defiance of your party have set before yourself the great task of laying the bigotry which has long been lord of Irish misrule—will you refuse inquiry (for it is only inquiry I ask) into the means of getting rid of a religious disability the most indefensible in character—a disability in respect of education? I will even appeal on this subject to the hon. Baronet himself, the Member for the University of Oxford. He must see that this question is now in a very different position from what it was when it was last agitated in this House ten years ago—when Puseyism was a name unknown—when Tract No. 90 was yet unwritten — when no one had ventured to whisper even, much less to commit to irrevocable print, that he subscribed the Articles in a non-natural sense: and his strong sense of justice must recoil from a system which harbours Roman Catholic conformity, and proscribes Protestant Dissenters—which complacently sees college rooms fitted up with confessionals, and shops in Oxford filled with rosaries and crucifixes to slake the Roman Catholic thirst of the Protestant youth of Oxford; but has not yet proposed any restitution of her old monastic cloisters, fit even for the education of a Roman Catholic priesthood, so that you are compelled to propose additional endowments for Maynooth—which has no open relations with Rome, but is in close alliance with the Pope of Newmania at Littlemore—which admits Mr. Newman and Mr. Oakeley, and excludes Dr. Wiseman and Dr. Lingard. I pass from this subject, briefly to consider the Universities in one aspect, in which I have not yet separately noticed them, as places destined to the promotion of higher learning and literature. I have considered them fully as places for the education of youth. I have considered them in relation to the Church; how have they fulfilled, and how are they fulfilling, their duties, as stewards of the nation's literary and philosophical renown? There was a time, long ago, when all the learning of the nation was in the Universities, and at that time all the learning of the Universities was in Aristotle. But since that time have the Universities led the way in any great intellectual impulse which marks the history of literature and philosophy in this country? How long after Bacon's great work had been given to the world did the Aristotelian philosophy linger in the schools of Oxford and Cambridge? In what terms of reproach and ridicule does Bacon, and, after Bacon, Hobbes, speak of the Universities? A generation later than Hobbes, we find no great symptom of appreciation of philosophy; but a very strong proof of abject political servility in Oxford, when Locke, at the time enjoying the sympathy and homage of the philosophers of Holland, is deprived, for his political opinions, of his studentship in Christ-church, in eager obedience to the arbitrary mandate of a bigot king. Do you connect in any way with either Oxford or Cambridge the brilliancy of what is called the Augustan age of our literature? After the accession of the House of Hanover, Oxford and Cambridge for more than half a century exhausted their energies in Jacobite and Hanoverian quarrels; while in those Universities of Scotland which you have thought it just and expedient to visit, an illustrious school of metaphysics, was developed, and the science of political economy arose in them almost full grown at its birth, and they gave the impulse to a number of historical writings, which are still, and will never cease to be, the glory of British literature. Again, is there any period in the history of either Oxford or Cambridge, since the Revolution, to be compared with that brilliant epoch in the history of the University of Edinburgh, when her body of professors shone before the world with the accumulated lustre of the names of Leslie, and Playfair, and Gregory, and Dugald Stewart, and the fame of her teachers drew from far and wide a great concourse of students, among whom, in spite of the fashion of the English Universities, mingled more than one hope of the aristocracy of England, and of whom an unexampled number rose afterwards to eminence in science and literature, in the various professions, in the Senate, and in Council? Some, indeed, having died before their time, have already in biography become a study and example to the world; and when in the vigour with which, by professors and students alike, all branches of knowledge were pursued, the world was startled with that celebrated literary undertaking of the young men then congregated in Edinburgh, which has influenced the literature and government of every country of the civilized world. Let us look around now, and among the men eminent among us at this day in higher learning or literature, how many, or rather few, shall we find in actual connexion, or indeed connected at all, with the Universities! Do we go to Oxford or Cambridge to look for distinguished metaphysicians, statists, political economists, or historians? If one were asked to name the persons most eminent among us at this day as speculative philosophers, I believe there would be no dispute whatever as to two names, which I shall take the liberty of mentioning, being among the first: Mr. Bailey, of Sheffield, who, not amid academic groves and cloisters, but in the busy din of a large manufacturing city, and himself engaged in pursuits of business, has written upon subjects of almost every branch of speculative philosophy, and enriched every subject on which he has written; and Mr. John Mill, a public servant from an early age of the Court of East India Directors, the author of "The System of Logic," whose philosophical reputation is, as it were, an inheritance which, in his hands, has received ample addition by the son of the profound and distinguished historian of India, who again owed none of his intellectual culture to an English University. The Universities and their colleges possess libraries rich in manuscripts, illustrating modern history. Has any historical work of value proceeded during the last three centuries from either Oxford or Cambridge? While, among those who in our own day have elucidated with the most research the history of our own country, is a Roman Catholic divine, Dr. Lingard, excluded by his religion from adorning either University with his genius and learning. The Protestant Dissenters boast in science and literature the names of Dr. Faraday, Dr. Pye Smith, Dr. Vaughan, Dr. Wardlaw, Mr. Howitt, Mr. Fox, Mr. Conder, and many others whom I might mention. Are these men unworthy of admission to our Universities? Would not the Universities rather derive strength and honour from the accession of their accomplishments and fame? I do then ask the House, not hoping for it, but feeling that it should be granted, for an address to Her Majesty for a Commission to inquire into the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Since the commencement of Her reign, Her Majesty has visited the University of Cambridge. Great care was taken to let her have an opportunity of seeing some of the ancient forms and ceremonies which the University tenaciously preserves, while the substance of her statutes is disregarded. I remember the newspapers at the time described Her Majesty as showing some very unequivocal, but certainly not unnatural, symptoms of fatigue, with some of the long unmeaning ceremonies which she was doomed to witness. It is impossible, Sir, that she, the supreme visitor of Oxford and Cambridge, may then have conceived a desire to render the powers with which the law invests her available for infusing new life and vigour into the Universities, and so widening the circle of knowledge which they teach and cultivate, that England need no longer blush for a comparison of her chief seats of learning and education with the far more scantily endowed Universities of Germany, of some of which she may have heard much? But this at least, I trust, may not altogether idly and presumptuously be imagined, that as she walked amid the many monuments which met her eye on every side of Roman Catholic munificence —above all, as she prayed within that gogeous, venerable pile, the peerless glory of Cambridge, which a Roman Catholic predecessor on her throne consecrated in a so-called dark age to the future moral welfare of England—that there did flash across the royal breast a hope that Her reign might see the last of the injustice which excludes Roman Catholics from all share in Roman Catholic endowments, and the last of the intolerance which now narrows to one sect, and spoils and desecrates, the large munificence of olden time.

Mr. *Ewart*, in seconding the Motion, said, if it were asked for what reason this inquiry was sought, the reply might be given in very few words. The ground upon which the Motion was made was, that the Universities had limited themselves within bounds far narrower than those contemplated by their founders. He thought that even his hon. Friend the Member for the University of Oxford must acknowledge, when he looked at the inscriptions of former times found in the various colleges, that a far more extensive system of learning once prevailed than that which existed at present. It was the object of the founders of those institutions to extend their sphere of usefulness as much as possible; while it seemed to be that of their successors to limit the benefits which they were adapted to diffuse. How did it happen that one of our Universities confined itself almost exclusively to classics, while the other contented itself with classics and mathematics? The originators of these seats of learning contemplated a far wider range; they did not omit education in the arts and sciences, so far as they were known in their own day; and no less than seven arts and sciences would be found to have constituted the curriculum through which degrees had to be obtained. Now, he could not help remarking, in reference to the present state of the Universities, that some of the most profound works in classics and history now used in the colleges were translations from the German; being, in fact, the composition of erudite German professors. There must be some defect in a system which led to such a result. The great object of all education, after giving a certain amount of elementary instruction, should be to develope the latent faculties of the mind; and unless this object were kept in view, all attempts at education would prove ineffectual. That object was far more traceable in the conduct of the founders of these institutions than in the narrow path pursued in the Universities in modern times. They now adhered to what was called the tutorial system of education, while the plan originally pursued was the professorial. Many eminent persons had written against the change. Mr. Whewell had deprecated the narrow and circumscribed character of the existing system, as one which was not adapted to prepare students for the scenes in which they were likely to be engaged. He knew not what men were to be found in our Universities who might be compared with the eminent writers of Germany or of France. Had they such men as Eichorn or Muller? Had they any authors who would bear comparison with Guizot, Michelet, and many other modern historians of France? Nor was it only the intellectual system of education of which there was reason to complain. The distinctions of rank observed at the Universities were highly objectionable. The practice of giving a nobleman a different dress from that of the poorer student was not known in the Universities of any other country in the world. It was, in his opinion, not only hurtful to the feelings of a large class of students, but dishonourable to the University itself. He must say, that when he saw a student, simply because he happened to be a sizar, excluded from a particular sphere of society, the spectacle appeared to him extremely revolting. His hon. Friend had alluded to the subject of religious education. He did not think that the cause of religion could be maintained or promoted by perseverance in administering all those tests of theology which were prescribed for students in the Universities; tests which were so numerous and burdensome that it seemed to be the object of the students first to subscribe, and afterwards, as rapidly as possible, to forget them. Such, then, were the reasons which induced him to support the Motion before the House. He trusted that no long period would elapse before the Universities would be liberated from the existing obstructions to their prosperity and that of the country at large. By opening the colleges to persons who belonged not to the Established Church, they would throw a flood of light into the institutions themselves. Was it not a disgrace to those Universities that any native of this country should be excluded from benefits which, as being intended originally for all who professed the Roman Catholic religion, which was then the religion of the whole country, were, in fact, destined for the behoof of all classes of the community? Although his hon. Friend might not succeed in the present Session, yet he trusted that he would have laid the foundation for future success, and, as other reforms had been carried which at first it seemed difficult to obtain, so he trusted they would at length see a reform in the Universities. He did not despair of seeing those who would on that occasion vote against this Motion, in some future year supporting a similar Motion for opening the Universities without distinction of religious sect, and of finding the call made by the country in reference to this matter generally responded to within the walls of that House.

Sir *R. Inglis* said, the hon. Member for Weymouth had promised at the commencement of his speech that he would endeavour to avoid any expressions which might be considered disrespectful to the institutions which were the subject of his Motion, or painful to those who were interested in their welfare. That promise the hon. Member had kept most faithfully. Whilst he differed from him as to many of his facts, and all his conclusions, he did not recollect in the course of his able speech a single expression which was inconsistent with the promise made at its commencement. He should not have risen thus early to address the House on this subject, but, as he could not conceal from himself that the hon. Member had, in many parts of his speech, addressed him personally, he would not shrink from the task of at once endeavouring to meet his arguments. Now, he did not deny the proposition which the hon. Member had assumed as the basis of his Motion, namely, that the Crown had a right to issue a Commission to investigate the state, the privileges, the rights, and the duties of the two Universities; but he respectfully submitted to the House that, notwithstanding all the talent and research which he had combined in his speech, the hon. Member had laid no foundation whatever for the Motion with which he had concluded. The hon. Member began by speaking of the great wealth, the vast privileges, and the pecuniary value of the livings enjoyed by the Universities; and this he followed up by stating the amount which the Universities received, first, in the shape of drawback for paper, and next in that of a donation of 500*l.* from the Consolidated Fund. These were facts already known to the hon. Member. Was it necessary for his purpose that the machinery of a Royal Commission should be employed to ascertain the number of livings in the possession of the University? Why, the papers were already in his hand from which the required information might be obtained. Again, as to the sums received from what was called the public. It was, by the bye, a curious circumstance that the great promoters of education should be the first to deprecate the very moderate encouragement of learning which was given to the two Universities. He believed there was no country in Europe which had contributed so little to the support—he would not say of learning, at the Universities, but of any object connected with the intellectual progress of the nation. As a state and nation they had done nothing. It appeared that there was given to the Universities 7*l.* 10*s.*—he begged the hon. Member's pardon for understating the amount—it was, in fact, 7*l.* 19*s.* for a preacher; 11*l.* 6*s.* 2*d.* for a professor of divinity; and 35*l.* 3*s.* for a professor of law. The whole amount, in fact, of the items thus divided between the two Universities was 300*l.*, of which 151*l.* 15*s.* 2*d.* was given to Oxford, and 148*l.* 4*s.* 10*d.* to Cambridge. It was not, therefore, upon the size of the grants which had been made to the Universities that the hon. Gentleman could found any claim to the exercise of the visitatorial power of the Crown with respect to the Universities; but, even if the amount were ten times as large as he had stated, it was not the amount, but the use or abuse of that amount, which could alone justify the exercise of the visitatorial power. Had then any abuse been suggested? Not a single abuse with respect to the appropriation of the funds had been stated by the hon. Member; and he could tell the hon. Member that it was by the amount of the drawback of the duty on the paper employed in the University presses that it had been found practicable to reduce the price of the most important of all books. Though he should contend that, even for the circulation of books in classical literature, or general science, it was very desirable that the aid of the nation should be granted to the Universities, the sum so granted in respect to classical literature or general science was small indeed as compared with the amount of drawback on the paper employed in the printing of the Bible. The largest amount ever remitted as drawback to the Universities was in one year, ten years ago, 8,000*l.* At that time the whole sum granted for drawback on books in Greek, Latin, Oriental, and the northern languages, was only 220*l.* 6*s.* The fact was, that the drawback allowed for some years had been gradually diminishing; and at present it was so small that it could hardly be grudged even by the most fastidious of economists. The average for the last three years did not amount to more than 2,300*l.* a year. The hon. Member himself had not overstated the pecuniary aid which they received; but even taking his amount, how small was it in comparison with the wealth of the country—how small compared with the encouragement given to literature in other countries far less rich than our own! But there were other considerations which had provoked the hon. Member for Weymouth to draw the attention of the House to the condition of the Universities. It was that pre-eminence which he had justly assigned to the Universities, the character of which the hon. Gentleman desired, he (Sir R. Inglis) would not say to diminish, but practically to render less valuable by the introduction of the measures which he contemplated as the necessary result of the issue of the Commission now proposed. The hon. Member had laid, he repeated, no ground of inquiry in respect to any abuse, either as to the funds received by the Universities from the State, or the funds inherited from the founders. But it was said, and his hon. Friend (Mr. Ewart) had repeated the assertion, that in the present generation the Universities had not been the means of increasing the great lights of this country, either in respect to arts, science, or literature. Now if his hon. Friend contended that it was necessary the works should be written within the limits of the two Universities, even then he believed he could show him examples of that sort. But the effect of the Universities was not confined to that which was produced within the mere walls. It was not necessary, for instance, that Mr. Hallam should have written his works actually within the walls of Christ Church. It was sufficient that he had received within those walls the education which had qualified him to write those works. And he defied the hon. Member, with all his research, to produce in the history of England in the last three centuries any number of distinguished men who were unconnected with either University. He spoke fearlessly upon that subject; that among the great men who had enlightened and adorned the history of their country, there would scarcely be found, in respect to theology, in respect to science, any distinguished name which was not connected with one or other of the Universities. He would admit, however, on the other hand, that if the possession of degrees in either University were essential to the establishment of any man's fair claims to professional enjoyment, that argument would cut two ways. And though it might be said "You have proved, indeed, that the distinguished men of England have been connected with the Universities; that would prove too much, for it would prove there was a monopoly." Yet that was not the case. There had not been a monopoly. The hon. Member had, however, talked of the invidious advantages possessed by the Universities with respect to law, medicine, and theology. With respect to law, he need not remind him that of the last six Lord Chancellors, three had not been compelled to attain to their honours by passing through that course of education which either University afforded. He was quite willing to admit that here also his arguments might be turned against himself, and he might be asked, "Then, what good did the Universities produce?" He answered, that they had produced the most eminent men, without however excluding those who did not possess either the pecuniary means or the religious principles which might qualify them to pass through either University. They did give to every profession that distinction which a highly cultivated education, on the part of the individual, was most likely to produce; whilst, on the other hand, they did not exclude from professional or public distinction those who were not so qualified by education in the Universities. Now, as to the profession of medicine. The hon. Member said, there were very few physicians who had passed from either University to the great walks of the medical profession in the metropolis. Be it so; but the fact was, that those few were amongst the most distinguished whom the country had produced. He would take a late example; that of Sir Henry Halford. Would any one assert that the classical attainments which that distinguished individual drew from his University education did not tend to raise the character of his profession as well as his own? He could point to other men, at this moment in the metropolis, of the highest walk in the profession, whose progress was not impeded, but rather encouraged by their classical attainments. Again, he admitted that there were but few of the most eminent physicians sent from the two Universities into the metropolis; but that did not prove that the reputation enjoyed by those few was not reflected upon the other members of the profession. The hon. Member had also alluded to the law. As to the highest office in the law, he had been already answered. With respect to other offices, or to practice in the Common Law and Chancery Courts, they were open to any man, of any religion or none, or any education or none, always excepting their professional acquirements. But with respect to the civil law, there was a distinction in reference to that, which the hon. Gentleman ought to have stated. It was this—that the courts in which they practised required a university education from them, because in those courts the interests of the Church were materially, if not exclusively, involved. Therefore it was fitting that those who exercised jurisdiction in the courts, or took part in their proceedings, should, in a moral sense, give a bond to the community that they had the interests of the church at heart. Then, as to the third and highest of the three great professions—the profession of theology and admission to holy orders, it was a matter of course, and no one with the least sagacity could fail to perceive, that if the Universities were intended as the nurseries of the Church—if from them, as the hon. Gentleman stated, the ministers of the Church were all but exclusively selected, some formularies coinciding with the principles of the Church should be adopted and maintained in the two Universities. So far, therefore, as the profession of theology was concerned, the hon. Member had made out no case for remodelling those institutions. With regard to the attainment of degrees, there was a period in our history when, he believed, not one fifth of all the priests in England had been ordained in the Universities. He spoke of the time immediately subsequent to the Reformation. But in process of time, and on the more general diffusion of education, it was found necessary to require higher attainments in general knowledge and professional education than could be obtained any where except within the walls of the University; and then, and not until then, did the bishops most commonly require that parties seeking to be admitted to holy orders should produce evidence that they had previously attained to certain degrees in the University. Yet in the northern part of the island at this moment, where, from inferior circumstances, so far as this world's goods were concerned, the young men destined for holy orders could not always obtain a University education—in these northern dioceses the bishops frequently take a class of men who were termed literates to receive from these right rev. Prelates the imposition of hands. The increasing demand for general knowledge had induced the bishops to adopt this practice, by which it was not essential to have a University education. He believed there were hundreds of persons in the neighbourhood of the right hon. Baronet (Sir J. Graham) in the north of England who had been admitted to holy orders without being educated at either University. The College of St. Bees sent forth a great number of these persons; and he understood the education which they acquired in that institution was of a most excellent description, and justly entitled those who received it to be considered as fit candidates for holy orders. It was not the fact, then, that the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge had maintained a monopoly in respect to the profession of holy orders, any more than they had maintained a monopoly in respect to the professions of the law and medicine. The value of the degrees which they conferred was to be measured by the practical attainments of the persons seeking them. He must now advert to some individual cases, from which he would willingly have abstained. The hon. Gentleman in the course of his speech alluded to three cases; and he (Sir R. Inglis) was accordingly forced to use the names of the parties. Whether Mr. Ward were or were not a heretic—whether Dr. Hampden were or were not a heretic—whether Dr. Pusey were or were not a heretic, let him tell the hon. Member that those propositions were never submitted to the University of Oxford, and therefore had never been decided. The question never was as to heresy in any one of these three cases. But passing this by, he would observe that so far as he could foresee the result of such a Commission as had been proposed—judging from experience, or by analogy, there was nothing which could affect any one of these three cases, or any similar case which might hereafter arise. The facts had already been, he would not say before this House, for this House had no concern with them; but they had been so fully before the only tribunal—namely, the Convocation of the University—in which they arose, that he would venture to state that no inquiry instituted under the authority of the Crown could produce any alteration in the decisions in these cases. He had quoted the three names with regret, because he did not consider the House of Commons of England a fit tribunal to review the decisions of any body whatever having original and competant jurisdiction — the proper course being in all such cases by appeal to the next competent legal authority — and, therefore, an appeal—if an appeal ought to be made in respect to the decisions in these or any similar cases — ought not to be to such a body as this, but to the recognised tribunal of the country, to the visitors of the college, or the visitor of the University; and when all these resources had been exhausted, then, and not until then, should an appeal be made to the supreme authority in the nation. The hon. Gentleman had mentioned a fourth and fifth case. The one arose in Trinity College, Oxford. That case was to be met, in some degree, by the statement to which he (Sir R. Inglis) had incidentally adverted. The matter at issue was formally submitted to the visitor of the college, who, acting officially in such character himself, stated that the college had not exceeded the powers conferred upon it by the State. The statutes of the college, he understood, as construed by the authority of the visitor, possessed in themselves sufficient elasticity to justify the course which had been taken in that case. When, therefore, the visitor had pronounced an opinion favourable to the discretion exercised by the college, he could not think that that case furnished any ground on which the hon. Member could call for the exercise of the visitatorial power of the Crown in respect to this college. The case to which, however, the hon. Member made the most elaborate reference, was the case of Exeter College, Oxford; and the instance of Mr. Row, a disappointed candidate for a fellowship. He thought the governing body were justified in the decision they arrived at. The hon. Member said that, upon a vacancy occurring, the governing body issued advertisements for candidates; and he felt bound to admit that they were not called upon to issue those advertisements. The statutes of Exeter College required that the parties to be elected should be *ad proficiendum in literis aptiores, in moribus honestiores, in facultatibus pauperiores;* and that the election should be in favour of the candidates in whom these qualifications, or the greater part of them, were best combined. And he asked whether it were contended that the party elected was not qualified in these respects? He contended that Mr. Row was not so eminent in literary acquirements above the successful candidate for the fellowship, as to render such eminence decisive in his favour. Besides which, it is not stated that they had been competitors in one and the same University examination. He believed that nothing was more clear than that the eminence in acquirements of the senior wrangler of one year, was no test that he was of equal eminence with the senior wrangler of the following year. Unless the two parties were actually competing parties, the fact that one was in the second class, and the other in the first or third class, did not prove any relative preeminence in the one or the other. The absolute eminence of the one in Class Three, might at least be equal to the absolute eminence of the one in Class Two. It had been said that the gentleman chosen was of greater means than his unsuccessful competitor. If he had had greater means, however, it must still be recollected, that comparative poverty was, after all, only one of the qualifications requisite; and the college did not bind itself to take the poorest man, unless he combined with his poverty the other qualifications required. "But," said the hon. Member, "whether I am right or wrong, the Bishop, the visitor of the college, though he did give a decision in favour of the college, gave an opinion against it." That expression was a happy one; because the Bishop of Exeter, who was as capable of defending himself as any man living, had certainly, in this instance, not followed the advice given by a distinguished Lord Chancellor some sixty or seventy years ago to a person whom he was about to appoint as a colonial judge, namely, to give his decisions without assigning any reasons for them. "In nine cases out of ten," said that eminent personage, "your decisions will be right, and your reasons wrong." The Bishop of Exeter, in pronouncing his decision, had no business to do aught else; he was not entitled to enter into discussions incidental to the matter at issue; but while he liberated the college by his subsequent determination, he impugned it by the preamble to that determination—a course which the right rev Prelate would have avoided had he followed the advice of the Lord Chancellor to whom he had referred. It was the rule adopted by the Judges in cases of appeal from the decisions of the Commissioners of Taxes. They merely said that the decision of the Commissioners was right, or the decision was wrong; and he could not but wish that the Bishop of Exeter had, in this instance, adopted that course. It had been stated that the Bishop had complained that the college had not sent him the entire of their statutes, but only a part of them. Now, he had the Bishop's original letter; and in it, while he acknowledged the receipt of copies of the statutes at issue, he asked for no others; but merely that such a statement of facts should be made to him by the college as might show that the election had been in conformity to the statutes. The hon. Member believed that there had been no examination. Why, this very gentleman, who had been elected in 1842, had already gone through the examination in the previous year. He knew nothing of the classical or theological attainments of those gentlemen; but the statutes of Exeter College, or of any other college, did not require that the governing body should select merely the better of two bad candidates. They had known what the successful candidate was, by having had experience of his learning in the examination of the year before; and accordingly the unsuccessful candidate of the year 1841 had been taken and selected without a renewed examination in the year 1842. There were three tests of fitness. But the gentleman whose case had been advocated by the hon. Member, might have been deficient, or, at all events, might not have come up to the standard in all three of those tests. The election had not, he understood, been decided in reference to the peculiar theological opinions of the candidates. With respect to the statutes, the hon. Member had stated that Lord Radnor, some nine or ten years ago, had made a speech in the House of Lords, which had produced a declaration from the two Chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge, in reference to a review of the statutes of the Universities and of the colleges. Almost immediately after that, both Universities, at all events the University of Oxford—for he would answer for that University alone — undertook the revision of their statutes. Those statutes were, as the hon. Member well knew, divided into titles, of which there were twenty-one; and out of that number sixteen in a comparatively short period had come under the review of the governing body of the University. But the hon. Member must understand that though the governing body might investigate those statutes—he was now limiting himself to the University statutes—they could not force the result of their revision upon the whole body of the University itself; that remained for the Convocation; and unless the hon. Member meant by introducing the authority of the Crown to annihilate the authority of the Convocation, and give to the Crown the power of framing new statutes, or remodelling old ones, he had not advanced one step towards that course which he declared so desirable —namely, the adoption of statutes conformable to his own opinions, and the opinions of those who concurred with him. The question was, could they by any Act of the Crown, which did not annihilate the existence of the Convocation, effect such an alteration of the statutes as the hon. Member desired to carry out; and unless he could establish that proposition, the mere form of the institution of a Commission would produce no effect. The hon. Gentleman who had seconded the Motion had said, that there had been instances of such inquiry as that now recommended. He (Sir R. Inglis) did not deny it; but those instances were by no means applicable to the present case. Cases of inquiry in the time of Edward I. and Edward III., Richard II. and Edward IV., were not applicable to the present state of things. But there had been an attempt at interference made by the Crown at a later and more memorable period of our history; but he hoped that even the hon. Member himself would not desire to reintroduce such a precedent as had been laid down at that period. He (Sir R. Inglis) repeated, if they proved the existence of any abuse, and they had exhausted all legal and constitutional remedies, and had failed to repress those abuses—he repeated, he did not deny that the supreme authority of the Crown might be invoked to issue a Commission to investigate the state of the case, and found some remedial measure on that investigation, not by the authority of the Crown, but by that of Parliament. But whilst he admitted that, he contended that there had been no such case of abuse made out by the hon. Gentleman, either in respect to the funds of the University, the degrees there conferred, or the privileges enjoyed. He repeated that nothing short of an Act of Parliament, overthrowing or over-riding the authority of the Convocation, could deprive the Convocation of the power of so dealing with any of its own members. The hon. Gentleman who had seconded the proposition before the House, had alluded to the fact that institutions were founded in Oxford and Cambridge by Roman Catholics; and he expressed a hope that at some future period the members of that persuasion might be admitted to such colleges as King's College, Cambridge, which owed its foundation to the pious beneficence and munificence of Catholics. Although he did not deny that the colleges had been founded by persons of the faith of Rome, he denied that the fact being so entitled the parties for whom the hon. Member appeared as an advocate to the benefit of them. For three centuries the Parliament of England—not transferring the revenues from Roman Catholic to Protestant hands, but recognising and confirming the previous decisions of the Universities themselves—continued to sanction the voluntary act of the two Universities in adopting the Protestant faith; and even, therefore, if he admitted—which he on the contrary denied—that those institutions, as they existed at the present day, were the result of Roman Catholic munificence, he should deny the obligation of restitution after three centuries of possession. The hon. Member knew full well that the very first Act of Parliament of Queen Mary was to confirm all the titles then five years old; and it could not be contended, either privately or publicly, that what they had conferred they had a right to redeem—that having given, for instance, in the year 1532 the emoluments and revenues of a particular foundation to the Protestant Church of England, they were therefore at liberty to resume such gift without looking to the long interval of time that elapsed since the gift had been made. He denied, however, that it was the fact that the greater part of the revenues of the Universities were derived from Roman Catholic foundations. He would not enter into a detail of the many foundations established before and after the Reformation; but the preponderance in the case of the former was not quite so great as seemed to be supposed. He would rather come at once to the fellowships. He spoke at present of Oxford. There were 297 fellowships in the colleges founded before the Reformation, and thirty-three had been added since; but of the fellowships in the seven colleges founded since the Reformation, all of which were necessarily connected with Protestant munificence, the number was no less than 232, making an aggregate of 265 foundations by Protestants, while the Roman Catholic foundations were 297. The hon. Gentleman would be surprised to know, that all the professorships of Oxford, with the exception of the Margaret professorship, were founded by Protestants. The hon. Gentleman talked of the number of livings. Why, even within the last two centuries, in one college, in which in the year 1631 there were only five livings, forty-one livings had since been added. The hon. Gentleman could claim, therefore, less than he had anticipated for the Roman Catholics. Then, with respect to Cambridge, the same state of things was observable. Before the Reformation there had been 150 fellowships, and subsequently to the Reformation 173 founded. But, as far as regarded his argument, it mattered not whether fellowships were founded before or after. The hon. Member had stated that but a small number of students attended the lectures of the professors of botany, geology, and other branches not intimately connected with the ruling subjects of education in Oxford. But did that circumstance constitute one of the grounds upon which the present Motion rested? Did the hon. Gentleman contend that the attendance at those lectures should be compulsory or not? All depended upon that. If he contended that it ought to be compulsory, then he (Sir R. Inglis) could understand his object in the introduction of the subject; but if not, the introduction of the subject might indeed enlighten some, but it did not at all sustain the hon. Member's proposition. There might be persons at the University who did not give as much time to the study of geology, or botany, &c., as at a later period of life they might have desired; but when the hon. Gentleman stated that the Oxford education was only elementary, that education produced results which very few hon. Members of that House would be willing to be asked to exhibit in any arena of examination. He believed that this elementary education (as the hon. Member called it) was an education which qualified them to give the most detailed answers to the most searching questions in ancient and modern history, in logic, and in the classical literature both of Greece and Rome. With respect also to the most important of all the subjects of human inquiry, that of religion, that education was not elementary. On the contrary, the great body of those who now entered the University of Oxford possessed a greater knowledge of theology than fifty years ago was possessed, or at least exhibited, by any at the final examination. He must tell the hon. Member that no proficiency in general science or literature would now entitle any person to a degree at Oxford, unless he were first examined, and passed that examination satisfactorily, in his knowledge of the Scriptures and Religion. The candidate must now be able to answer such questions in theology as he believed half a century ago would not have been put even to a candidate for holy orders. And this was the result of that system of education, the working of which the hon. Member desired to interfere with. It was true the result might not be obtained in the way in which, five centuries ago, analogous results were desired to be obtained. It was true that in this interval the professorial system had been in a great degree abolished, and the tutorial system substituted for it; but had the one been abolished and the other substituted for it, except from a growing desire on the part of the two Universities to adapt themselves to the requirements of the time, and to give such an education as the means at their disposal placed most within their reach to those who were to receive it? And had not the result been that there had grown up in England a body of men engaged in tuition far more enlightened than fifty years ago could have been found, or even anticipated? But, be this as it might, it mattered not whether they pronounced for one or the other mode, unless they were prepared to deny that the substitution had been made by competent authority; so that with reference to this branch of the subject also he maintained that there was no ground for the Motion. There was nothing contrary to their constitution in the alteration; and he was satisfied that the change had been most beneficial to the great body of the members of the Universities. The hon. Member alluded to a pledge which he said was understood to have been given by the noble Chancellor of the University of Oxford, that the colleges should revise their statutes; and he said that whether that were so or not, no college in that University had so revised its statutes. In answer to this he could state, that different colleges had each formed a Committee for that purpose, and in many instances many colleges had made such alterations as in their judgment they thought necessary; but all that had been required of them was, not that they should alter, but that they should consider alterations. Their noble Chancellor never pledged them to make alterations—it would have been prejudging the whole case to have made such a pledge—all he pledged them to do was, to inquire into their statutes; and that pledge had been redeemed in the manner he had stated. The hon. Member had also stated that the visitor of one of the colleges could not obtain a sight of the college statutes. That might possibly be so, but he apprehended it was not very likely to occur; and if it were, could a Commission from the Crown give the power sought for? He apprehended that no lawyer in the House would state that any such power could be conferred by any such authority. The hon. Gentleman, before he addressed the House, presented a petition on the general subject. He did not deny the more than respectability, the eminence, of some of those who had signed that petition. But the hon. Gentleman himself admitted that they formed but a small portion of those educated at the Universities; and, with all respect, he thought the hon. Gentleman would not state that they were the most distinguished in their several Universities. He observed also that several of them were connected with what was now called University College, in Gower-street. He did not deny their right to address that House, and state their views on the general subject of academical education; but he thought their opinions were less entitled to weight from their belonging—he would not say to a rival institution, for he would not do it that honour, but—to an institution which had endeavoured to establish itself in opposition to these Universities. He apprehended, too, that even in Gower-street the same evils might exist which were felt so greatly by these Gentlemen; for even there professors were not part of the governing body of the college. But the question was, not what they were or desired to be; but whether it were important or not to the efficiency of the two ancient Universities that the professsors should be associated with the heads of houses in the government of these Universities. The hon. Gentleman stated that certain professors had few pupils, and had, therefore, more time to undertake a share in the superintendence. But he thought the hon. Member must first prove that abuse existed; as without such proof, the prayer of these petitioners was utterly irrelevant to the immediate question at issue—namely, that the House should address Her Majesty to institute an inquiry into the present system. Again, the petitioners complained of the preponderance of the ecclesiastical body in the government of the Universities. But they must alter the statutes of each college before they could effect any alteration in that respect. Let them contend, if they pleased, that those statutes were abused, and let the statutes be revised if they could prove it; but while they remained as they were, the result complained of was inevitable, and not to be altered by the Crown issuing a Commission, or by any measure which could be adopted by that House. The petitioners also complained that the elective franchise in the two Universities was limited to those who had subscribed the Thirty-nine Articles. Now, admitting, for the sake of argument, that this was an evil, again he asked, how could the hon. Member's proposition provide a remedy? He was almost inclined to pass over another subject the hon. Gentleman had touched upon; but he would just allude to it, for fear he should be thought disrespectful if he did not allude to it. He alluded to the distinction of rank at the Universities, which the hon. Member contended was too much observed, and especially in the University of Cambridge. The hon. Gentleman gave an account, which he meant should have been amusing, of the expense and colour of the different gowns worn by the different ranks of students at the University of Cambridge, and of the use to which, when worn out, those garments were applied. Now, he believed that the colour, and texture, and the gilding of these robes, had, in many most remarkable instances, proved no barrier to their wearer acquiring the most distinguished honours in either University. The first name that occurred to him was that of Lord Lyttelton, who, though he did wear a gilded robe of a blue colour, distinguished himself in a manner which no one the least favoured by birth, or the least endowed by fortune, could have exceeded. Moreover, the Chairman of that very University which the hon. Member for Weymouth would represent as a model University—the Chairman of that University which, he complained, had not received the same favour from Her Majesty's Ministers, either the late or the present, as they had showered down on the ancient Universities—the Chairman of the University of London (the Earl of Burlington), though he might have worn the same gilded robe, was so little affected by it, or deterred from attaining the great object of University education, that he attained the highest literary and scientific reputation. He knew also that there were many in both Houses of Parliament who had not been prevented either by rank or wealth, still less by the colour of their gowns, from exhibiting the brightest examples, not merely of academical education, but of the highest moral character and conduct during their progress through their Universities. On the other hand, there had been those who, from the lowest ranks of life, and without advantages of birth or fortune, had in the same way attained, notwithstanding the gowns they wore were of stuff, while those of others were of silk or satin, honours the most merited and the most distinguished. It was no light thing with respect to this, that one of the most eminent men that of late years Oxford had produced—he alluded to the late Bishop Heber—had said that, so far from considering it an opprobrium that some young men from the lower ranks were brought up at the Universities, and retained there the badges of their inferior birth, he thought the fact of their being so brought up and distinguished, should be regarded as an encouragement to the young and struggling genius of the poor, instead of a degradation to them, when admitted to the Universities. The Archbishop who presided over the province of Canterbury at the commencement of the present century was one of these individuals; and in his own time, another distinguished individual had been raised to the Episcopal Bench, whom he remembered as a servitor at Christ Church. He contended, therefore, that they ought not so much to consider the temporary inferiority of these individuals during the period of their studies (for to that period alone was their inferiority limited); but rather, that it was because their position was inferior that they were thus admitted and afforded the means of attaining, like the distinguished individuals he had referred to, to so much eminence. He had trespassed for a longer period on the time of the House than he anticipated or desired; but the hon. Member for Weymouth had entered upon so many subjects in the course of his speech, he had thought it to be his duty not to omit to notice them; and if he had omitted to do so in any instance, it was not from disrespect to the hon. Member, or any indisposition to meet his statements or arguments. He should conclude by stating, that the only grounds on which the hon. Gentleman could rest his Motion was, not the wealth, not the endowments, not the great privileges of these Universities (these were historical facts); but proof of the abuse of such wealth, endowments, and privileges. Such proof had not been, and, in fact, could not be, offered, But, even if it did exist, before the hon. Member could justify his Motion, he must prove that it could not be remedied by existing tribunals, and that it could be remedied by the course which he proposed to Parliament. On these two propositions he rested his opposition to this Motion—first, that the hon. Gentleman had not proved abuse; and, secondly, that if it did exist, there were constitutional remedies provided by the Universities themselves, or other tribunals, the energies of which had not been tried or were not exhausted. He believed the experience of past visitations to the Universities were not consolatory to their friends, though they might have afforded a transient triumph to their enemies. He saw that no good was likely to result from the course pursued; but, on the contrary, experience led them to anticipate great evil; and, therefore, thanking the hon. Gentleman for the tone in which he had brought forward his Motion, and the House for the patience with which they had listened to his reasons for objecting to it, he would conclude by expressing his firm determination to oppose the Motion.

Mr. *Wyse* said, that it was not his intention to go at length into the subject, after the able speech of his hon. Friend the Member for Weymouth. He thought that the House must feel satisfied at the tone in which this debate had been conducted, as much by the hon. Baronet on the one side, as by his hon. Friend on the other. He believed that neither the House nor the country would think that this was an unimportant discussion. It was by bringing the Universities more in contact with the Legislature, and through the Legislature with public opinion, that they would raise them up to the intelligence and wants of the existing generation. There were three distinct points in the question before the House. First, the necessity for improvement and reform in the Universities; the appliancy and purpose of the Commission for such improvement and reform; and the precedents and results of such a Commission. Formerly the Universities of the Continent were little more than elementary schools, and a great number of the students were almost children. In the famous University of Paris, one part of the system was that no bachelor should teach in that University under the age of twelve years, and he must have been a resident in the University for three years. He believed that the early statutes of Oxford would show that the studies there were more calculated for the use of children than of men. A most material alteration had been made in this respect from time to time. It had been stated that the old condition was still the characteristic of the Universities of Scotland; and it had been alleged on high authority that the University of Aberdeen had too much the character of a grammar school. The result of such a state of things was to pull down the Universities to institutions for elementary education, instead of raising elementary education in them to the character befitting a University. The hon. Baronet, throughout the whole of his speech, admitted that the education in our Universities was, perhaps, too elementary. The hon. Baronet seemed to think that the only object of his hon. Friend in moving for this Commission was to correct abuses; but, as he (Mr. Wyse) understood the nature of this intended Commission, it was to inquire how far the constitution of the Universities was adapted to the exigencies and state of the present time. His hon. Friend pointed out a number of facts, which were an indication of a spirit and system which did not harmonize with the state of things in the present day. Most of the observations of the hon. Baronet confirmed the statement of his hon. Friend. What was the answer of the hon. Baronet with respect to the state of education in the two Universities? Why, that many of the pupils in their examinations answered questions which would puzzle distinguished Members of that House. Why, this might be said with regard to many of the national schools in this country. For instance, he had been present at examinations of the children of the British and Foreign School, London, and of several of the National Schools in Ireland, where questions had been put and answered satisfactorily, which would have puzzled persons of great acquirements. Such an education, however, was too elementary for the immediate purposes of the time in Universities. The hon. Baronet asked whether they would make the attendance in the botanical and geological classes compulsory, as in the Greek ~~and~~ Latin classes? His answer was, if the pupils did not attain a rank in their scientific classes, he did not see why the attendance should not be compulsory, as in the Greek and Latin classes. He did not wish to underrate the value of a knowledge of ancient literature as it existed in the Universities of this country, where not merely a knowledge of the language, but of the spirit and habits which characterized the institutions of the ancients, was inculcated. But to a knowledge of their languages, why not add a sufficient knowledge of the elements of theoretical and practical science, which were not only taught in the Universities of the Continent, but in many of the popular schools in this country? In the school annexed to the Mechanics Institution at Liverpool, there was not a pupil of any note connected with it who was not familiar with the elements of science. The hon. Baronet said that these studies could be cultivated in after life. Undoubtedly this might be the case; but did a parent or guardian ever give directions to omit the teaching of Greek or Latin, with the idea that at a future period of life a knowledge of Greek might be obtained? If they dealt with the ancient languages as they did with the natural sciences, the result would be that they would be neglected, as the study of the natural sciences were in the mature and after life of most of the Members of the Universities. The argument of the hon. Baronet was that no evil resulted from the present mode of proceeding; and he illustrated this by referring to the career of several distinguished men who had taken medical degrees at Oxford. But this would not meet the objection of his hon. Friend, for his observation did not apply to a few cases, but to the number and class of cases. With respect to another point, namely, where pupils were educated in the same classes in the Universities, whether artificial distinctions of rank should be raised. He knew when he was in the University of Dublin, a tradition of a circumstance existed which did honour to the persons concerned. It appeared that it was the custom at the period to which he referred, for the sizars of the University to wait in the hall until the fellow-commoners had dined; the latter at last became so annoyed at this, that they prayed the heads of the University to abolish the custom, which was done accordingly. It would have done honour to Lord Lyttelton and other distinguished men whose names had been mentioned, if they had attempted to get rid of these offensive distinctions between themselves and men who had not the advantages of birth and station, and who were often not merely their equals but their superiors in academic attainments. The Universities of the Continent not only differed from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, but they differed from each other. Perhaps the University of Paris differed from the Universities of this country more than any other. It not only existed in Paris, but it had branches which extended over the whole of France; and its character was more influenced by this circumstance than by the establishment in Paris. In the Universities of Germany and Italy, the four great faculties were always to be met with. In the Universities of Scotland, also, as in those of the Continent, there were the four faculties of theology, jurisprudence, medicine, and the arts. With respect to scientific education, the answer of the hon. Baronet was not sufficient in saying that distinguished men had emanated from the medical school at Oxford. No doubt there had been eminent medical men belonging to that University; but the question was how many more distinguished men might have appeared under another system, considering the great demand there was for medical men. It was to be considered what improvements might be made on this point in the Universities. The question then was, whether a Commission was a proper mode of proceeding. As for the alleged rights of the Universities, he conceived that no bodies should exist beyond inquiry at the instance of the Crown or the Legislature. It should also be recollected that such a Commission had been appointed within the last few years to inquire into the Universities of Scotland; and the hon. Baronet had himself admitted that such Commissioners had formerly been appointed to inquire into the state of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Such Commissioners had been appointed in the time of Elizabeth, of Edward VI., of Mary, and of Charles I.; and although the proceedings of some of those Commissioners might have been objectionable, still it was clear that they had been appointed without being considered derogatory to the dignity of the Universities. It was admitted, that the English Universities were not solely of Catholic origin, but that they were established partly by Catholics and partly by Protestants; and he could not see why

Catholics should be excluded from the advantages of education in such institutions. The object of his hon. Friend (Mr. Christie) was not to destroy the Universities, but accommodate them to the altered circumto stances of the country and to the new generation; and, though he was not personally connected with either of the English Universities, he felt anxious to see them placed in the most efficient condition, and he would, therefore, vote for the Motion of his hon. Friend.

Mr. *A. Hope* said, as a Member of one of the Universities, he felt deeply interested in this question. The hon. Gentleman who proposed this Motion had not forgotten now that he was Member for Weymouth, that he was lately a scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge; but he did not think his speech would carry conviction to the mind of any hon. Member, or even that the hon. Gentleman himself had great faith in his own arguments. The hon. Gentleman's speech might tell very well as an article in the *Examiner*, or *Spectator*, or *Punch;* but he did not think it would form so attractive a pamphlet as his last speech on this question. What was the object of the hon. Gentleman in moving for the appointment of this Commission? Was it to end in a blue book? He considered that the grounds on which they were called upon to revolutionize the Universities were most pitiful and miserable. What would be said if it were proposed to issue a Commission to inquire into the present condition of the House of Commons, merely because very few of the Members of that House were in the habit of attending prayers? As to the observation made in the course of the present discussion, that the collegiate system had within a very recent period overlaid the professorial system, he should only say, that the collegiate system was of very ancient date; that three centuries ago, when it was proposed to form an establishment in Dublin for the education of youth, Queen Elizabeth founded a College, and the system was then old. Then, with respect to what was said regarding the circumstances in which sizars were placed, and the reflections which had been made on the fellow-commoners of our Universities, for not having petitioned, as those of Dublin had done, for the removal of their disadvantages, he might be permitted to observe, that neither in dress nor by any outward mark whatever, were they distinguishable from the other students of the University. It was true that they sat in a particular part of the chapel, and it was also true that they dined at an hour different from the other students; but by nothing else were they to be distinguished from the great body of the members of the University; and Trinity College, Cambridge, had lately of its own accord rendered sizars eligible to College scholarships in their second year, putting them on a level with the pensioners, whereas, previously, the sizars had not been eligible till their third year. Where, then, was there any justification of the complaint about sizars, when the first college in one of the Universities had reformed all the circumstances that had been objected to? The hon. Member for Weymouth seemed to think that the members of the University had little reason to be proud of their acquirements; and that they quitted the University with the possession of little that could be called general knowledge. Now, there was really no foundation for such a charge. He would take the value of an average degree of success at the University of Cambridge. He would suppose a member of the University to take moderate and not first-rate honours both in mathematics and in classics; and in the mean time to pass with credit through his collegiate examinations; which degree he thought the purest test of the University system: such a student would then be a senior optime in the mathematical examination, and would be in the second class of the classical tripos. Students attaining that position in the University acquired, of necessity, a competent acquaintance with moral philosophy, with geometry, and other branches of pure mathematics; with algebraic analysis, and certain other sciences not comprehended in the term "pure mathematics;" as, for example, those physical sciences to which mathematics were applied, amongst which he might mention mechanics. The student would also acquire a fair knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, and such a command over the English as to be capable of elegant translation from the learned languages. Was not that as fair an amount of knowledge as young men of twenty-one or twenty-two years of age could be expected to acquire anywhere? But, in addition to this, the young men at our Universities had ample opportunities of acquiring a sound knowledge of botany and of anatomy, and of political economy. He felt it was not easy for gentlemen who had never belonged to any of our Universities to enter into the spirit of this discussion; but he was sure every one must, upon a little reflection, see the inexpediency of raising the qualification for admission into the University. If a higher degree of knowledge were demanded than was now necessary, young men of eighteen or nineteen would not repair to the Universities; and those establishments, instead of being places of education for youth, would become lottery-offices for middle age. He would, therefore, call that legislation rash which demanded further and higher qualifications than were at present required. The Universities were establishments of nice and delicate constitution; and those who had not been brought up within their walls ought to be cautious how they meddled with University regulations. He was sorry to have troubled the House at so much length, and he should not occupy their attention any further than to read a short extract from Mr. Hüber, a Prussian of distinction, who had come over here on purpose to investigate our University system, whose authority he had no doubt would have much greater weight with the House than any that he could urge. The words of Mr. Hüber were as follows: —

"That in England, and everywhere else, authority is vested in the State, when circumstances require to make changes in the statutes of the Universities, need not be insisted on here. Yet every authority may be abused, and what is the right use of it can be settled only on moral grounds. If a corporation has flagrantly neglected its duties, and more particularly those which concern its especial vocation, the higher powers would, doubtless, be bound to supply the deficiency; but the presumption should always be in favour of the corporation and its good intentions; nor ought any rash interference to take place without the greatest caution, and as the most extreme resource. Thus, although it would be the greatest folly to deny that a visitation empowered by the King in Parliament might constitutionally introduce any changes whatever at the Universities, it is no less true that such an interference would be the greatest stupidity and the most crying iniquity. Iniquity as opposed to illegality is the only injustice which can possibly be committed by the King in Parliament; for do what they will is legal. Before rash interference can be justifiable, a proof must be brought, most convincing to all unprejudiced persons of the time, well acquainted with the facts, of that which has hitherto never been proved at all—namely, that the results to be obtained by such a measure are exclusively and unconditionally required by the laws of God and man, and by the vocations for which the Universities were founded, and cannot be had by the voluntary agency of the Universities themselves."

Looking, then, at the constitution of our ancient Universities, and looking at the opinions which enlightened foreigners entertain with respect to them, he did hope that the hon. Member for Weymouth would withdraw his Motion.

Mr. *Hume* said, with reference to what had fallen from the hon. Member who had just addressed the House, he should observe, that, whether the proceedings and speeches of the hon. and learned Member for Weymouth were or were not made the subject of an article in the *Spectator* or the *Examiner*, the hon. Member for Maidstone might consider himself fortunate if his own name did not appear in *Punch*. The hon. Member told them to beware of touching the Universities; but the Motion before the House was to pray Her Majesty to grant a Commission, not to pull down or rob the Universities, or interfere with their privileges, but to inquire into all matters relating to their revenues and trusts, and to the state of education, learning and religion in those institutions. The ground on which he (Mr. Hume) supported this Motion was, that those Universities were national establishments. It had been said that they were private property; now, if that were the case, they belonged to the Catholics; but, if they were public property transferred to their present possessors by the authority of Parliament, then they came within the range of Parliamentary inquiry. Was it not singular that the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were the only Universities exempted from Parliamentary inquiry? He was anxious to have inquiry for the purpose of ascertaining what were the statutes which prohibited all those who were not members of the Church of England from enjoying the advantage of those establishments. He could not conceive anything more injurious to the general education of the country than having a national establishment limiting its instruction to a certain class. At the time those institutions were founded, as the hon. Member for Waterford remarked, no difference of religious opinion was allowed. Conformity was then the law, and, consequently, every individual in the country was admissible to the benefits of those establishments. That was not the case at present; and the result was that Roman Catholics and other Dissenters—amounting to about one-half of the community, were excluded from those Universities. He thought those institutions should give instructions to all classes, and if their funds were insufficient, he should not object to a Parliamentary grant for that purpose. He hoped that if the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government did not think fit to grant a Commission, he would state the reasons why those colleges should be exempt from inquiry. He (Mr. Hume) should certainly support the Motion.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, that had he only been called upon to address the House on the present question in his capacity as one of the Members for the University of Cambridge, he should not have considered it necessary to say anything in reply to the Motion of the hon. Member for Weymouth; for, having listened to his speech with great attention, he had heard nothing in so far as the University with which he had the honour to be connected was concerned, which in any way affected or impugned the manner in which they discharged the sacred trust committed to the charge of that institution; still less had there been anything urged which could be construed into a censure upon the proceedings of that University, or any abuses or mismanagement alleged to exist which it required the strong arm of power to remedy. He should, therefore, have been content to rest on the good sense of the House as to the propriety of employing the cumbrous machinery of a Parliamentary inquiry against an establishment with respect to which no breach of trust or violation of duty was alleged to have been committed. But it was in his capacity as a Member of Parliament, and also as a Member of the Government, that he felt called upon to state to the House the course which he felt it incumbent on him to take with respect to the present Motion. A proposal to appoint such a Commission as was contemplated by the terms of the Motion, and the interposition of an Address of the House of Commons to the Crown to appoint such a Commission, were no light measures to take. Such a course of proceeding was only adopted as an instrument of reform where great evils and abuses were known to exist. But these measures were not weapons to be called into everyday use for the mere purpose of gratifying a prurient curiosity or elucidating a favourite theory. Hon. Gentlemen might think it better for young men to be educated under professors than by the aid of private tutors; but such questions were more fit for discussion and decision elsewhere. They did not call for a Parliamentary Commission; nor was such an instrument required—even if it could be properly applied—to examine into the revenues, discipline, and statutes of the Universities. The hon. Member for Montrose had argued in favour of the Motion, upon the ground that if there were no abuses to correct in the Universities, why should the House refuse to appoint a Commission? He (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) had heard the same argument applied in the case of individuals. He had heard it said, "Put a man upon his trial, and if not guilty, you will prove his innocence." But he was not of that opinion. The very fact of putting a man upon his trial implied a censure upon his conduct; and it often happened that, although the innocence of the individual arraigned might be satisfactorily proved, the consequences of his accusation remained behind, and the world at large held him to have been culpable, solely because he had been put upon his trial. Such he had often observed to have been the effect upon the public mind with respect to the accusation and trial of individuals; and how much more strongly did this apply to the two Universities—how much more was it calculated to produce more serious consequences? It was no light matter to enter upon an inquiry such as that contemplated by the Motion, in places devoted to the education of young men. He believed that the same habits pervaded the University of Oxford, as were prevalent in the establishment with which he was connected; but, at all events, he could speak with confidence, as far as the University of Cambridge was concerned, when he stated that such an inquiry as that which it was proposed by the Motion before the House to institute, would most materially interfere with the duties of the various professors and teachers; would prevent the course of education from being regularly pursued; would beget differences of opinion, and raise controversies amongst the authorities of the University, first, as to the nature and legality of the inquiries; then, as to the propriety and expediency of the course of education pursued; and, finally, would have the effect of throwing doubt upon the existing system, and unsettling every man in the University, and rendering him unfit for the performance of his duties so long as the inquiry continued. If great abuses had been imputed—if there had been a great misapplication of revenue—if an indifference to the trust confided to them had been implied—if they saw that the Universities sent forth nothing but ignorance and immorality into the land,—there might have been some more plausible ground for this course of proceeding—there might then have been some ground for suspending the course of education whilst inquiries were instituted; but he did say, that in the absence of such imputation (and no such imputation had been made—the contrary, indeed, had been implied by the hon. Member for Montrose), it was no part of the duty of that House, or of the Government, to sanction an inquiry which could produce no ultimate useful result; but which must produce a great extent of immediate disarrangement, the consequences of which would continue to be felt for a long series of years. It had been stated in the course of the debate, that the Universities were antiquated establishments; that they had not kept pace with the spirit of the times; that they had taken no measures to adapt themselves to the altered wants of the community. He begged most distinctly to deny the assertion. The hon. Member who had introduced the debate had read an extract from a work of the Dean of Ely, whose name he could never mention without the profoundest respect and affection, to the effect that there were great objections to the existing statutes of the Universities, and to the mode in which oaths were administered with respect to the observance of the statutes; but the hon. Gentleman, when bringing that indictment (so to speak) against the Universities, and stating the opinions of a distinguished man with respect to the state of things that existed in the Universities, might, in candour, have added what he thought could not have been unknown to the hon. Gentleman, that the objections raised by the Dean of Ely had, with the consent of the Crown and the approbation of the visitors, been since that time removed. The hon. Gentleman also must have known that the oaths that were taken at the University had, by a decree of the Senate of the University, been abandoned in most instances; and parties were now only required to affirm that they would subject themselves to the statutes, or that they would submit patiently to the penalties which the statutes imposed; a declaration harmless in itself, and one which, he maintained, was necessary to insure the proper obedience of those who went to study at that seat of learning. As regarded the improvement of these institutions, the pledge that had been given ten years ago by the Chancellor of the University of Cambridge in the House of Lords, had been to a great extent fulfilled, and was in the course of fulfilment in the colleges, the statutes of which had not yet been revised; for it was known to every one connected with that University that the statutes of the several colleges not yet revised, were in the course of revision, and that they would at no distant period be placed on a footing (concurrently with the consent of the Crown and the approbation of the visitors) which would remove from them the objections which had at a former period been urged against them. But the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Wyse) doubted whether the Universities kept pace in knowledge and science with the progress of the age; and said that in earlier times the colleges were places where children were sent for the elementary portion of their education, as well as for the study of the higher walks of science; but if the hon. Gentleman had had a greater knowledge of the Universities, he would have seen that so far from adhering to that elementary system of education—so far from continuing the use of those particular works which, by the original statutes, were ordered to be read in the different classes, the colleges had enlarged their sphere, and had embraced a circle of knowledge commensurate with the improved science of the age, and with the extended knowledge of literature throughout Europe and the world. It had been said in the course of the debate, as it had been said before, that a classical and mathematical education was not the object to which the minds of youth should be confined during the time that they were going through the University course. That was, with some persons, a popular argument; but it was an extremely disputable point, and one which he did not think it was possible properly to discuss in that House; he feared that if the House were to attempt to lay down by law what was absolutely the best practical system of education, they might not be very successful. Mr. Whewell, the present learned Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, had, with great ability, laid it down in a work which he had published upon this subject, that there were the best reasons for limiting the early instruction of youth to the acquirement of means which might hereafter enable them to bring forth fruit, in preference to diverting the mind at an early age to that variety of science enumerated by the hon. Member for Waterford as the necessary object of an University education. Into that subject, however, he did not feel himself then bound to inquire; neither did he think it necessary to the discussion of the present question. What were they, as rational men, to look to in judging of the system of education at present pursued? They were not to regard what was done in the particular lecture-room of this or of that college; but if they acted upon any intelligible principle, they must look to the effect of the system upon the individuals who came from the Universities, and who entered on different professions in this country. Let them look at the young men who went forth from the Universities in the clerical profession; let them see how they performed the duties of their calling—how they undertook the task of administering to the relief and comforts of the poor—how they enlightened those amongst whom it was their lot to be placed—and how in their station they rendered themselves useful in the highest degree. Let them take University men in other stations of life—the law, for example; and let them see how they rose there. The men who had attained the highest honours at the bar were the men who attained the highest honours at the University. It had been said by one hon. Gentleman that college honours were only useful as a means of temporary favour amongst a man's contemporaries, and that they produced no ultimate good. How did it stand with respect to the Judges and the Bar at this moment? The Lord Chancellor was second wrangler—he achieved high honours at the University—he has obtained high honours in political and legal life; Lord Langdale, the present Master of the Rolls, was a senior wrangler at Cambridge; Sir F. Pollock, senior wrangler; Chief Justice Tindal, a wrangler; Sir L. Shadwell, senior wrangler; Baron Alderson, senior wrangler; Mr. Justice Maule, also senior wrangler; Baron Parke, and Mr. Justice Coltman, both wranglers; all of them men attaining to distinction, both in classics and in science, at the Universities, and marching at once straight forward to the head of their profession, on emerging from that school which they were now told rendered men unfit for the ordinary occupations of life. But it had been said that in science and in history we had no men to be compared with the scientific, literary, and historical men of other times. He might in answer to that refer at once to Mr. Hallam, who had been alluded to by his hon. Friend the Member for Oxford, as an instance of a man who, as an historian, would stand comparison with the members of any University, or with any man not a member of a University. He did not speak disparagingly of Mr. Bailey, or of Mr. Mill, to whom the hon. Gentleman had referred; but he did say that the Universities had sent forth many men as able and as distinguished. Take the line of science —where would they find men to rank with Sir John Herschell and Mr. Airey? He would put it to any man, where were superior men to be found in any University, on the Continent or elsewhere? If he were to read the whole list of literary men, he should only fatigue the House with the number; but he might add to Mr. Hallam, Dr. Thirlwall, the present Bishop of St. David's, Mr. Merivale, Dr. Gaisford, Mr. Donaldson, the Bishop of London, and the Bishop of Gloucester—eminent alike as divines, and for their knowledge of the learned languages. And was he then to admit that the Universities did not send forth men eminent and distinguished in their respective walks of life, or that they were to be made the subject of distrust on account of the insufficient manner in which they discharged their duties? In reference to men distinguished for science, he could not refrain from naming Professor Sedgwick and Professor Buckland; names as eminent —he might say more eminent—than any that could be found in their particular branch on the Continent. He might, indeed, sum up all as to our non-advancement in the contemporary literature of the age, by naming the present Master of Trinity, Mr. Whewell, who had given to the world a work upon philosophy which would raise him to the highest point of eminence amongst men of science, and which would elevate him, if not above, at least to a level, with those illustrious individuals to whom he had referred. With respect next to the particular question, whether the tutorial or the professorial system were preferable, whether the English or the German were the better?—in England, University education partook in some degree of domestic tuition. The conduct and morals of the young men were watched, their habits were observed. In Germany, the case was different. Individuals thrown into a University chose what professors they would attend, and attended or not, as best suited their fancy. There was not, in fact, that degree of control exercised there that existed in our Universities; there was not that superintendence which he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) maintained was essential to the good government of youth, and which, independent of literary purposes, was necessary to make them good members of society. He should have felt a delicacy in depending solely upon his own judgment with reference to Germany. He preferred trusting to a work of Professor Robinson, who was well able to give an honest and independent opinion upon this subject. Professor Robinson said, in his *Concise View of Education in the German Universities*:—

> "If we look now for a moment at the actual state and character of the German Universities, we shall find, along with all their vast and acknowledged advantages, several great and prominent evils, some of which have crept gradually into practice, and are susceptible of correction, while others are inherent in the system itself. Of the former kind is the want of personal intercourse between the professors and students. As a general fact, most of the professors have no intercourse whatever with their pupils except in the lecture-rooms. They take no interest in them any further than to induce them, if possible, to attend their own lectures, and thus obtain the fee; but do not take the trouble to inquire whether a young man properly improves his time, nor whether he has chosen the best course of study, or the best means to help him forward in his progress. Any parental interest in a young man, or watch over his moral development, is a thing, generally speaking, entirely unknown. Individual professors do, indeed, occasionally invite a few of their own particular pupils to their houses, but rather as a matter of ceremony than out of any regard to their moral or intellectual culture."

But any parental interest or any watch over the morals of the students were entirely unknown. That was, he admitted with this Gentleman, a great evil, and it would attend the system which hon. Gentlemen would, if they had the will, introduce. Whatever defects there might be in the English Universities, he thought that the continuance of something like parental control was not a ground on which the House would call upon the Crown to issue a Commission for the purpose of inquiring into the state of the Universities The hon. Gentleman had stated that with respect to medical men the English Universities were miserably deficient. He said, if they looked to Cambridge and Oxford there were only 12 degrees granted to doctors in physic, while at the University of London, 120 degrees of doctor in physic were granted during the same time. He must observe, however, that the number of degrees conferred afforded no very accurate test of the eminence of the men who received them. He doubted whether it was best that an University should liberally grant degrees to medical men, rather than restrict them to those who should be in every way qualified. This at least he could say, that the physician who was the most eminent medical man of the present day, was a member of the University of Cambridge—he referred to Dr. Chambers, with respect to whom every one admitted, that if the University had conferred a degree on him alone, it could successfully maintain its claim of not sending forth a person who was not in every way qualified to maintain the reputation of his country. The hon. Member for Maidstone had referred to other topics which the hon. Member for Weymouth had brought forward; surely they were not subjects which would influence the House to ask for so solemn a proceeding as the issue of a Commission. Was it enough to say that there was a distinction in favour of noblemen, and that they sat at a higher table in the hall; or was it any accusation that in this early stage of life, and in the Universities, noblemen should receive that respect and precedence which their birth entitled them to in every other society? Surely it was not inconsistent with decorum that this respect should not be withheld from those who were entitled to it. Although, however, there might be a distinction of rank maintained in the University, that did not separate the highest from the lowest; and for himself he was proud to say, that he had communication with men of all ranks, and that amongst the lower were those for whom he entertained the sincerest friendship and regard, and to whose acquaintance at the University he looked back with the sincerest pleasure. When the hon. Gentleman said that it had been the custom for the sizars to perform menial offices, and to wait upon those who had higher rank and station, but not superior knowledge, he only so far afforded an argument against inquiry, since the Universities had themselves kept pace with the spirit of the age, and had discarded usages which had been, in earlier times, common to them as well as to other societies. The last topic to which the hon. Gentleman had adverted as an argument for requiring the interposition of the House, and on which the hon. Member for Montrose principally insisted was, that similar inquiries had been made into the Scottish Universities; and, therefore, said he, because, with respect to the Scottish Universities, which were then in a very defective state, the Crown had issued a Commission here, it ought to issue one to inquire into the English Universities, where no defects exist. He said, however, that the circumstances were entirely different in the two cases. In the case of the Scotch Universities, a Commission was needed: abuses had previously existed; inquiry had been sought for by the Universities, and had led to reforms and improvements. It was then said that they ought to issue a Commission, because no religious test ought to be applied in the Universities. That had been a question of frequent discussion, and he had more than once expressed his opinion upon it. He said, again, with respect to the University with which he was connected, that there was no restriction of education to persons of any creed, provided the party would conform to the rules for education laid down in the University. It was true that there was a religious test applied on taking that degree, which would enable the individual to become a governing Member of the Church; and it was then required that, in addition to the pledge of loyalty to the State, he should give a pledge that he did conform to the doctrines of the established religion of the country. This did not prevent young men, desirous of obtaining education, from conforming to the regulations of the place; there were many who did so conform, and had all the benefit which an University education could supply. After the discussions that had taken place on this subject, he did not think it becoming in him to detain the House by entering into further details upon particular points. He remained of the opinion he had before expressed, that the hon. Gentleman had made out no case for any interference, or for the course of proceeding he recommended; he was calling forth the extreme power of the constitution, and could not hope to do more than gratify individual curiosity; and such a proceeding was neither politic with regard to the country, nor respectful towards the Universities. It was interfering with the course of education as at present conducted: he had shown that it was conducted faithfully, and that the results were good. The course now proposed would only lead to bickering in the Universities, and to disputes out of them: it would suspend useful progress, and the result would be the same as the former ill-judged Commission, which was admitted by the parties themselves to have produced evil rather than good.

Viscount *Palmerston* would say a few words before voting for the Motion of his hon. Friend; and if any person in that House had been convinced by the able and eloquent speech of his hon. Friend, he did not think that conviction would be shaken by the speech they had just heard from the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, because he was bound to say that the speech, especially in the part refusing inquiry, both in its argument and its line of topics, carried him back to the happy period when they were members of the debating society in their University, and when in their speculative society they were discussing a question which could lead to no practical result, as it could in a body like the House of Commons. The right hon. Gentleman went into an argument against a Commission which would be a bar to any inquiry. If the argument had come from the hon. and gallant Member for Lincoln, who had an intuitive aversion to every Commission, it would be perfectly consistent and intelligent; but an argument so stout against any inquiry coming from the Member of a Government which had not abstained from all inquiry, but had issued Commissions, and might probably issue others, did not seem to be an argument which was likely to carry much weight. It was not on the ground of censure by issuing a Commission that he voted for his hon. Friend's Motion. He implied no blame; he implied no breach of trust; he would not, on the other hand, deny the great merit, neither would he diminish the value of these institutions; he had no doubt that the system of education had been attended by great and important benefits, and that it had produced to the State many great and eminent men. With regard to the profession of the law in particular, he and the right hon. Gentleman had the honour to belong to the University of Cambridge, which was justly proud that the results of the mental discipline there, and the severe studies of mathematics, and the exact sciences, had produced such results in the law. But it was not enough to say that a great institution like the University of Cambridge had produced a great number of able and distinguished men; and if it could be assumed that the system of education was capable of improvement, it was no reflection that a Commission should issue which might lead to an improvement in the system at present existing. The right hon. Gentleman admitted that great improvements had been made; yet if a Motion had been brought forward previously to their being made, he would venture to say that it would have been met by the same arguments as were now used. The only argument against his hon. Friend's Motion was, that the Universities contained within themselves the power, and that they had the disposition, to make all such improvements as a Commission would suggest. Without making any reflection, he doubted in the first place whether they had the power, and in the next whether it could be expected that they should find in them the disposition. Men brought up in one system, when they were called upon to act with respect to it, had their minds accustomed to the particular state of things which existed; and it could not be expected that men in their situation should view things in the same light as persons unconnected with the institution, and of different creeds. Therefore, with every disposition in the leading men of the Universities to make any improvements in their power, it was quite impossible in the nature of men that they should bring to the examination of the question the same impartial and uninfluenced view as Commissioners appointed by the Crown and by Parliament. Without imputing any blame to the Universities, and with every disposition to give them credit for the merit to which they were justly entitled, he thought his hon. Friend ought to succeed in the Motion he had proposed to the House. He would venture to say, moreover, that some of the most distinguished men in the University of Cambridge, to which he had the honour to belong—he could not speak of Oxford—were of opinion that inquiry would be advantageous to the Universities themselves. The right hon. Gentleman said he would not discuss the relative merits of professorial and tutorial education; but, that if one particular system was not successful, he would give due consideration to the advantages that might arise from another. That was an argument why a Commission should be appointed; because Commissioners, coming to the inquiry without habitual prejudices, would be able to enter into those discussions for carrying on which the right hon. Gentleman said that Parliament was not fitted, and which could not be carried on impartially in the Universities. The last point which the right hon. Gentleman referred to, also formed a ground—and a strong ground—why a Commission should be appointed—he meant the expediency of inquiring whether you could not extend more amply to persons of different religious persuasions the means of attaining not only the education, but the honours of the Universities. It was very well to say that the doors of the Universities were open to all who wished to go through the course of study adopted in these Universities, and that no test was imposed with regard to religion. But he would ask, why were not the honours, which were an incentive to study, open to all? It was a fallacy to say that you admitted Dissenters to all the benefits of the system of education pursued in the Universities, if you debarred them from obtaining those honours which were the impelling cause to exertion and study. Then, again, if they considered University education in the light in which the right hon. Gentleman had adverted to it—as a means of cementing friendships which were to last for life, and of bringing together persons from different branches of society, and producing that equality which the accidental circumstances of birth and social position did not favour—considering the question in that light, he would ask could anything be more beneficial for the social interests of the country than so to arrange your plan of education, that persons of all religions might assemble and associate together, and thus form and establish friendships calculated to extinguish all the bitterness of religious distinction, and which the future circumstances of life could never destroy? Upon that ground also he conceived that his hon. Friend had made out a case which had not been in the least degree shaken by what had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman; and without detaining the House longer, he would merely say, that he should support the Motion.

The House divided:—Ayes 82; Noes 143:—Majority 61.

List of the Ayes.

Aglionby, H. A.
Aldam, W.
Armstrong, Sir A.
Baring, rt. hon. F. T.
Barnard, E. G.
Bellew, R. M.
Berkeley, hon. C.
Blewitt, R. J.
Bouverie, hon. E. P.
Bowes, J.
Bowring, Dr.
Brotherton, J.
Browne, hon. W.
Bulkeley, Sir R. W.
Busfeild, W.
Byng, rt. hon. G. S.
Chapman, B.
Childers, J. W.
Colborne, hn. W. N. R.
Collett, J.
Currie, R.
Curteis, H. B.
Dalmeny, Lord
Dawson, hon. T. V.
Dennistoun, J.
Divett, E.
Duke, Sir J.
Duncan, G.
Duncombe, T.
Ebrington, Visct.
Elphinstone, H.
Etwall, R.
Evans, W.
Ferguson, Col.
Forster, M.
Gibson, T. M.
Heathcoat, J.
Heneage, E.
Hill, Lord M.
Hindley, C.
Horsman, E.
Howard, hn. C. W. G.
Hume, J.
Hutt, W.
Langston, J. H.
Marjoribanks, S.
Marsland, H.
Matheson, J.
Mitcalfe, H.
Mitchell, T. A.
Morris, D.
Murray, A.
Oswald, J.
Paget, Lord A.
Palmerston, Visct.
Parker, J.
Pechell, Capt.
Pigot, rt. hon. D.
Pulsford, R.
Rawdon, Col.
Redington, T. N.
Russell, Lord E.
Rutherfurd, A.
Shelburne, Earl of
Stanley, hon. W. O.
Stansfield, W. R. C.
Stewart, P. M.
Stuart, W. V.
Strickland, Sir G.
Strutt, E.
Tancred, H. W.
Thornely, T.
Traill, G
Trelawny, J. S.
Tufnell, H.
Warburton, H.
Ward, H. G.
Wawn, J. T.
Williams, W.
Worsley, Lord
Wyse, T.
Yorke, H. R.

TELLERS.
Christie, W. D.
Ewart, W.

List of the Noes.

Ackers, J.
Acland, T. D.
Adare, Visct.
Antrobus, E.
Arbuthnott, hon. H.
Arkwright, G.
Bailey, J. jun.
Baring, H. B.
Baring, rt. hon. W. B.
Baskerville, T. B. M.
Blackburne, J. I.
Blackstone, W. S.
Boldero, H. G.
Borthwick, P.
Botfield, B.
Bowles, Adm.
Broadley, H.
Bruce, Lord E.
Buckley, E.
Cardwell, E.
Carew, W. H. P.
Chelsea, Visct.
Christopher, R. A.
Chute, W. L. W.
Clayton, R. R.
Clerk, rt. hon. Sir G.
Clive, Visct.
Clive, hon. R. H.
Cockburn, rt. hn. Sir G.
Colvile, C. R.
Compton, H. C.
Copeland, Ald.
Corry, rt. hon. H.
Courtenay, Lord
Cripps, W.
Damer, hon. Col.
Darby, G.
Denison, E. B.
Dickinson, F. H.
Douglas, Sir C. E.
Drummond, H. H.
Du Pre, C. G.
East, J. B.
Eaton, R. J.
Egerton, Sir P.
Emlyn, Visct.
Entwisle, W.
Escott, B.
Estcourt, T. G. B.
Feilden, W.
Filmer, Sir E.
Ffolliott, J.
Forbes, W.
Forman, T. S.
Fremantle, rt. hn. Sir T.
Gaskell, J. Milnes
Gladstone, rt. hn. W. E.
Gladstone, Capt.
Gordon, hon. Capt.
Goring, C.
Goulburn, rt. hon. H.
Graham, rt. hn. Sir J.
Greenall, P.
Greene, T.
Grimsditch, T.
Grimston, Visct.
Hale, R. B.
Halford, Sir H.
Hamilton, G. A.
Hamilton, Lord C.
Harcourt, G. G.
Harris, hon. Capt.
Henley, J. W.
Herbert, rt. hon. S.
Holmes, hn. W. A'C.
Hope, G. W.
Hornby, J.
Houldsworth, T.
Hussey, A.
Hussey, T.
Irton, S.
Jermyn, Earl
Jocelyn, Visct.
Jones, Capt.
Knight, F. W.
Law, hon. C. E.
Lawson, A.
Lefroy, A.
Lennox, Lord A.
Liddell, hon. H. T.
Lincoln, Earl of
Lockhart, W.
Long, W.
Lowther, Sir J. H.
Lowther, hon. Col.
Lyall, G.
Lygon, hon. Gen.
Mackenzie, T.
Mackenzie, W. F.
Mackinnon, W. A.
Maclean, D.
McGeachy, F. A.
McNeill, D.
Mahon, Visct.
Manners, Lord J.
Masterman, J.
Morgan, O.
Neeld, J.
Neeld, J.
Neville, R.
Newdegate, C. N.
Newport, Visct.
Nicholl, rt. hon. J.
Norreys, Lord
O'Brien, A. S.
Oswald, A.
Peel, rt. hon. Sir R.
Peel, J.
Polhill, F.
Praed, W. T.
Pringle, A.
Repton, G. W. J.
Richards, R.
Round, C. G.
Russell, J. D. W.
Shaw, rt. hon. F.
Shirley, E. J.
Shirley, E. P.
Sibthorp, Col.
Smith, A.
Smith, rt. hn. T. B. C.
Somerset, Lord G.
Sotheron, T. H. S.
Spooner, R.
Stuart, H.
Sutton, hon. H. M.
Talbot, C. R. M.
Tennent, J. E.
Trench, Sir F. W.
Villiers, Visct.
Waddington, H. S.
Wellesley, Lord C.
Young, J.

TELLERS.
Inglis, Sir R. H.
Hope, A.

Statute Labour (Scotland).] Mr. *Home Drummond* moved for leave to bring in a Bill to amend the laws concerning Highways, Bridges, and Ferries in Scotland, and the making and maintaining thereof by Statute Service and the conversion of Statute Service into money. He said, he had no intention to supersede the Local Acts. The circumstances of different countries were so different, that the same regulations could not apply to all; but in many particulars, such as matters of police, uniformity might be introduced without much difference of opinion. He had no desire, however, to raise any discussion merely for the sake of uniformity; but there were one or two points to which he attached considerable importance, and to which he wished to direct the attention of the House. Gentlemen connected with Scotland knew that the highways were formerly made and maintained in a great measure by compulsory labour. In former times this was probably the only mode by which the object could be accomplished; but now that labour has been commuted into a pecuniary tax, he thought it highly inexpedient that such a tax should be levied from persons who have no taxable property. From many persons now liable, it is impossible to levy it. The tax is partially levied, and sometimes those who are not the most necessitous escape. It is, therefore, unjustly levied; and the collection is attended with very considerable expense, and in some places is hardly consistent with the peace of the country. He proposed, therefore, to exempt all persons from payment who are not proprietors or occupiers of houses rented or valued at 5*l.* yearly. He should also propose to prohibit the recovery of arrears after the year for which the assessment is made, and to make some other regulations, with the detail of which he did not wish to trouble the House at present. Time would be allowed for the Bill to go to Scotland for consideration, and he would not move for the Committee until the sentiments of the meetings of the 30th of April next were known.

Leave given. Bill brought in and read a first time.

EXPENSE OF REGIMENTS.] Mr. *Hume* moved for various Returns to illustrate the cost of the Guards and other regiments.

Colonel *Sibthorp* complained of the voluminous nature of the returns, and of the expense to which they would put the country. He was sure that the various corps of the Army affected by the Motion need not fear any species of publicity; but he wished to know on what grounds the Motion was made, and whether any and what ulterior proceeding was intended when the information was obtained. He had himself been long in Her Majesty's service, though now separated from it, and engaged in a career of less glory and bloodshed, still the contests were not without their perils and inconveniences.

Mr. *Hume* replied, that all he wanted was such a return as had been made twenty-four years ago, the whole of which did not more than fill a single sheet of paper. When he had obtained his information, he would decide what course he would take upon it.

Mr. *Craven Berkeley* agreed with the hon. and gallant Colonel opposite, that every information received respecting the proceedings and arrangements of those gallant corps would redound to their honour and glory. But he wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman the War Secretary whether he (Mr. S. Herbert) had any objection to lay on the Table a copy of a certain warrant lately issued from the Horse Guards? If his information were right, the two regiments of Life Guards had, in the issue of the warrant in question, been ill treated by the authorities of the Horse Guards. It appeared that the Royal Regiment of Horse Guards Blue were in a state of debt; and that, in consequence of this, the authorities at the Horse Guards had ordered a portion of the allowances of the two regiments of Life Guards for remounting, equipage, &c., to be given to the Blues. It surely was not fair to the commanding officers of the Life Guards that the allowances of their regiments should be taken away to be handed over to a regiment which had got itself into debt. He might be told that the Blues received less when stationed in London than the Life Guards did—but let them look at the difference in the cost of clothing. He had seen a whole year's clothing of a regiment of Life Guards spoilt in one day's review, or by one day's attendance at one of Her Majesty's drawing-rooms. Another matter that would press hard on the Life Guards was the expenses of the two bands, heretofore defrayed from the regimental funds, which were to be thrown upon the officers. This expense was 350*l.* per year, a paltry sum to the public, but of very great importance to the officers of the regiments. Considering the great expenses of their clothing and accoutrements, and that the Colonels of both regiments would allow the officers to ride only black horses, it was really unfair to cast this burden on them. He had nothing to say against these paltry arrangements, if it were the House's determination to deprive Her Majesty of a corps that was the pride of the Service, and the admiration of every foreigner who came to visit the shores of England. But if it were not their determination to remove from Her Majesty that proper pomp by which her people liked to see her surrounded when making her appearance on public occasions, he must protest, in the first place, against the unfairness of transferring part of the emoluments of the Guards to a regiment that had got itself into debt; and he protested, secondly, against the false and paltry economy of making the Life Guards' officers pay the band that were in attendance every other week on Her Majesty, and formed part of that decent and proper pomp that ought to surround her.

Mr. *S. Herbert* was willing and anxious to give every information as to the relative cost of the Guards and of the regiments of the Line. He admitted that the Guards were somewhat more expensive, and he should be quite ready to defend that additional expense—for he agreed that it was right that Her Majesty's body-guard should be composed of troops whose appearance and accoutrements were fitted for the decent pomp of state. The hon. and gallant Gentleman who had last spoken had rather overstated the loss that would accrue to the two regiments of Life Guards by the new arrangements. It was true that the allowance hitherto made to the Blues for clothing was not sufficient; it was not true that the pecuniary embarrassment of the regiment had been caused by mismanagement. He, as a civilian, was scarcely enabled to express an opinion on the detail question; but the new arrangements had been made by the Board, which was composed of general officers, and who thought that the allowance to the Blues was insufficient, and that given to the Life Guards more than enough. It had also the authority and sanction of Sir H. Hardinge and of the Commander-in-Chief; and he (Mr. Herbert) could not think that there was a ground to complain of ill-usage on this score—on the score, he meant, of the warrant alluded to by the hon. Gentleman, and directing part of the Life Guards' allowances to be issued to the Blues. With respect to the loss that would be sustained by the officers of the Life Guards through defraying the expenses of the band, it would in reality amount to only 130*l.* yearly for each regiment, and this would scarcely be felt from an income of several thousands. He doubted not that the ability, the liberality, and independence of the Life Guards' officers would prevent these small matters from causing any inconvenience to their regiments, while the Blues would derive great advantage from the arrangements.

Returns ordered.

House adjourned at twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, April 11, 1845.

Minutes.] Bills. *Public.*—1$^{a.}$ Mutiny; Glass Duties; Marine Mutiny; Thames Navigation Debt; St. Asaph and Bangor and Manchester Dioceses.

2$^{a.}$ Lands Clauses Consolidation; Lands Clauses Consolidation (Scotland); Railway Clauses Consolidation; Railway Clauses Consolidation (Scotland).

3$^{a.}$ and passed:—Sugar Duties.

Private.—2$^{a.}$ Sparrows Herne Road.

Reported.—Birkenhead Company's Docks.

Petitions Presented. From Landowners and others of Idlicote, and an immense number of other places, for the Repeal of the Malt Tax.—From Wigan, for the better Observance of the Sabbath.—From Wesleyan Methodists of Thirsk, and numerous other Bodies and Congregations, for the Suppression of Intemperance.—By Bishop of Lichfield, and Earl Powis, from Clergy and others of Meiford, and several other places, against the Union of St. Asaph and Bangor.—By Earl Powis, from Clergy and others of Llansantffiaid-Glyn-Ceiriog, and numerous other places, against the Union of St Asaph and Bangor, but in favour of the Appointment of a Bishop to the See of Manchester.—By Earls Powis, Sefton, and Eglintoun, Bishops of Cashel, London, and Winchester, Marquesses of Normanby, and Lansdowne, and by Lords Kenyon and Denman, from Minister and Congregation of Bradford, and an immense number of other places, against Increase of Grant to Maynooth.—By Bishop of Cashel, from Ballycaney, and several other places, for Encouragement of Schools in connexion with Church Education Society (Ireland).—From Guardians of Clutton Union, for Alteration of Poor Law Amendment Act.—By Earl Powis, from Ysceifiog, and several other places in Wales, for the Establishment of Local Courts, and that the Judges to be appointed to said Courts may be required to have a knowledge of the Welsh Language.—By Lord Lyttleton, from Guardians of Bromsgrove and Luton Unions, for Alteration of Law relating to the Rating of Small Tenements.—By Duke of Hamilton, and Earl of Eglintoun, from County of Lanark, against any Alteration in the present system of Banking (Scotland).—From South Shields, for adopting Measures for the Prevention of Accidents on Railways, and to provide compensation in cases of Death.—From Presbyteries of Hamilton, and 3 other places, for Improving the Condition of Schoolmasters (Scotland).—By Earl of Haddington, from County of East Lothian, for Alteration of Game Laws.—By Bishops of Ripon, Winchester, and London, from Ventnor, and several other places, for the better regulation of Beer Houses, especially on the Sabbath.—From Parish of Saint Mary-le-bone, for Inquiry touching the Care and Management of Lunatics.—From Baptists of Bradford, for the Severance of Church and State.—By Lord Monteagle, from Directors of Chamber of Commerce at Manchester, against the Sugar Duties Bill.

Maynooth.] Earl *Powis* having presented eighteen Petitions against the increased Grant to Maynooth,

The Marquess of *Normanby* wished to ask whether these latter petitions could be received consistently with the Orders of the House. He believed it was not the practice of their Lordships' House to receive petitions on a measure yet pending before the other House. It was of little importance which way the point was decided; but it was desirable to have a rule laid down upon it, as there were a great many petitions upon the subject. Having the misfortune to differ from the petitioners, he was the more anxious not to be supposed unwilling to present those intrusted to him; but he really had not brought them down, supposing it premature.

The Duke of *Wellington* said, there was no Order of the House; but the practice was, not to receive petitions against a particular Bill till it was before their Lordships. Petitions, however, against a principle, or generally against any measure of a certain description, might be presented.

Lord *Brougham* said, the noble Duke had stated the practice accurately, as he always did.

The Marquess of *Normanby* observed, that the petitions from the Wesleyans were certainly against the measure introduced by Government in the other House.

The Earl of *Shaftesbury* (who was sitting as Speaker till the arrival of the Lord Chancellor) said, that a rule of the House forbad the presentation of petitions against a particular measure while it was under discussion in the other House of Parliament, on the principle that before it reached their Lordships' House the Bill might be very materially altered. The rule did not apply to petitions praying generally against "any further grant" to Maynooth, but only to those whose prayer was directed to the particular grant which the measure of the Government contemplated.

The Earl of *Wicklow* did not wish the practice to be altered; but as this was a common subject, and there had been petitions every Session against any further grant to Maynooth, they ought still to be received, unless they made express reference to the Bill.

Lord *Campbell* remarked that, knowing nothing yet of that Bill, the House ought not to receive petitions against it.

Lord *Stanley* said, the petitions from the Wesleyans were all verbatim the same; but, though they referred to the Bill, their prayer was, not that the House would reject it, but would not consent to any increase of the endowment of Maynooth. These appeared to be admissible.

Lord *Brougham* said, that the words were these:—"Believing the proposal made by Her Majesty's Government for increased public support to the College of Maynooth to involve the whole question of a national endowment of Popery, and regarding it as an important step towards the full establishment of the Romish Church in Ireland;" and then the prayer was, "that the House would not consent to any measure fraught with such pernicious consequences." Then here was another of their reasons:—"That they are convinced the doctrines of the Romish Church are opposed to the interests of society and the welfare of immortal souls; and that they regard any such support as calculated to bring down the displeasure of Almighty God upon this country." Such was their argument; he thought it most absurd and untenable—one of the most absurd and untenable he ever in all his existence heard; but the petitioners had a perfect right to hold that opinion, and to petition the House on this ground to reject, not any particular measure, but generally any measure fraught, as they held, with such consequences.

Subject at an end.

Sugar Duties Bill.] The Earl of *Dalhousie*, in moving the Third Reading of the Sugar Duties Bill, said that he had to direct their Lordships' attention to a subject which had been for so many years annually discussed in one or other of the Houses of Parliament, and which had been so recently debated in that House, that he would occupy their attention for as short a time as possible. He would confine himself to a statement of the reasons which had induced Her Majesty s Government to introduce this Bill, to the object of the Bill itself, and to the mode in which it was proposed to carry that object into effect. It would be in the recollection of their Lordships that the Bill of last Session imposing duties upon sugar differed in many important particulars from the Bills that had been annually laid before Parliament; and in introducing that Bill he had said, that looking at the state of the sugar trade, and at the state of the country itself, it was deemed the duty of Her Majesty's Government to adopt some measure for a supply of sugar coming from foreign countries; for though the supply of sugar from India and the Mauritius had of late years increased, yet it had not increased in proportion to the falling off in sugar, the produce of the West India Colonies. He had stated also, that during the year 1843 the supply had been only 204,000 tons, whilst the consumption had reached 202,000 tons; and it appeared to Government desirable that they should not run the risk of finding the country in circumstances so disastrous as a still further falling off of supply, which would be followed by an enhancement of price which would be calamitous to the consumer. Instead, therefore, of limiting the supply to the produce of British possessions, they had provided a clause introducing sugar at a low rate of duty from those countries where sugar was raised by free labour; and this provision was made with a due regard to two important points, namely, the countries whose produce would thereby be admitted, and the protection which should be reserved for British produce. He had also stated that these provisions should be taken as indications of what might thereafter be expected when the subject should be reconsidered in connexion with the Property Tax. Their Lordships having given their consent to the continuance of the Property Tax for a further limited period of three years, he had now to ask their consent to a Bill which provided for the countries from which sugar should be imported, for the rates of duty imposed, and for the conditions under which it should be taken. By the Bill before their Lordships, sugars the produce of China, of Java, and of Manilla, the produce of free labour, might be imported at a certain rate of duty on the production of a certificate from the Consul or other representative of the Government, containing a declaration that the sugar was the produce of free labour, accompanied by a declaration of the Consul of his belief that the statement was correct; and by other clauses it was provided that if it should be proved to the satisfaction of Her Majesty in Council that the sugar of other countries was similarly produced, She might by order in Council make an order for the admission of the sugar of those countries at the same rates of duty. The Bill further enacted, with respect to countries having reciprocity treaties, that the sugar there produced should be admitted on the same terms as the sugars of China, Java, and Manilla. Then with respect to the terms on which this produce should be admitted, if they intended that there should result from it an extension of our trade, it was necessary that there should be a very considerable reduction of duty on sugar. It was therefore provided, that British double refined sugars, which formerly could only be introduced at a duty of eight guineas, should for the future be introduced at a duty of one guinea, and that other refined sugar of like produce should be introduced at a duty of 18*s*. 8*d*.; that the best clayed sugar, the produce of China, Java, and Manilla, should pay a duty of 1*l*. 8*s*. per cwt., and brown and other sugar not being equal to white clayed at a duty of 1*l*. 3*s*. 4*d*. Hitherto sugars had been divided into refined and Muscovado; but as it appeared that extensive improvements had been made in the manufacture of sugar, it was provided, that with respect to sugars the produce of British possessions, the duty on white clayed should be 16*s*. 4*d*., and on brown, or other sugars not equal in quality to white clayed, that the duty should be 14*s*.; whilst on all other foreign refined sugar the duty should remain at eight guineas, and on brown Muscovado, or clayed sugar, not being refined, at three guineas. The estimate was, that these reduced duties would, in the year 1845-6, yield a revenue of 3,916,000*l*., instead of a revenue of 5,216,000*l*., afforded by the duties of 1844, leaving a deficiency in the amount of duty of 1,300,000*l*. He ought, however, before asking the House to give a third reading to this Bill, to advert to one or two of the principal objections which had been made to the measure during its progress through Parliament. It had been stated that, in order to justify the sacrifice of so large an amount of revenue, the Government was bound to show that there would accrue to the consumer a substantial benefit, and that, in addition to the encouragement they gave to the produce of our own Colonies, they should extend the trade with foreign countries. Now, he thought that he was in a position to show that these consequences would follow from this material reduction in duty. During the course of a late debate it had been stated by the noble Marquess opposite that the result would be of an insignificant nature, for the only relief to the consumer would be some 2*s*. a year. Undoubtedly 2*s*. a year was a small amount, but how far it was a relief depended upon the proportion which this sum should bear to the whole sum expended on the article during the year. Although the saving was 2*s*. only, yet 2*s*. in an expenditure of 8*s*. or 9*s*. was a great reduction; the average consumption was only 17lbs. yearly, or, at the average prices of last year, about 2*d*. worth of sugar weekly per head, and the reduction in price would be about $\frac{1}{4}$*d*. on every 2*d*., or one-fourth of the entire consumption. He had no doubt that the reduction of the duty on sugar would cheapen the price of that necessary to the poor consumers, and that the result would be to increase the consumption very considerably, the ultimate consequence of which would be to recover the amount of duty sacrificed by the present Bill. In fact, experience proved that even a very small reduction in the price of sugar occurring in the usual course of fluctuation in price and supply, had always led to a great increase in the consumption. With respect to the difficulties that had been raised as to the classification of sugars, he had obtained some information on the subject since that part of the question had been discussed elsewhere, and he was able to state from those inquiries that a system of classification, of a somewhat similar description had been in operation in France, and no difficulties had ever been experienced in placing the proper and fair amount of duty on each quality of sugar. In America also sugars were classed under their separate qualities; in Sweden also they were classed; and in Java there were no less than eighteen different species of sugar distinctly classed. So that it might be very confidently expected if no difficulties in this respect had been found to impede the classification of sugars in Foreign countries, neither would such be found to operate prejudicially in this country. The noble Lord at the Table (Monteagle) had, however, urged on a former evening that the East India sugar-growers would suffer by this classification, in consequence of their produce being of a finer and better appearance, though not intrinsically or necessarily of a better or stronger quality than those imported from the British West Indies. With regard to this objection all he had to say was, that the system of classification had now been in operation for the space of five weeks, and it was found practically to work very well, and to create none of those unfair or unjust differences between the various sugars which were at first anticipated. Another strong and plausible set of objections had been urged against the Bill, on the plea that it would covertly encourage the introduction of slave-labour sugar, under reciprocity treaties, into Great Britain. He begged to remind the House that it was never claimed for the measure that it would exclude the produce of any State with which reciprocity treaties existed; but what he did maintain was, that the sugar production of such States was so small, and its circumstances were such, as to leave no danger of its coming into *bonâ fide* competition with free-grown produce. From Venezuela, for instance, about which so much noise had been made, the quantity imported had been only 97 tons, and the quantity entered for consumption only 11 tons. In that State, too, out of a population of 1,000,000, there were only 2,000 slaves, and slavery was in course of gradual extinction there. It was absurd to suppose that slave-grown sugar could, to any considerable extent, be smuggled into England by being first taken to Louisiana, and reshipped thence to this country. The planters there are too well protected to tolerate such a system; the expense would be ruinous; and the best protection of all against the extension of such a smuggling trade was, that the United States really afforded a better market to this article than our own country did; better remunerating prices were obtained in the United States, and both demand and prices were rising up the Mississippi. In refusing to give facilities for the introduction of the produce of slave labour, Government had the authority of the noble Lords opposite; for in 1839 and 1840, the Members and Friends of the present Administration supported the late Government in its opposition to proposals for encouraging slave-produced sugar. Looking, again, to the many and costly sacrifices which, for a long series of years, we had made and were continuing to make for the abolition of the Slave Trade and of slavery, would it not be a strange instance of national inconsistency to take now a step that must give direct encouragement to slavery, by admitting the staple produce of slave labour? It would be grossly unjust, too, to the West Indies, after subjecting them to such losses by abolishing slavery—it would be grossly unjust to these Colonies at this time to bring the produce of slavery into competition with them. After all our sacrifices, our treaties, our professions, and exertions; and so long as this nation continues to give demonstrations of its anxiety to put down slavery, if we now began to give encouragement to the produce of that system, such a course would be ruinous to our character for sincerity of purpose. Other countries would, after such a course, disregard our remonstrances and treaties. They would say to England, "Your acts give the lie to your professions; and, worse still, you are attempting, by a shuffling evasion, to avoid the consequences of a policy which you have not the courage openly to depart from. He entertained a sincere conviction that the effect of this measure would be to encourage and benefit the producers of sugar in the Colonies, belonging to the Crown; that it would stimulate production and increase consumption, extend trade and commerce, and operate materially for the benefit of all parties; and not the least of its recommendations was, that its direct, immediate, and peculiar effect would be to give considerable relief to that class of our population which stood most in need of sympathy, and to add in no inconsiderable degree to the rare and scanty comforts of the poor. He moved that the Bill be now read a third time.

Earl *Clarendon:* Even if I were able, I should not be disposed to follow the noble Earl through the various details upon which he has entered in the course of his able and lucid speech; for I feel how useless it would be so to trespass upon your Lordships' time with respect to a Bill which this House cannot alter, and with which, indeed, it would seem we have so little concern, that it was not even thought worth while to print it for our information. Nevertheless, I am desirous of saying a few words upon what I think will be its practical operation, as well as the principles it involves; for the more it is examined, the more, in my opinion, it will be found ill calculated to carry out the objects it professes to accomplish. Whoever has either looked at this Bill, or followed the statements of the noble Earl, must admit that we are now about to introduce new intricacies in our fiscal regulations, when the great desiderata are simplicity and the least possible interruption to commercial transactions; and the result of this will be, an infinite variety of fraud: hardly a cargo of sugar will henceforward arrive, upon which the merchant will not be defrauded by the Revenue, or the Revenue by the merchant. I don't mean to say this will always happen intentionally, but that it must be the practical operation of the Bill. The measure does not really satisfy the West Indian interest, for whose benefit it is chiefly intended; for, however content they may be with the protection it affords them, they feel no confidence in its duration. They will not venture to lay out capital, or to enter into engagements dependent upon the law your Lordships are now about to sanction, for they know that a further change will be the inevitable result of its coming into operation; and notwithstanding the cunning devices for testing colour, and quality, and granulation, which the noble Earl informs us are to be applied by the Custom-house officers at a dozen different ports, upon sugar coming from a dozen different places, he will find there is little chance of doing equal justice between the Crown and the importer, or of losing as little revenue on the one hand, or of gaining as much on the other, as he appears so confidently to calculate upon. Is it possible to look for anything but confusion from the proposed method of collecting the duty upon an article of which there are in every Price Current such an enormous number of quotations? I have certainly never counted them, but I have heard them stated as high as seventy, besides intermediate prices, and the value is to be calculated by whiteness or freedom from impurity; but Muscovado, or clayed, or even white clayed, are not terms which necessarily convey any tests of value. Some of the former are much more valuable than the latter, as they contain a vastly greater proportion of saccharine matter. The finest Muscovado of the Mauritius, for example, is worth 42*s.* 6*d.* per cwt., while the finest white clayed of Java is worth but 24*s.* 6*d.*; yet, by the Bill as it originally stood, all the clayed were to be charged at the higher, and all the browns at the lower duty. It is true, as the noble Earl says, that the words "equal in quality to clayed sugar," have been since introduced; but although that may do away with what was absurd and unjust, it will render the law more complex and undefined. It cannot be carried out with anything like justice upon sugar varying, as that of Java for instance, from 17*s.* 6*d.* to 24*s.* 6*d.*, and these prices connected by links of quality varying from 3*d.* to 6*d.* per cwt.; for there must be some arbitrary point at which all above and all below will be chargeable with different rates of duty. This difference can have no relation to the relative intrinsic value of the various kinds: a sugar at 21*s.* 6*d.*, for example, is to be charged a duty of 23*s.* 4*d.*, and a sugar only 6*d.* dearer, or 22*s.*, is to be charged 28*s.*; or, in other words, a sugar of intrinsic quality only 2½*d.* better, is to be charged 20*s.* per cwt. higher; and as this kind of variation must exist more or less with every quality, the duty will hardly ever be levied according to the real value, even supposing the utmost skill and honesty on the part of the Custom-house officers; and should those qualities be wanting, the temptation to collusion between the officers and the merchants is enormous, and it is rendered still greater by the almost impossibility of detection. I will abstain, however, from entering further into these details, though they might be multiplied *ad infinitum;* but I really believe, that if an accurate table could be drawn out of the mode in which these duties will operate upon the different places from which sugar is henceforth to come—from Java, Mauritius, Manilla, Bengal, Bombay, and the West Indies—it would appear much more like a plan to protect each of these countries against the other, than a *bonâ fide* intention of increasing the supply of an article which has now become one of the great necessaries of life among us. Yet it is by such a Bill as this that the Government, after many months, as it is said, of the most careful inquiry and anxious deliberation, propose to remedy the failure of their measure of last year—which measure, after fourteen nights' debate, and the most elaborate arguments and calculations to prove the abundant supply of free-labour sugar that might be expected, has produced, as we have just heard from the noble Earl eleven cwts.!—about the average stock of a retail grocer; and they now bring in a Bill which, in the opinion of all those affected by it, will be found impracticable in its operation, and productive of fraud and confusion. All those persons agree that the attempt to classify sugar in the manner proposed will be a signal failure; though, at the same time, they admit—and there can be no doubt of it—that the principle of an *ad valorem* duty is much the fairest and most equal, by causing the article to pay a greater or less duty, according to its greater or less value. But then, it must be practicable to impose it, and in order to be practicable, you must have as many standards of quality as there are varieties of quality in the article. Now this was done with comparative facility as respects tea, when the East India Company possessed the monopoly of that article, and the whole of the tea consumed in the country was sold by them at auction. The value was then clearly and publicly ascertained, and the duty was charged accordingly; but when the trade was opened, however great the desire of the Government was to continue the same system of an *ad valorem* duty, and notwithstanding every effort to carry it on, it was found wholly impracticable to do so; there was no reliance to be placed upon anything approaching to uniformity of practice at the various ports, where tea might henceforth be imported, or upon equal justice being done between the Revenue and the importer; and it was thought better—liable to fewer difficulties—to adopt the uniform duty of 2*s*. 1*d*., objectionable though it be, and pressing as it does with very unequal severity upon the different qualities of tea, and taxing at the same rate the tea consumed by the richest and the poorest persons in the community. But the different qualities of tea are far less various, less liable to fraud, and more easy of discrimination, than those of sugar; and yet it is proposed to adopt with repect to sugar a system which was unavoidably, and at the wish even of the whole trade, abandoned as regards tea—to take a well-established failure as a model for imitation. Such a course can only be compared to that of increasing the duty on Irish spirits three years ago; an experiment over and over again tried, and invariably found productive of increased crime and diminished revenue. But Her Majesty's Government were resolved to see if the same causes would always produce the same effects; and when they found that the predicted and not unnatural results followed, they retraced their steps—and the tax they put on, together with that on the exportation of coals, are among the best they have yet taken off. So it will be with the Sugar Duties now about to become a temporary law; for before another year passes over our heads, the necessity for a fresh alteration in these duties will become as apparent and as imperative as it has been with regard to Irish spirits and to coals, as well as the Sugar Duties of last year, which, moreover, were not to have effect till the 10th of November last; and the market has been truly for the last eight months thrown into a state of confusion and perplexity. And yet before a single ounce of sugar from Manilla, or China, or Java, has reached this country, another system is introduced which must produce fresh confusion and the utmost uncertainty in all things except one, viz., that the law cannot last; while the Bill has been brought in at a period so unexpected and so unusual, that a very great amount of individual hardship will be inflicted—for the abatement of some of which, as regards drawbacks, the intended sufferers owe no thanks to Her Majesty's Government, but are solely indebted to the ability and perseverance with which their case was urged in the House of Commons; for it was not until nearly the last night of the debate upon the question, and after the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and the Secretary of the Treasury, had declared that the Government were acting on a well-considered principle, and were determined not to yield, that the right hon. Baronet at the head of Her Majesty's Government rose, and, with a noble indifference for the pledges of his Colleagues, consented to the act of justice of allowing a drawback upon the duty-paid sugar now in bond, and still under the locks of the Crown. Another hardship was also intended: the Government proposed that henceforth sugar should pay duty upon the original weight at the time of warehousing, thereby repealing an important Clause of the Warehousing Act of 1833, which establishes a scale of allowance for deficiencies in weight arising from natural causes; and this would have compelled the importers of West India sugar alone to pay annually 120,000*l.* of duty upon sugar which had absolutely leaked or wasted, and had ceased to exist. This intention, however, after a similar process of resistance and concession, as in the case of the drawback, was also abandoned. But when we consider that, duty included, a sum of nearly 13,000,000*l.* a year is paid here for sugar, all these questions, affecting as they do the market of this great necessary of life, assume a very grave importance, and they prove with how very little caution and foresight this measure has been framed. The ground, however, upon which the noble Earl chiefly claims for it the support of your Lordships, is the one on which I most object to it; for this Bill, like the one of last year, is, in my opinion, discreditable to our national character, and it must in the eyes of the whole world place the stamp of hypocrisy upon our legislation. Is there any one human being who will think us sincere in prohibiting Brazilian sugar, because it is produced by slave labour, when at the very time we introduced this distinction last year between sugar the produce of free and of slave labour, we took off 25 per cent. of the duties upon Brazilian coffee, which constitutes three-fifths of the exports from that country, and is, as far as quantity is concerned, a much more important production than sugar; and when we actually levy between three and four millions of revenue upon the slave-grown tobacco from America; when the Government, most wisely and properly, takes off all duty from the 500,000,000 lbs. of slave-produced cotton which we consume; and when the First Minister of the country declares that we must under our Treaty obligations receive all the slave-grown sugar that may be sent us from Louisiana. The noble Earl contends that the Americans cannot produce enough for their own consumption, and that they already import largely; but supposing they export to us all their own slave-grown sugar, and allow a drawback upon it equal to the amount of duty leviable upon a like quantity of Cuba sugar (and we ourselves afford them a precedent for such a course by our own Grinding Act), the noble Earl knows we cannot refuse it, or any quantity of Cuba sugar they may choose to send us of their own growth; and I am astonished that the noble Earl should rely upon the difference in the mode of package in order to distinguish between these sugars. Why, if it answer their purpose, the Americans have only to send a few coopers to Cuba to pack the sugar according to their own method before it is exported to the United States, and then the noble Earl will upon his own showing be deceived; and it will answer their purpose to export sugar to us—for the people of Louisiana, after supplying themselves and other States by inland navigation, send annually to the Atlantic parts of the United States upwards of 600,000 tons of sugar, and the freight of a hogshead of sugar coming as ballast in the cotton ships is less from New Orleans to Liverpool than from New Orleans to New York—they will only have to procure the required certificates of origin upon which the noble Earl seems also to rely very much for protection, but which are in fact absolutely valueless. Every one acquainted with the practical details of business knows that as a guarantee they are not worth the paper they are written upon. Why our own authorities at our own Custom-houses in Canada were never able to certify with any thing like accuracy as to the origin of the timber exported from that country. They cannot do so with respect to corn; and how can we expect that a Consul should do it at New Orleans, or Java, or other places, where he must be utterly unable to bring any proof against the declaration or the oaths of the supposed growers of the sugar, or the exporters? With respect to Java, however, it is said, I know not with what truth, that the Dutch Government will not permit us to send any Consuls there, but that the certificates of origin are to be given by certain British subjects residing in the island; and if that is so, can there be a greater farce than the guarantee of men connected with the planters and traders of Java, that no slave labour has been employed in producing the sugar? We do not yet know, however, whether these gentlemen will not have a complete sinecure; for by the present arrangement between the Netherlands Trading Company and their Government, the whole of the sugar produced in Java must be brought to Holland, and there sold; and it is doubtful, therefore, whether the exportation of any sugar from Java to this country will be permitted by the Dutch Government. But supposing that other arrangements are made, and that we thereby get an additional quantity of sugar—the President of the Board of Trade, if I am not mistaken, said last year that 90,000 tons were produced in Java, a very large proportion of which would find its way to our market—we may perhaps, therefore, get 40,000 or 30,000 tons; and from Manilla nearly the whole of its exports, which by the latest official returns amounted to 25,000 tons, all of which went to Spain. And does the noble Earl suppose that that quantity, so abstracted from the markets of Europe, where it now meets the slave-grown sugar upon equal terms, will not be supplied from elsewhere? It will come from the Brazils and Cuba, and it will probably be taken out of our own bonding warehouses—the very sugar that we ourselves have fetched from those slave-trading countries in our own ships, and have paid for by our own manufactures, only we shall make the virtuous distinction of taking it out for exportation instead of for home consumption. Our morality will consist in selling it, instead of eating it; and this, too, at the very time when the productions of slave-trading countries actually constitute a great medium of exchange with us—when they are the very commodities with which we go to market, and buy the timber, and wool, and hemp, and tallow of Germany and Russia; and when we carry on a great refining trade of slave-grown sugar—when we export slave-grown sugar refined to the West Indies, and permit its unlimited importation into our Australian Colonies. Such being the state of our law, its practical result might be thus stated to the Governments of Brazil and Spain:—"We know that you have landed 10,000 slaves this year in Cuba and Brazil. Well, we will take as much coffee the produce of their labour as we want for our own consumption; and we will take as much of the sugar they make as we can possibly refine, or sell, or dispose of to our own advantage; but Heaven forbid that we should touch a morsel of it ourselves — expect no such encouragement from us as that—we will pay any price for our own sugar rather than do it, and we shall thus compel you to abandon your disgraceful and inhuman traffic." Now that is just what our law and our practice, and our declarations in Parliament, give the Governments of slave-trading countries to understand; and can we hope to impose upon any one human being in the most ignorant country on earth by such pretences of morality? Does not our practice unmask the hypocrisy of our principles? Does it show any knowledge of human nature to expect that by this kind of legislation, levelled directly at the system prevailing in other countries—hateful and horrible though that system be—that we shall make them follow the example which we ourselves have but recently set them? We who for nearly 300 years, be it remembered, were the largest slave dealers and carriers in the world—who were the crimps and kidnappers not only for our own Colonies but for Spain—who organized that Slave Trade which, not forty years ago, after continuous labour and perseverance, and in face of a most determined opposition, we succeeded in abolishing—who only twelve years ago abolished slavery in our Colonies at the enormous sacrifice of twenty millions sterling, which, although to our immortal honour it was made cheerfully, was always an indispensable condition to that great measure, as long as respect for property acquired and held under the sanction of British law is to characterize our proceedings. But that indispensable condition no other nation but England is able, even if disposed, to fulfil; and we may be assured that distinctions such as we are now carrying out, will never detach other countries from their abominations. On the contrary, they will be the more rivetted to them by their national pride; they will not be dictated to by us as to their morality or their interests, any more than we should submit to similar dictation from other countries. Supposing that the United States, or Brazil, or Spain, were all at once to express their horror at the system prevailing here, and to say, "We have read your blue books and the speeches of your philanthropists—we have seen the woodcuts and Pictorial Reports laid by your own Commissioners of Inquiry before Parliament—we know the dreadful labour that the people in your mines are compelled to perform—we have heard of the immorality occasioned by men and women working together nearly naked in your pits, and that, although you pass laws to prohibit dogs drawing in carts, you have permitted your children to be harnessed to trucks, and on all-fours to drag their loads in darkness and fetid atmosphere—we have read how mothers are separated from their families in factories, how children of the tenderest age are worked beyond their strength, and how the average duration of life is shortened. We know all this from your own official Reports, and we are determined to put an end to this sordid and disgraceful barbarity. Don't tell us that it will ruin your manufactories, and expose your artisans to starvation—manage about that as you can—what we insist upon, and without delay, is a ten or an eight hours' Bill for adults, and no women or children in factories, otherwise we will receive none of your cotton goods—we will have none of your manufactures—we will pass stringent laws for the protection of our own—and if we cannot produce enough, we will take them from Germany or Switzerland, of which countries, we know, indeed, very little, and have made no inquiry, but we have been told that labour is there exceedingly light, and performed in the way most agreeable to the workman." Now, I will ask if such language would differ very widely from that with which, *mutatis mutandis*, we have for the last twelve months become familiar at home; and whether if it were so addressed to us it would be likely to have the effect of coercing us into humanity — whether our national pride would not unite with the interests of our manufacturers and our capitalists, and at once reject such insolent interference with our domestic affairs? And we may rely upon it that the same feelings will be generated in other countries—that they will seek to find the means of retaliation—that they will pass prohibitory laws against our manufactures, and defeat our laws, by sending to us, directly or indirectly, the rticles we prohibit. I yield to no one, either here or elsewhere, in sincere and earnest desire to see the iniquitous traffic in slaves finally extinguished; but I wish that the part we take towards it should be one likely to produce success; as I contend that measures which render it absolutely a point of national honour with slave-trading countries to persevere in the traffic, can only be attended with failure. The means we have already pursued for thirty years to repress the trade, have been proved by experience to be powerless, notwithstanding the lives that have been lost, the millions that have been spent, the constant risk of quarrel with other Maritime Powers, and the universal obloquy and misrepresentation to which our sincere and disinterested humanity has exposed us; we have unfortunately succeeded in nothing but in rendering the Slave Trade a smuggling one. We have not checked the demand, we have not diminished the supply, but we have incalculably augmented the horrors of the middle passage; and it is no exaggeration to say, that in order to supply the losses by death on the passage, or by captures at sea, twice as many Africans are now kidnapped and torn from their homes as when the trade was free, and the miscreant shippers of these cargoes, for their own sakes, treated their victims with greater humanity. Having so failed, notwithstanding the assistance we have more or less received from Foreign Powers in our attempt, we now give out to the world we will discourage the trade by such laws as that of last year, and the one now on your Lordships' Table; and by its enactments we inform the people of Cuba, that we will ourselves consume none of their sugar, unless it is sent to us fraudulently by way of Louisiana, but that we will sell and refine as much of it as we can with advantage to ourselves. We tell them, at the same time, that we will consume, ourselves, all their copper ore, the production of which carries with it far more deadly consequences to the slave, than that of sugar. We, at the same time, take all the slave-grown coffee and tobacco of the United States, where a Slave Trade, if possible more appalling than the African, is daily carried on—where the slaves are bred for sale and for rapid consumption by excessive labour—where they are more civilized than in Africa, and more acutely feel the severance of those ties which they are permitted to contract—where this revolting system is exalted by the highest authority of the country into a domestic institution—and where recent circumstances lead us to fear that it is destined to be indefinitely extended. I say, then, that as this will not only be the practical working, but is our own exposition of the law, it is impossible that in any quarter of the world we can obtain credit for sincerity, having in reality done nothing to constitute the smallest claim to it. Had we determined to grow tobacco at home, or import it from those countries in Europe only where it is produced—had we determined to rely upon the East Indies for our supply of cotton—had we said to the Government of the United States, "It is true that by our Treaty with you, we are bound to receive all your slave-grown sugar, or the sugar of other countries that you may chose to send us as yours, but we are so determined to set our faces against the production of slave labour, that we give you the stipulated notice of a twelvemonth for the Treaty to cease;"—and had we then and for ever closed the doors of our warehouses and the works of our refineries against slave-grown sugar—had we addressed ourselves to the Governments of Spain and Brazil, and in a manner not offensive to their national honour, offered to make a bargain with them, and in exchange for a *bonâ fide* extinction of the Slave Trade and the gradual abolition of slavery, to admit their sugars upon the same footing as those of our own Colonies, and if those Governments had refused to listen to us—then, indeed, after having given such practical proofs of sincerity, we should have been justified before the world in making any distinctions we pleased. But to proceed as we are now doing, is really to cast a stain and to stamp hypocrisy upon the character of this country, where I firmly believe there exists more honesty, more morality, and a more ready acquiescence in sacrifices to carry out a principle, than in any other country in the world. It is damaging the great cause in which we have so nobly taken the lead; it is a delusion so thinly veiled, that notwithstanding our professions of philanthropy — notwithstanding our pharisaical thankfulness that we are not as other men are, all mankind must see that in reality we mean nothing all the time but protection to our West India Colonies. Into the question of protection, whether it be a great principle, as it has lately been called elsewhere, or a great nuisance, as I cannot but consider it, either in its application to the Colonies or to ourselves at home, I shall not now enter; but if there be anything in the condition of the West Indies, arising either from the abolition of slavery, or the deficiency of labour—any peculiar burdens or obligations imposed upon them—anything unavoidably defective in their mode of agriculture, or repulsive to capital and enterprise—any reason, in short, which should induce the people of this country to forego an abundant supply of a necessary of life, and to submit to heavy taxation for the maintenance of those Colonies, it is the duty of Her Majesty's Government, in my humble opinion, to make up their minds upon those various points, and then to lay their conclusions fully and fairly before the country, in the certainty that on the part of the public there would now be no more disposition than there was twelve years ago to shrink from any sacrifice that can be justly called for, either to indemnify individual loss, or to sustain our Colonial Empire. But we should then know what we really are about; we should know at what cost we retain the West Indies, and what prospect there was of that expense being diminished or otherwise adjusted. But to continue year after year, upon pretences which are not true, tampering with great interests, producing fraud and confusion, loss to the Revenue, and little or no benefit to the consumer, is a course so impolitic and so ill adapted to the wants and wishes of the country, that the universal belief in the temporary character of the present arrangement is not to be wondered at. Nothing, indeed, has fallen from Her Majesty's Government, and nothing has passed in the debates of the House of Commons, to induce a belief that this law was likely to be permanent, or consequently to lead us to doubt, that before the expiration of the renewed lease of the Income Tax, some better measure, and one more calculated to last, will be introduced; for looking at the fact, that in 1844 we consumed 15,000 tons less sugar than in 1835, notwithstanding the increase of our population and wealth—bearing in mind, too, the statement of the noble Earl, that the annual consumption of sugar per head in this country now amounts to only 17lbs., which is 12 per cent. less than it was ten years ago, and 30 per cent. less, I believe, than it is in some of our Colonies—remembering also how all evidence goes to prove that the consumption of sugar might be enormously extended with equal benefit to the Revenue and the public, I am convinced, that upon a fair and equitable adjustment of the Sugar Duties, we must mainly rely for ultimate relief from that odious tax to which your Lordships on Friday last reluctantly gave your sanction.

Lord *Brougham* said, he had so often addressed their Lordships in reference to the subject to which the noble Earl had alluded, that he would cheerfully abstain from speaking at large upon it, since it must be only repeating arguments and topics which had been exhausted by himself and others. But there were one or two things which he desired to note in the speech of the noble Earl, lest he should be supposed to acquiesce in them, in respect to the policy of this country—he hoped it would be its permanent policy—of refusing to make such a reduction of duty, generally, upon the importation of foreign sugars as would give access to our markets to sugars grown in the colonies of countries—not where slavery existed; that was not the question—but in the colonies of those countries which refused to abolish the African Slave Trade, or which, pretending to abolish the African Slave Trade, still underhand continued that infernal commerce. This was a distinction which must be kept in mind in all arguments respecting slavery and the Slave Trade. If a country had property in slaves, and by its laws, domestic or municipal, protected such property and the existence of negro slavery, we had no right to interfere with the internal policy of such a State. We might lament such a condition of things —we might blame those who maintained it; but, on the other hand, he (Lord Brougham) was not one of those who would ever visit too harshly the conduct of such Foreign Governments, and thus act inconsistently with the recollection of what had recently been our own conduct. He would not say, pharisaically, "We are purer than you are; we have abolished slavery; why do you not follow our example?" and for this obvious reason. When he had heard it said, "Why does not America follow the example of England?" the answer presented itself immediately, that it was because she did follow our example too closely that America was cursed with the pest of negro slavery. It was not what our example had been in Middlesex and Yorkshire; but what our example had been in Jamaica and Barbadoes. Would negro slavery have been abolished in Jamaica and Barbadoes if those Colonies had been left to themselves? He had heard a speaker at Exeter Hall, who, giving him credit for reasonableness, and even memory, had exhibited not the slightest sense of justice, say, "Americans, I despise you; why do you not follow the blessed and pious example of England?" But if Barbadoes and Jamaica had been left to act as they pleased, they would not have abolished slavery to the end of time. Middlesex and Yorkshire, where not a slave exists, might easily abolish it; not so the islands where there are seven or eight blacks to one white. Therefore, when he expressed his sorrow and even reprobation of the United States for continuing slavery, it was not for their not abolishing slavery as soon as we did; but it was for the language which their authorities held on the subject, in crying up slavery instead of crying it down as a flaw and pest of society which they ought to get rid of if they could, that he blamed them. To talk of it as a sacred institution—to talk of cherishing it, instead of putting themselves in the way of getting rid of it—to cling to it and to take a pride in it, and to hold it up as if they were proud of it, and gloried in it —(he spoke of a certain part of the people of the United States)—to keep millions and millions of their fellow-creatures in the bondage of slavery without a hope; and then to hold up another principle, namely, that it was their right and high privilege to conquer the neighbouring nations for the purpose of extending into their valleys the blessings of self-government, as they called it; at the same time to hold up to the admiration of themselves and their fellow-citizens domestic negro slavery as a cherished institution, and to talk of their country as the only country in the world in which true freedom was enjoyed by mankind—was an inconsistency, a shameless misstatement of the facts, an injustice, and an inhumanity, for which he blamed the agitators among that people. That being his opinion, he so far went along entirely with his noble Friend behind him (Lord Clarendon); but he differed with him as to the extent of his objection with regard to excluding sugar, not from slave colonies and countries, but from Slave Trade colonies and countries. He had no right to refuse to introduce sugar from foreign nations, because it came from a country where it was the fruit of slave labour. He was sorry for the existence of slavery in that country, but its existence gave him no right to say, "I won't traffic with you so long as you cultivate sugar by slaves." But it was a very different thing, when he was called on to give his sanction to the introduction of sugar or any other produce from a country which, instead of growing it by the labour of slaves already in that country, grew it by the labour of slaves imported from Africa, which infernal traffic he might thereby increase. For, then, by every hogshead of sugar that he allowed to be imported into this country more than came in the year before, he increased the demand for slaves in Brazil and Cuba, and that demand could only be answered in one way—by bringing over more slaves from Africa. If by bringing over Brazilian and Cuba sugars he doubled or trebled the average consumption of 17lbs of sugar a head in this country—not gradually, in which case the demand would be met by the natural course of cultivation and improvements in Colonial agriculture, and by increased industry and production, and by the natural increase of population, and there could be no objection to it—but suddenly; that sudden increase could be met only in one way, namely, by the sudden and rapid increase of the Slave Trade. We took the coffee of Louisiana, where slavery existed, under a Treaty. But there was much difference between the cultivation of coffee and sugar. It was true the cultivation of rice was notoriously unwholesome everywhere; but sugar was the cultivation of all others which was most cruel to the negro; and when they talked of the evils of slavery and the Slave Trade, they had regard of necessity to sugar, and to sugar alone. The letting in slave-grown sugar meant, and could practically mean, one thing only—the sugar of Brazil and Cuba; for there can come none other. Then it was said the Slave Trade was abolished in North America. To their great credit they preceded us in that. We abolished the Slave Trade of our own Colonies in 1807, and made its continuance subject to a penalty. This was found only to alter the letter of the law, as persons ran the risk of the pecuniary penalty for the chance of the great profit they might secure. To remedy this, in 1811 slave trading was made felony by his (Lord Brougham's) Act. America in the same manner had put down this trade first by fine, and then by making it felony. It was not to be denied, that when any country had a number of slaves, and that when some districts were favourable to breeding slaves, and others were not, a commerce of the most abominable character was thereby created, and that, as was said, the civilized negro felt greater pain at his sale and transfer. That was a strong additional argument for abolishing slavery; but unhappily so long as slavery existed they must allow such intercourse and commerce to take place between different parts of the same country. It existed in our own Colonies as long as slavery existed. But he totally denied that this was as bad as the African Slave Trade. Could any man who ever heard of the horrors of the slave ship and traffic; of the wholesale murders committed for the purpose of forcing or kidnapping the negroes on board a ship; and, above all, of the wholesale massacres committed on board ship in the countless horrors of the middle passage—could any man of ordinary reflexion and reason put those horrors on the same footing with the intercourse between different parts of the same country? For these reasons, he was of opinion that they could not refuse to take the produce of countries merely because that produce was raised by slave labour, and that they not only could, but ought to refuse to take the produce of slave-trading countries, because the increased demand could only be met by increasing the amount of the slave traffic. It was not any argument to say we were inconsistent in our humanity for taking the sugar of the Brazils and Cuba, and refining it in this country in order to re-export it, because it did not increase the slave traffic; it only increased our own traffic and manufactures at home, by bringing the sugar refiners to this country instead of their carrying on the same trade in Holland or Germany. Upon these grounds, apologizing to their Lordships for even touching upon a subject which had been already, both by him and others, completely exhausted, he was obliged to differ from the view taken by his noble Friend (the Earl of Clarendon); and although he was ever ready to extend all the relief that could be given to the suffering people of this country, by the reduction of duties, yet he fervently hoped that no change would ever take place that might endanger the principle of a discriminating duty which could in the smallest degree increase the horrors of the African Slave Trade. The position to be ever borne in mind was, that though by shutting out Foreign sugars you seemed to shut out out the produce of countries that had abolished, as well as those of which still continued the African traffic; yet, practically speaking, you did no such thing, as all that can come must be from Cuba and

Brazil, the great patrons of the Slave Trade.

Lord *Monteagle* had on a former occasion suggested that the Bill now before their Lordships should be printed previously to the discussion of its principle; and he rejoiced that it had been so printed; yet he was afraid it had not been read by all their Lordships. By one it was evident it had not been read; for the defence which he had just heard from his learned Friend was of some imaginary Bill, and could not, he conceived, be intended as a defence of the Bill on their Lordships' Table. The whole argument was a defence made on the assumption that some very different Bill from the present had been introduced, founded upon different principles, and wholly irreconcileable with any one of the principles of the measure of the Government. Much ingenuity and much eloquence had thus been expended by his noble and learned Friend to recommend a Bill to their Lordships, but which, unluckily for his purpose, was not the Bill then upon the Table. Undoubtedly the arguments to be urged on this occasion would vary considerably if the provisions of the Bill were such as had been stated by his noble and learned Friend; but he (Lord Monteagle) would show that the provisions were of a totally opposite character. He agreed with his noble and learned Friend—indeed it was part of his (Lord Monteagle's) case—that this country had no right to interfere with the municipal arrangements of other countries; and therefore, that their Lordships' legislation ought to be directed against slave-trading countries, but not against countries which use slave labour. And the argument of his noble and learned Friend was founded upon the mistaken hypothesis, that by the provisions of this Bill, the produce of those States by whose authority the Slave Trade was carried on, was to be subjected to high discriminating duties. It was no such thing. This Bill did not even name the Slave Trade. The Bill prohibited another and a very different thing. It prohibited the introduction of sugar into this country, not as being the produce of countries which traded in slaves, but as being the produce of countries which used slave labour. These two things were entirely different. By the second clause of the Bill, Foreign sugar, not being the produce of slave labour, was admissible into this country at a low duty. Under the strict construction of this clause we might admit sugar from countries in which the Slave Trade was carried on at the low duty, if it could only be proved that the sugar in question was not the produce of slave labour. Although the whole of the ingenious, powerful, eloquent, but inapplicable arguments of his noble and learned Friend (Lord Brougham) had been directed against slave trading, yet it would be seen that there was not one single word, from first to last, in the Bill, in which the question of slave trading was referred to. If the argument of his noble and learned Friend was at all applicable to the present question, it would show that the admission of sugar from the United States of America ought to take place, not by virtue of reciprocity treaties, but because the Americans had abolished the Slave Trade. One great objection to the policy of the Government was fully admitted by his noble and learned Friend's argument; for he condemned all intermeddling with the internal affairs of other countries — he had most justly objected to prying inquiries into their institutions—he had protested against our adoption of a principle that would not be tolerated if it were attempted to be applied by foreigners to this country; and which, if applied to other countries, this country had no means of following out to its legitimate consequences. Suppose that Brazil should abolish slavery and substitute apprenticeship, which, though not slavery in name, might in substance be worse than slavery itself, Brazilian sugar might claim admission at the low duty. Could this country say to Brazil, "Although you have abolished slavery, still we think that in your state of apprenticeship there is still left so much at which humanity recoils, that we will not receive your produce under favourable conditions, but will subject it to a high distinctive duty?" To carry out such a principle, it would not only be necessary to inquire into the state of the internal law of the country with which we traded, but into the mode of its administration. But that was an interposition which no country valuing its independence would submit to. In reference to the speech of his noble Friend (the Earl of Dalhousie), no statement could be more fair, more clear, or more satisfactory. It was delivered with such temper and such moderation, that if he (Lord Monteagle) were inclined—which he was not—it would be impossible for him to convert this into a debate involving any party feeling. It was most unfortunate that great commercial questions should ever become matter of party conflict; because all questions affecting the great commercial interests of the nation, and involving the accumulation and distribution of wealth, and bearing upon the profits of one class and the wages of another, ought to be impartially and dispassionately considered. It would be obvious to every one who heard him, that this measure of the Sugar Duties was the main financial measure of the Session. Now, as there was a surplus in the present year, supposing no repeal of taxes to take place, he confessed it did appear to him advantageous that some change in the Sugar Duties should be amongst the alterations proposed; and it further appeared to him that Ministers being disposed to have dealt with it at all, were bound to deal largely with this branch of revenue. If they had made a small reduction, even such a change would have been a benefit so far as it went; but, as they had made a large reduction, he was all the more satisfied. He only wished the reduction had been made in a wiser manner, so as to secure augmented consumption and increased revenue. It was a fact well worthy of notice, that in the case of sugar, price and consumption bore towards each other nearly a constant relation. The quicksilver in the barometer was not more uniformly under the influence of the atmosphere than the consumption of sugar was under the influence of its price. The most trifling changes of price manifested themselves in their effects upon consumption. From the year 1826 the changes in the price of sugar acted upon the consumption of that article during each of the ten succeeding years, with the exception of 1835. On these grounds, then, he would repeat, that a change, however small, would be a good, so far as it might go; he should also say that the bolder the measure was, the better, provided the change rested upon sound principles. Those principles rested wholly upon an increase of consumption. If this were not secured, a gratuitous sacrifice of revenue was made. It must be remembered that the change now under consideration was one which affected the public Revenue to an enormous amount; the Sugar Duties formed one-tenth of the whole ordinary Revenue. Ministers in bringing forward such a proposition anticipated fiscal advantages of a considerable amount; in which, however, he was afraid they would be eventually disappointed. Nor was the importance of the subject to be measured only by the amount of the Revenue; the value of the consumption was about 13,000,000*l.* or 14,000,000*l.* — the least proportionate reduction of price on such an amount would, therefore, be a great benefit to the community. But this depended on increased production, or at least on an increased supply, either from our Colonies or Foreign countries. Before he proceeded further, however, he wished to guard himself against any misapprehension. He wished it to be distinctly understood that he did not contend for anything like a perfect equalization of duty at the present time, between Foreign and Colonial sugars. So long as labour in the West Indies was inadequate to Colonial wants, he did not think that it would be just to the Colonists to put those two descriptions of sugar upon the same ground. He, therefore, for the present, conceded the principle of some distinctive duty. This, it might be said, would not apply to the sugars of the East Indies or the Mauritius; because in those countries the argument of a want of labour could not be urged. The case of the West Indies rested solely upon the difficulty of supplying the demand for labour; but though this was the case, he was unwilling to retrace our steps, and again to make any distinction between the sugar of the East and the West Indies. On the contrary, although the argument in support of protection to the West Indies did not apply to the East, still the principle of perfect equality towards all our Colonial possessions was so indispensable to be preserved, that he would not sacrifice that principle for any peculiarity of circumstances that might otherwise distinguish one portion of those possessions from the rest. But the question now immediately to be argued was the admission at different duties of sugar the produce of free labour, and of sugar the produce of slave labour. It was on this ground that the differential duties under this Bill rested and were defended. This, it is said, was justified by humanity; but it should not be forgotten that a differential duty existed in favour of the West India Colonies very long before the abolition of slavery by this country; how was it possible, then, to believe that other nations would attribute the discriminatory duties now proposed to a desire on the part of this country to put an end to slave labour? Would they not attribute them more naturally and more consistently to a desire of maintaining a Colonial protection? The noble Lord then proceeded to contend that by this Bill we should be precluded from entering into new Treaties containing the most-favoured-nation clause. If the Brazilian Minister were now to tender us a Treaty containing that clause, we should be bound to reject it if we retained the principle of the present measure. For the first time, we were restricting ourselves in freedom of negotiation. But the most strange anomaly was to be observed in the inconsistency which pervaded their entire proceedings respecting the duties on Colonial produce. How could they go on taking cotton, coffee, tobacco, and, above all, metals, the produce of slave labour, and so strenuously object to take slave-grown sugar? His noble and learned Friend had argued that the cultivation of sugar was so much more deadly, so much more fatal to human life and happiness than all other employments, that it represented within itself the worst species of slavery. But how did that argument stand as regarded the production of metals? Was it not a matter of perfect notoriety that the labour of slaves in the mines of slave countries was by far the most severe and unhealthy labour that could be endured. A noble Lord (Lord Strangford) who had now left his place, but who was formerly the Minister of this country in the Brazils, had cheered and given his marked assent to an observation respecting the greater intensity of the labour of slaves engaged in mines, when compared with those working on sugar. Now, they had been diminishing the duty on metals both in former years and in the present; but, according to the views of the framer of this Bill, so far as this acted on slave labour, they must have been doing so most cruelly and unjustly. What right had they to reduce the duty upon metals, and then turn round and contend for maintaining the duties upon sugar? He was willing to believe, for his own part, that noble Lords were sincere. He did not attribute bad motives to them; but if he were a foreigner, he doubted whether he should be so candid. On the contrary, he should be disposed to say to the Cabinet, "You are maintaining distinctive duties upon sugar, because you are interested as planters in the production of British sugar, and you abandon the duties on metals because, as British manufacturers, you are interested in obtaining a supply of the produce you require to increase your commercial wealth." He now passed on to cotton; and with regard to that article he could cite an authority which could not fail to have weight with their Lordships, and to prove conclusively that the reduction of the cotton duty, or, if no reduction had been made, the admission of cotton at the old duty, was inconsistent with the principle of this Bill. If any one contended that the importation of cotton did not promote slave labour, he would remind them of the words of Mr. Huskisson in 1822, who said, "Every ounce of the cotton consumed was produced by the labour of slaves in the United States and the Brazils, and the demand for cotton was one of the main causes why the Slave Trade still existed upon the latter station in so dreadful a degree." On the authority of Mr. Huskisson, therefore, cotton cultivation aggravated, if it did not produce, the Slave Trade in Brazil. But he would go further. As far as the Bill encouraged the admission into a new market of any portion of foreign free-labour sugar heretofore absorbed in the general markets of the world, in that proportion must it raise the price of the whole article, both slave-grown and free. Suppose, for example, a foreign country were to make analogous distinctions as regarded the parts of this country where our manufactures were produced. Suppose they were to say that in Lancashire the workpeople are well paid and properly treated, but in Yorkshire the manufacturing population were dealt with inhumanly and cruelly. Suppose that such a foreign country were to enact, consequently, that bales of cotton goods should be admitted from Lancashire at a low duty, but at a high duty from Yorkshire; if, under this state of things an increased export of 100,000 bales of cotton should take place from Lancashire?—was it not obvious that a rise in price in Yorkshire must be the consequence, and thereby a stimulus be given to the very description of labour which it was the object to discourage? But, in addition to prohibition and absurd discrimination, there was complexity of the worst kind introduced in this Bill. He believed that there were no fewer than seventeen rates of duty applicable to different kinds of sugar. It had been said that there had been no complaints at present on that head; but he believed he could satisfactorily explain the cause of this satisfaction which was said to pervade the commercial world. The Bill had been materially altered since he first introduced the subject at the commencement of the Session. The East India Company took alarm. The petitions of the East India and China Associations were presented; and he now held in his hand the original and amended Resolutions, by which it most clearly appeared that "a change came over the spirit of the dream" of the Government, and a more satisfactory solution of the question had been arrived at. But at what expense? The result had been a sacrifice of the small surplus revenue upon which the Government had depended to realize the calculations of their Budget. The noble Earl stated that a sample was to be provided, and that all references were to be made to determine the quality of every importation in colour, in granulation, and in saccharine matter. By raising this standard far above the sugars likely to be imported, the Government had practically abandoned their principle, and in so doing, had sacrificed the estimated duty receivable on white clayed sugars. They were commercially right, but financially wrong. Their contemplated plan and test would have been wholly impracticable. If any one thought it possible practically to enforce such a test with accuracy, they must have recourse to an enlightened artist to determine upon colour; next, to an experienced sugar broker to determine upon granulation; and, lastly, to a chemist, to go through some of the most laborious and delicate processes in his science, to determine on the genuine state of saccharine matter. Year after year Dr. Ure had performed experiments on this subject, not in the long room of the Custom-house, but in his own laboratory, with all the appliances of science surrounding him; and it proved to be one of the most difficult investigations that could be carried on by a scientific man. Perhaps it was intended to decide the matters as at a University examination. It appeared that so many marks were to be given for colour, so many for granulation, and so many for saccharine matter; and if the whole amounted to 100, the sugar might come in at the lower duty; but if the marks chanced to amount to 101, the higher duty would be enforced. When the duty was a fixed one, it was the interest of the importer to bring in the finest quality; but pass this Bill, and the case would be altered; then he would be guided by your Parliamentary standard; he would ascertain how much molasses he might leave in the sugar, would regulate it by that standard, and so defeat your Bill as a revenue measure. The revenue calculations were, that of the higher priced sugars, white clayed sugar, or sugar equal to white clayed, 70,000 tons of British Plantation sugar, and 15,000 of Foreign clayed, were to come in; or, in other words, that out of a supply estimated at 250,000 tons, 85,000 tons were to be of the higher description. But if all the British sugars were admitted at 14*s.* the difference of duty as between the higher and the lower duties would be lost; and it might have been something like an anticipation of this result which led the late President of the Board of Trade to estimate the sacrifice of the Sugar Duties at a higher amount than his late Colleagues. Now, if that sacrifice of revenue did take place, the small surplus of 100,000*l.* would be converted into an absolute deficiency. So long as the principle was adhered to of drawing a distinction between the produce of slave labour and of free labour, he feared it was impossible for them to augment the supply until after the lapse of a series of years. He believed that a series of years would effect that; because, from the best information he could obtain, he believed that a vastly increased supply might hereafter be expected from India. The import of sugar from the East had augmented tenfold, and during the last few years upwards of a million of duty had been received from India—a faint promise of what that part of the British dominions might accomplish hereafter. The noble Lord concluded by saying that, if by any means within our power we could put an end to the Slave Trade, he might not consider any sacrifice too great that they were called upon to make; but he objected to the Bill because he believed that no fiscal regulations could effect this important object. Without attaining this object, the interests of the Revenue and of the consumers would alike be sacrificed. The title to the Bill might be very properly altered from "An Act to grant to Her Majesty certain Duties arising from Sugar," into, "An Act for the Perpetuation of the Income and Property Tax."

Lord *Stanley* said, that he could hardly feel surprised that even all the ingenuity of which the noble Lord was master, should have failed of introducing anything of novelty into the discussion of this question; nor did he imagine that he himself could impart much of that character to the observations he was about to make. He must in the first place, however, call upon their Lordships to bear in mind the great admissions the noble Lord had made with respect to the principles on which this Bill is founded. With respect to the comparisons which had been instituted between the proceedings of the late and the present Government, the difference was this—that the Government were dealing with a country in a state of distress, and now they were dealing with a country in a state of prosperity; then they were dealing with a deficit, and now they were dealing with a surplus—and the question was how they were to dispose of it. His noble Friend had admitted, that of all the articles upon which a reduction in duty lowering the price would tend to increase the consumption, and consequently the comforts of the lower classes of the community, sugar was that which was most immediately affected by a slight reduction, entering as it did into the consumption of the poorest. His noble Friend had admitted, that if there were a surplus revenue, and it were intended to reduce duties, no article in the Tariff could be selected with greater propriety than sugar. His noble Friend had further conceded, that the Government had acted wisely in securing the advantage of the reduction to the consumer, and taking care that it was not absorbed by the retail dealer by making that reduction on a large and not on a small scale. But his noble Friend had gone further, and admitted that if by this measure real substantial discouragement could be given to the Slave Trade, a temporary sacrifice in regard to price was desirable for the promotion of so great an object; and that if he could agree with the Government that such discouragement as they anticipated would be given, an increased price of sugar would be a sacrifice the country ought properly to be called upon to make. Further, he had admitted that the West India Colonies had a claim to protection for this reason, that we have substituted in those islands, by our own legislation, a system of free labour for one of slave labour. [Lord *Monteagle:* On account of the deficiency of labour.] But that deficiency in labour had arisen from our act. It was the effect of our abolition of slavery. It was that that had made labour artificially dear in the West Indies. Comparisons had often been made between the relative cheapness and dearness of free labour and slave labour; but he held it impossible to make comparisons of the kind without taking into account the circumstances of the country in which that labour is to be exercised. In an old country like this, for example, where the population were pressing beyond the means of employment, free labour might be found cheaper than slave labour, and might compete with slave labour without disadvantage. But comparing the price of free labour with slave labour in Colonies like the West Indies, it required no argument to prove slave labour the cheaper, because, by concentrating itself in one spot, it prevented that diffusion of labour which tended to augment its price. Therefore, it was the substitution of free for slave labour which had made labour there artificially dear. The same argument did not apply to the East Indies; but his noble Friend had admitted that the East and West Indies could not be placed upon a different footing. With respect to the East Indies there was no country which, in justice, humanity, and policy, had a stronger claim for protection in their articles of export than those immense territories dependent upon the British Crown. Under your government—you regulating their trade and controlling their industry — their manufactures had been destroyed, to be supplanted by your own. Year after year there was an enormous drain from that country into this. They had this article, sugar, which only required the application of British capital to secure an inexhaustible supply from a source wholly unobjectionable; and at the moment when, by this measure, discouragement was given to the Slave Trade, a stimulus was given to that branch of industry in a part of our dominions which most required temporary protection. His noble Friend objected to this measure, because, as he had said, there was gross inconsistency in the whole proceeding—that cotton, coffee, and other articles, the produce of slave labour, were not refused, but that sugar was selected and fixed upon as the sole and only article to which the principle of exclusion was to be applied; and that no human being would give credence to sincerity in such a proceeding. Now, take the article of cotton. He (Lord Stanley) did not pretend that when the demand in this country rendered the introduction of an article positively indispensable — when the refusal of that article would plunge the country in all the horrors and confusion resulting from the derangement of the greatest branch of our industry—that the whole manufacturing interests should be sacrificed to the object of imposing an indirect discouragement upon slavery. But because they hesitated to take the frightful step of refusing to admit cotton—because they hesitated to stop all the mills, and put an end to the staple manufacture of the country—because they refused to commit this inconceivable absurdity, were they to be told that they acted with hypocrisy and inconsistency, when, in a case involving no such ruinous consequences, they did submit to a temporary and not inconsiderable sacrifice, for the purpose of carrying out their own views, and imposing a discouragement upon the continuance of the horrors of slavery. He did not pretend to go so far as his noble and learned Friend who had left the House, in saying that they would not be justified in applying discouragement with reference to the produce of countries in which slavery existed, but only to countries in which the Slave Trade was carried on. But the result of this measure was, that they did apply discouragement practically, and, on the whole, in the very way urged by his noble and learned Friend. All the world knew that the object of the Bill was not to prohibit the importation of sugar from the United States, Venezuela, or countries where a mitigated slavery existed; but to prohibit its importation from Cuba and Brazil, where not only did slavery exist, but it was fed by a constant stream of slave importation, and where sugar was the main object for which slavery itself and the Slave Trade existed. How were they to judge where slavery was carried on? It had legally no existence in Cuba and Brazil. If they chose to draw this distinction, that they would admit sugar from countries where slavery existed, but where the Slave Trade was prohibited, they must immediately admit sugar from Cuba and Brazil. The noble Lord said they were inconsistent in admitting slave-grown sugar to be refined in this country. But by the importation of sugar from Cuba and Brazil to be refined, not one pound was added to the consumption of slave-grown sugar. The carrying trade and manufactures of this country were encouraged, and that was all. If the measure proposed by Her Majesty's Government were not a discouragement to Foreign slave-sugar, and an encouragement to free-labour sugar, why did noble Lords opposite complain that Brazil and Cuba were so ill treated? Were they not interposing by its provisions a real and substantial impediment to the progress of the Foreign Slave Trade? If they did not propose to exclude or discourage slave-grown cotton and coffee, there was no ground for arguing that they were merely encouraging slavery and the Slave Trade. The more you could, with the same population, increase the production of cotton and coffee in any country, the more effectually would you discourage the cultivation of sugar, which was the most laborious, and that for which slave labour was most essential. His noble Friend objected to the Bill, because by it they were binding themselves by the legislation of foreign countries. Now, though the Bill was in its character temporary, and its enactments annual, it was the object of Her Majesty's Government to indicate clearly and distinctly the principles on which they proposed to proceed, and the terms on which merchants, British and Foreign, might be invited to enter into the sugar trade. They proposed to lay down, not as an experiment for the year, but as the principle by which they were to be guided, the rule of protection to British against Foreign sugar, and to free against slave-grown sugar. His noble Friend suggested that Brazil might introduce something in the nature of an apprenticeship, and asked how they would deal with that case when it arose. He feared they were very far from seeing anything like the introduction of an apprenticeship in Brazil; but this he said, that if that country *bonâ fide* and honestly suppressed the Slave Trade, and as a proof of its sincerity in doing so abolished the institution of domestic slavery, and thought it necessary at the same time to introduce some temporary provision which might to a certain extent restrict the liberty of its subjects, such a course of policy ought fairly and generously to be taken into consideration by Her Majesty's Government, with a view to the introduction of some relaxation in the law; and they were not precluded by the terms of the Bill from so taking it into consideration. His noble Friend said, the classification to be established would be of a most complex character, and that there would be seventeen different denominations of sugar. His noble Friend might have said so if he pleased, as to the rates of duty; but the fact was, that there would be only three denominations of sugar — one more than now existing. His noble Friend said that every hogshead introduced must be made matter of scientific examination and chemical analysis. He (Lord Stanley) would venture to say that not one out of ten thousand that were imported would create the smallest difficulty or impediment, or raise the smallest doubt in the minds of the Custom-house officers. It was true, that as under the present law there were some descriptions of sugar which approached so nearly to refined sugar that they had been actually refused admittance, questions might also arise approaching so nearly the confines of the duty, as to lead to doubts whether one or two shillings more ought by the terms of the Act to be imposed on the sugar. But the great bulk of the import would be admitted without any difficulty whatever. In 1841 the Government of the day had found it necessary, pressed by the impossibility of admitting the sugar of Cuba and Brazil on the same footing, to introduce a third scale of duty—the very thing for which Government was now censured. In order that no doubt should exist as to the intention of the present measure to arrange the duties, according to quality as well as colour, we here introduce the words "equal to white clayed in quality." His noble Friend opposite admitted that the principle on which they proceeded was a fair one; that they had chosen a proper article; effected the reduction of duty wisely; adopted properly the principle of protection to British industry, and properly put East and West India sugar on the same footing; and having made these concessions, he objected to some points, from apprehensions which he himself entertained, but which the Custom-house officers did not, or from doubts which he threw upon the accuracy of the original Estimates made by Ministers. These were admitted by his noble Friend near him (the Earl of Dalhousie) to be matters of little more than guess-work, excepting as regarded this important point, that they had, by their introduction of Foreign sugar, secured to the people of this country an adequate and more than adequate supply, and that at a very moderate and reduced price. When the present Government came into office, the price was 37*s.* a cwt., and a year before it had been at 40*s.*, 49*s.*, and he believed even 58*s.*, without the duty? The late Government said they should succeed in all the objects of their measure, if they could secure an adequate supply at a price of not more than 59*s.* duty paid, or at the rate of 6*d.* per lb. What was the case now? They had secured to the people of this country a supply of sugar in the present year exceeding by 100,000 tons or upwards the largest consumption which had ever taken place in this country. In the face of this measure, the price of sugar had not risen but fallen—at this moment the average price was certainly not higher than 30*s.* per cwt., the consumer had obtained the full benefit of the reduction, and with this state of the market there was a supply exceeding by one-third the largest consumption ever known. So much for the present; and his noble Friend admitted that by the principle they had followed in encouraging the production of sugar in the East Indies, they had provided for future years an annually increasing supply. If they had relieved the consumer by diminishing the price, and secured an adequate supply, giving a guarantee against any increase—if they had obtained a prospect for the future of a yet further fall in price, and a more abundant supply to meet an increased consumption—he asked the House not to stultify the course which Parliament had pursued, to render vain the noble sacrifices made by the people of this country, or to abandon the principle laid down by the Legislature of waging war against the continuance of the Slave Trade, but to maintain a constant determination to exclude slave-grown sugar from competition with free-grown. By so doing they might be certain of obtaining a most abundant supply of this commodity from unobjectionable sources, and would pursue a steady and consistent policy, in furtherance of all the principles and interests of humanity.

Bill read 3ª and passed.

House adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, April 11, 1845.

Mnutes.] Bills. *Public.*—1°· Arrestment of Wages (Scotland).

2°· Auction Duties Repeal; Sugar (Excise Duties).

Reported.—Calico Print Works.

Private.—1°· Bermondsey Improvement; Great North of England (Clarence and Hartlepool Junction) Railway; Cork and Brandon Railway; Wexford, Carlow, and Dublin Junction Railway; Bristol and Exeter Railway Branches; Newry and Enniskillen Railway.

2°· Glasgow, Garnkirk, and Coatbridge Railway; Edinburgh Life Assurance Company; Dundee and Perth Railway; Dundee Waterworks; Glasgow Markets; Newport and Ponty Pool Railway; South Wales Railway.

Petitions Presented. By Viscount Bernard, Colonel Vernor, Mr. Acton, and Mr. Maxwell, from several places, for Encouragement of Schools in connexion with Church Education Society (Ireland).—By Mr. A. Smith, from Wharton, and Middlesex, for better Observance of the Lord's Day.—By Earls of Hillsborough, Lincoln, and Shelburne, Marquess of Blandford, and Viscounts Adare, Barrington, Duncan, Grimston, Ingestre, Mahon, Northland, Pollington, and Sandon, Lords Ashley, R. Grosvenor, Hallyburton, Hill, C. Manners, E. Russell, C. Russell, G. Somerset, Vane, and Worsley, Sirs T. Acland, J. Y. Buller, W. Clay, G. Clerk, W. Codrington, H. Douglas, J. Duke, P. Egerton, J. Hanmer, W. Heathcote, R. Heron, R. H. Inglis, J. Johnstone, W. Jolliffe, C. Knightley, J. Lowther, G. Staunton, F. Trench, and J. Tyrell, Colonels Fox, Paget, Rolleston, and Wood, Captains Plumridge, and Protheroe, Major Beresford, Dr. Bowring, Aldermen Copeland and Humphery, and Messrs. Acland, Adderley, Aglionby, Aldam, Allix, Antrobus, Bagge, Bailey, Baird, Bankes, W. Baring, Baskerville, Beckett, Bell, Benbow, H. Berkeley, Blackburne, Blewitt, Bowes, Botfield, Bowes, Bradshaw, Bramston, Broadley, Brotherton, Bruges, Buck, Buckley, Burroughes, Busfeild, Byng, Cardwell, Carew, Cartwright, Cavendish, Charteris, Childers, Christopher, Chute, Clayton, Clive, Colborne, Colquhoun, Currie, Darby, Denison, Dick, Dickinson, Disraeli, J. D. Douglas, Dugdale, T. Duncombe, A. Duncombe, O. Duncombe, Du Pre, Entwisle, Evans, Farnham, Fielden, Fellowes, Fitzmaurice, Fitzroy, Forman, Fuller, Gibson, Gisborne, Gore, Greenall, Greene, Grogan, Hale, Hawes, Heathcote, Henley, Hindley, Hodgson, Holmes, Howard, Hume, A. Hussey, T. Hussey, Hutt, Irton, Kemble, Knight, Labouchere, Lambton, Legh, Macaulay, Maclean, Marshall, Martin, Masterman, Matheson, Maunsell, Maxwell, Mildmay, Mitcalf, Mitchell, Morris, Mundy, Napier, Newdegate, Nicholl, O'Brien, Ord, Packe, Palmer, Parker, Patten, Pattison, Phillips, Plumptre, Praed, Protheroe, Pulsford, Ricardo, Russell, Ryder, Scott, Scroope, Sheppard, Shirley, A. Smith, C. Smith, Somes, Sotheron, Spooner, Stanley, Stansfield, P. Stewart, H. Stuart, Strutt, Tancred, Thornely, Tollemache, Trelawny, Turner, Walker, Warburton, Ward, Watson, Wawn, Wilshere, Wodehouse, Wortley, and Young, from an immense number of places, (2,262 Petitions) against the Grant to Maynooth. —By Mr. Bagot, Mr. Baskerville, Sir E. Filmer, Mr. Morris, Mr. Neville, Col. Trevor, and Sir W. Wynn, from a great number of places, against Union of St. Asaph and Bangor.—By Mr. Hindley, and Sir R. H. Inglis, from Harleston, and Stoke Newington, against Importation of Hill Coolies into the Colonies.—By Mr. Somes, from the New Zealand Company, for Redress.—By Mr. Hale, from Cromhall, and Dunstone, for Relief from Agricultural Taxation.—By Mr. Gibson, from Manchester, for General Admission of Sugar — By Mr. Young, from Aberdeen, for a Tax on Steam Sawing.—By Mr. Ross, from Calfaghtrin, for Repeal of Charitable Donations and Bequests (Ireland) Act.—By Mr. Morris, and Mr. Sheridan, from Aberystwyth, and Shaftesbury, for Repeal of Insolvent Debtors Act.—By Mr. Denison, Mr. Hale, Sir W. Heathcote, and Mr. Scrope, from several places, against Justices' Clerks and Clerks of the Peace Bill.—By Mr. H. Berkeley, and Mr. Martin, from several places, in favour of the Museums of Art Bill.—By Sir W. Heathcote, Earl Jermyn, Mr. Patten, Mr. Sheridan Mr. Stansfield, and Sir J. Tyrell, from several places, against Parochial Settlement Bill.—By Sir E. Filmer, and Mr. C. Russell, from several places, against the Physic and Surgery Bill.—By Mr. Rutherfurd, from Portobello, for Alteration of Prisons (Scotland) Bill.—By Lord Ashley, Mr. Hindley, and Mr. Young, from several places, for Alteration of Law, relating to Promiscuous Intercourse.—By Mr. Aldam, Lord Ashley, and Mr. O. Stanley, from several places, for Diminishing the Number of Public Houses.

READING PETITIONS—THE MINISTERS.] Mr. *Ferrand* had a petition to present from nearly 2,000 Members of the Dublin Protestant Operative Association, which was most respectfully worded. The petitioners begged to state, that

"They have of late been afflicted beyond measure by the utter contempt with which they have seen those principles treated which they have ever been taught to regard as sacred, and for the establishment of which their fathers laid down their lives. That they have been taught to regard the Legislature as the source from which laws should emanate to punish transgression, cherish truth, and reward virtue. That it is to the decisions of the British Parliament that the United Kingdom and its dependencies stand indebted (under God) for the establishment of true religion, in accordance with His revealed will; and that, subsequently to the era of the Reformation, it has pleased Almighty God to elevate the state of Britain to the highest eminence among nations. They submit that, if the British Parliament, instead of sanctioning and propagating the Christian religion, lends itself to the sanction, diffusion, and approbation of heresy and religious error, then would your honourable House, instead of being a national blessing, become a national curse. That they have learned that laws are about to be introduced by the head of the Government having for their object the inculcation, in public seminaries, of Popish principles, such principles being, according to law, false, idolatrous, and anti-Christian; and for the purpose of largely increasing an annual grant, for some time back most improperly and inconsistently made to the Popish College of Maynooth; and that they regard the proposition as highly unconstitutional, indicative of a man who means to subvert their national liberties, and calculated to involve in peril the Throne and the Constitution. That it is not merely the professed designs, intentions, and purposes of the Prime Minister which fill your petitioners with anxiety; but they are distinctly impressed with the belief that he has warranted, sanctioned, and advised, acts and measures which violate the established laws, and mark a total indifference to what those laws sanction and demand."

Mr. *Roebuck* rose to order. He understood it was the rule of that House, against which he had often voted and spoken, that there should be no speaking on the presentation of petitions; that Members should confine themselves to the declarations contained in petitions, a statement of the persons from whom they came, and their prayer. He held in his hand a copy of the petition *in extenso* which the hon. Gentleman was now presenting; and while he professed to confine himself to a statement of its substance, he was by a sleight of hand reading the whole it.

Mr. *Speaker* informed the hon. Member, that if he was reading the petition he was certainly out of order. He must merely state its substance. The hon. Member may have made notes of the substance, and he may read from them, but it was against the Orders of the House to read the petition.

Mr. *Ferrand* said, he would confine himself to the substance. The petitioners stated that by the 1st of William and Mary, *s.* 2, *c.* 2, passed and declared to be inviolate at the Revolution of 1688, enacted for the protection for ever of the Protestant religion, as by law established, it is declared, that

> "Whereas it is inconsistent with the safety of the Protestant kingdom to be governed by a Popish Prince, or by a King or Queen marrying a Papist; be it therefore enacted, by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, that all and every person and persons who shall hereafter be reconciled to or hold any communication whatever with the See or Church of Rome, shall be declared incapable of enjoying or succeeding to the Throne and Government of these Realms; and in all such cases the subjects shall be absolved from their allegiance, and the Throne and Government shall descend to the next person in succession, he or she being a Protestant."

Mr. *Roebuck* again rose to order. The hon. Member was clearly reading the petition.

Mr. *Ferrand* continued: He insisted he was merely reading what was stated in the petition. The petition further stated,—

> "That notwithstanding this solemn act and law, they find in the *Dublin Gazette*, December 20, 1844, the following announcement:
>
> "*Dublin Castle, December* 18, 1844.
>
> "The Queen in Council has been pleased, by warrant under the sign manual, bearing date at Her Majesty's Court of St. James's, the 14th day of December, 1844, to appoint the following persons to be Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests for Ireland, agreeably to the provisions of the Act 7th and 8th of Her Majesty, cap. 97, viz.—The Most Rev. John George, Lord Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland; the Most Rev. Richard, Lord Archbishop of Dublin; the Most Rev. Archbishop William Crolly; the Most Rev. Archbishop Daniel Murray; the Right Hon. John Hely, Earl of Donoughmore, K.S.P.; the Right Rev. Bishop Cornelius Denvir; the Very Rev. Henry Pakenham, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin; the Right Hon. Sir Patrick Bellew, Bart.; the Right Hon. Anthony Richard Blake; the Rev. Pooley Shouldham Henry, D.D."

Mr. *Roebuck:* I again rise to order, and I will make a Motion this time. The hon. Member is reading word for word the petition, a copy of which I hold in my hand. It is a flagrant breach of the Orders of the House, and an unworthy breach of the same. I now move that the hon. Member be commanded to bring up his petition.

Mr. *Speaker:* Having stated to the hon. Member the rules of the House, I hope he will strictly confine himself to the substance of the petition; otherwise his conduct will be most disorderly.

Mr. *Ferrand:* I do not wish to do anything disrespectful to the House, or that is disorderly. I only wish to discharge my duty to the petitioners to the utmost of my power. The hon. Member for Gateshead was not interrupted last night when he presented a petition.

Sir *R. Peel:* I will only submit to the House, considering the peculiar nature of the notice which was given by the hon. Member of his intention to present this petition, and that the petition calls in question the Parliamentary conduct of a Minister of the Crown, whether some latitude ought not to be allowed to him. I think, under the circumstances, that he should have permission to state the contents of the petition.

Mr. *Roebuck:* Sir, I object to that. Is it not right to enforce the Order of the House? I myself objected to the making of that Order, and so did my hon. Friend the Member for Montrose. If the hon. Member wishes to bring these statements forward, he ought not to do it in this manner, immediately before a large debate, without the possibility of a reply; but there ought to be a substantive Motion, and he should read his petition for the purpose of making his Motion; therefore I cannot agree to the hon. Member reading the petition at length on this occasion.

Mr. *Milnes:* Would it not be better to have the petition read by the Clerk at the Table?

Mr. *Ferrand:* Sir, I will read the prayer of the petition; and I shall consider it my duty then to move that the petition be read by the Clerk at the Table. You will find it rather a long one. Sir, they state that this announcement

> "By authority" is nothing less than a "communication" from the Throne to the Church of Rome; that church is recognised—the monarch "reconciled" thereto—its archbishops and bishops, who derive their episcopal authority solely from "the foreign prince and prelate," the Pope, are communicated with—their orders, solely of foreign origin, recognised, and, in virtue of the same, are invested with judicial functions by the Crown, and have conceded to them "pre-eminence" above a nobleman of the United Kingdom and a dignitary of the Established

Church. They further submit that this flagrant contempt of the Bill of Rights does likewise directly contravene the Oath of Supremacy, for that oath compels the person taking it expressly to declare, 'No foreign prince, prelate, state, or potentate hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm. So help me God.'"

Yet, notwithstanding this, the functionaries of the Pope are furnished with these powers.

Mr. *Speaker* rose and said, that the hon. Member must confine himself to the prayer of the petition. If the hon. Gentleman wished the petition to be read at length, he should move that it be so read by the Clerk at the Table.

Mr. *Ferrand* resumed,—

"On all these grounds petitioners most humbly pray your honourable House to reject all propositions for the encouragement and spread of Popish principles, to withdraw all manner of support from the Popish and idolatrous College of Maynooth, to deprive all the functionaries of the Pope within this realm of 'power, pre-eminence, and authority,' and forthwith to institute an inquiry into the conduct of the right hon. Sir R. Peel, Bart., M. P.; and if the premises of your petitioners be found correct, to impeach him for high crimes and misdemeanors against the laws and the constitution of the realm; and if he be found guilty thereof, to visit him with condign punishment for the same; and your petitioners further pray, that should your honourable House upon investigation ascertain that, though the conduct of the Prime Minister may not have so far violated law as to warrant his impeachment, your honourable House may still be pleased to present an Address to Her Majesty, calling upon Her Majesty to remove Sir R. Peel from Her Councils, as one who has disgusted all parties, who ousted other men from their places merely to adopt their policy, and who, if he have succeeded in replenishing the coffers of the Exchequer, has done so while carrying out measures calculated to draw down the wrath of Heaven on the land, divest the kingdom of its best and only security, and thus to render it but a richer spoil to the first foreign foe who may, in the just judgment of God, be raised up to scourge the realm for national unfaithfulness."

Mr. *Ferrand* then moved that the petition be read by the Clerk at the Table.

The Clerk had commenced and read a few words only, when

Mr. *Ferrand* said, that several hon. Members around him did not think it advisable or respectful to the House to insist that his petition should be read at the Table, and he therefore withdrew his Motion to that effect.

Upon the Question being put that the petition do lie on the Table,

Mr. *C. W. Wynn* said, he thought, certainly, that there might be reasons why the objections should not be urged against the present petition lying on the Table; but if the House should decide hereafter that the petition was a ground upon which a Member of Parliament might by these means be called to account for his Parliamentary conduct, he certainly thought that it would not be conducive to the honour or advantage of the House to have such a petition laid upon the Table. He should therefore give his negative to the reception of a petition bringing charges against a Member of Parliament by name. A charge might be stated by one Member against another as the ground of proceeding to call him to account for his conduct, but the House ought not to receive a charge under the guise of a petition. He should move, then, to negative the Motion that the petition do lie on the Table.

Sir *R. Peel* said, with all deference to his right hon. Friend, he did not see on what ground the House should refuse to let the petition lie on the Table. There might be parts of the petition having reference to the Parliamentary conduct of a Member of the House, but it also related to an act done by the Executive Government—the announcement in the *Dublin Gazette*. He must say he did not see any reason to object to the reception of the petition. The petitioners had a right to complain of that Act; and they were at liberty to form their own opinion as to the motives of the conduct of public men. He hoped his right hon. Friend would not press his Amendment.

Mr. *Roebuck* observed, that there had now arisen a debate on the presentation of a petition, and hereafter he should not think it out of order to raise a debate on any petition that might be presented.

Mr. *Speaker:* The debate has arisen on a point of order, and not on the petition. I should have felt it my duty to interfere if an hon. Member had risen for the purpose of debating the petition. But the right hon. Gentleman spoke upon a point of order, whether the petition should be received or not.

Mr. *C. W. Wynn:* The question was that the petition should lie on the Table, which I conceived myself at liberty to oppose.

Mr. *Roebuck;* Yes. Then I am not wrong. The right hon. Gentleman has distinctly made a Motion, and raised a debate.

Mr. *Speaker* referred the hon. Member to the Standing Order of the House, and explained that the rule was, that there should be no debate upon the presentation of a petition unless it had reference to a breach of the privileges of the House.

Mr. *C. W. Wynn* withdrew his Amendment.

Petition laid on the Table, and ordered to be printed.

MAYNOOTH COLLEGE.] Sir *R. Peel* moved the Second Reading of the Maynooth College Bill.

Mr. *Colquhoun* said:* Before I pass to the merits of the question, I would address an appeal to the noble Lord the Member for London. On the last occasion upon which this subject was discussed, the noble Lord adverted to measures which, in his judgment, would follow this Bill if it werecarried. He traced what those measures were, and suggested an endowment for the Roman Catholic priests in Ireland. I am not about to discuss the propriety of such a measure; my appeal to the noble Lord is to request that before he suggests it, he will carefully consider its bearings, and the more especially as upon two classes of political questions his authority is of peculiar weight. When the noble Lord delivers his sentiments upon the question of the Oregon territory, he speaks as an independent Member of Parliament, of great influence indeed and ability, but not exercising any absolute control over the measures of Government; but there are two classes of questions, those which relate to religion and those which affect Ireland, on which I shall be able to satisfy the noble Lord that the leader of Opposition exercises an influence of a very different kind. It has occurred, Sir, ever since the Reform Bill, by what law of our political existence I cannot pretend to say, that on these two classes of questions those who sit on this side of the House are divested of all power of carrying out their opinions, and are constrained to adopt the opinions of their opponents. I shall prove this law, as I would prove a law of nature, by the induction of cases. It was so under the Administration of the noble Lord. Upon National Education he was obliged to adopt our opinions, or, at least, greatly to limit his own. On the question of the Irish Church he was blamed by his own party for adopting our views, and surrendering his plan of appropriation. On the subject of Irish Registration he could not carry out his own views. It was supposed, however, that when we crossed to this side of the House, we should on these questions, above all others, transport our opinions with us. On the contrary, his opinions, opposed to ours, which could not be carried as long as our opponents sat on this side of the House, have become prevalent since we came to it. The hon. Member for Waterford held particular views on the subject of Academical Education in Ireland. I do not ask whether these views were just or not. The fact is, that so long as he stated them on this side of the House they were dormant. He stated them in an elaborate speech, and that speech has gone to our records up-stairs, where so many able and so many dull orations are entombed. The hon. Gentleman became a Member of the late Government. Still his views of academic education were neglected; but the moment that he passes to the other side of the House they become all powerful, and are about to be carried into a law in the present Session. The same hon. Member held very decided views on the subject of English education, the chief feature of which was to give to the Executive Government a predominant influence, which I always thought greatly to be dreaded, over national education. These views were resisted by us when in opposition; but the moment that the hon. Member takes our place, then his views are adopted by Government, and the President of the Council delivers a speech in Yorkshire, the head and tail of which might not exactly suit the Member for Waterford; but as to the great body of the speech, the only objection which the Member for Waterford could make to it was, that it was not delivered in inverted commas as a quotation from his elaborate orations. There is another subject, Sir, for which, while we sat on the other side of the House, we earnestly contended. I mean Church extension. We declared this to be essential to the welfare of the country, and in our vote upon it we run the late Government so hard, that we were only in a minority of nineteen. It was supposed that when we crossed the House, Church extension would be introduced on a large scale. What has become of it? With the exception of a trifling measure, good in principle, but so limited that it supplied 300 churches to a country whose wants demanded thousands, Church extension has gone to the same place of oblivion which has received the speeches and plans of so many Members. Thus far I have spoken of religious questions. Now turn to Irish questions. Our views upon Irish registration were definite whilst in opposition. The evil, we said, was flagrant, the remedy was plain. It admitted of no delay; we would not suffer the late Government to delay. We pressed our plan; we carried it on several divisions. In office we were sure to introduce it. Ever since, Irish registration has been unheard of, and no measure to correct it has been carried. It is these things which induce me to appeal to the noble Lord. He has on these questions over-ruling power. Let him exercise it with a due sense of his responsibility. He is now in the situation of power — let him beware how he throws out hasty suggestions. It is not unlikely that they may be carried into law. The right hon. Gentleman, the Member for Dungarvon, threw out a bold suggestion upon Irish registration. I listened to the eloquence of the right hon. Gentleman with pleasure; but I am not sure that he is the person to suggest the settlement of difficult questions. I hope the noble Lord will restrain him. I have an appeal to make also to the hon. Members for Sheffield and Montrose. They have been the consistent opponents of the Irish Church. I have a great desire to maintain that Church. Where they now sit they may be able to carry out their views. If we could tempt them to this side of the House, I should have no further apprehension. Will they resume the seats which they formerly occupied? It is evident that they are detached from the party of the noble Lord, and that they are in fact supporters of the present Government. Why should they not cross to this side of the House? Are they fearful of the name of Conservative? There is, I assure them, nothing in it. It is a mere name, a name too without a notion. While, however, Gentlemen entertaining such views occupy the seats of power, I am afraid I cannot join my hon. Friend the Member for the University of Oxford, in anticipating that our opposition to the present measure will be effectual. This certainly I can promise, that our resistance will be uncompromising. We shall oppose it at every stage; we shall insist upon reasonable delay; and if our request be not complied with, we shall resort to those forms of the House which are established to protect a minority, which I predict will never have been used with greater moderation, nor for a more legitimate end. Undoubtedly, Sir, if it were not for the circumstances to which I have alluded, I should have a strong confidence that when the subject is fairly stated, the House would never pass such a measure as the present. Much has been said on the question of conscience; there is truth in the observation of my noble Friend the Member for Liverpool, that the majority in a State cannot set up their own consciences as an inflexible standard; and refuse to suffer the endowment of any religion inconsistent with theirs. [Mr. *Roebuck*: Hear, hear]. I admit this to the hon. Member. I wish to argue the case fairly; to avoid none of its difficulties. I admit that in cases, like Canada and Malta, where you incorporate in your Empire States possessing different religions from our own, it would be inconsistent with the very existence of that Empire, to refuse to allow the religious endowments which they possess. But if on this side of the question an absolute doctrine cannot be laid down, the other extreme maintained by the right hon. Member for Dungarvon is much more untenable. The right hon. Member says, that it is now an axiom of Government that we are to neglect the dictates of our individual consciences in the conduct of public affairs. I never heard of such a doctrine except in the government of Napoleon, who was an honorary member of all religions, and indifferent to all. That is neither the doctrine nor the practice of this country. I refer him to the despatches of the noble Lord the Member for London, and of the late President of the Board of Control. Did they acknowledge such a doctrine? Did they not practically repudiate it? Why did the one interfere with suttees in India? Was not that an ordinance of the Indian religion? Why did the other refuse in our Colonies to permit infanticide? Is not this a religious usage sanctioned by the faith of many savages? They felt, and truly, that there are principles of immutable morality, sanctioned by the Christian faith, which it is our duty to extend throughout every corner of our Empire. The truth, I take it, Sir, to be this, that, where we possess, as we do, institutions, both ecclesiastical and civil, of peculiar value, it is our duty, a duty which we owe to the States with which we are connected, to keep in view, as our great aim, the extension of these throughout our Empire, at such times, and in such a manner, as may best accomplish our ultimate end, their establishment throughout all parts of our dominions. This principle is capable of application to Ireland, and I am satisfied that I could show that we might settle the present question in accordance with it; but I am not about to enter on this in the present discussion. The religious ground on which this question could be argued, I am willing this evening to wave. I hold it—I will not surrender it—I am quite prepared to take my stand on it; but I feel so strong in the confidence of my case, that I descend from this vantage-ground to the mere political ground on which the right hon. Baronet has rested his measure. On that issue I am prepared to meet him; and I think I can show that, on grounds of policy alone, there never was a measure submitted to Parliament which less deserved our support. I would first dispose of the question of compact. This indeed has been little relied on. My noble Friend the Member for Liverpool, talked of it as a *quasi* compact. The right hon. Membe for Dungarvon, who relied on it before' never alluded to it in this debate. Gentlemen, I suspect, feel this ground to be untenable. [Mr. *Ward:* Hear, hear]. If the hon. Gentleman relies on it, I shall be happy to hear his argument; and as other opportunities will occur, I shall be quite prepared to meet him on it. For the present, I make a single remark which goes far to settle the question. The Irish Parliament passed with unanimity the Bill to enable the Roman Catholics to endow the College of Maynooth. That they should have refused to do so, would indeed have been monstrous; and badly as I think of the proceedings of the Irish Parliament, it would have branded them with the foulest stigma to refuse to the Roman Catholics the power (for that is all which these acts confer) of establishing a college for the education of their youth. The Irish Parliament went further, and assisted the establishment of the College by an annual grant of money. But that this was precarious, granted, or to be withheld at pleasure, that, in fact, it has nothing in it of a compact, is plain from this striking fact. In 1799 the Roman Catholic Bishops wished that this money grant should be converted from a precarious vote into a certain endowment. They petitioned the House to that effect; and the House of Lords by an overwhelming majority rejected their petition. I pass from these preliminary questions to the merits of the Bill. Mr. Pitt's name has been quoted; what, I asked, was Mr. Pitt's object in the establishment of the College of Maynooth? His object has been stated on the highest authority by Lord Castlereagh, who was more intimately acquainted with Mr. Pitt's views on this question than any other man. In 1810, speaking in this House, Lord Castlereagh says of Mr. Pitt's views,—

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* From a corrected Report.

> "His wish was, that they should not cease to be Roman Catholics; that they should continue to be sincere and liberal Roman Catholics, connecting themselves with their own Government, for purposes of mutual benefit; to the exclusion of all foreign connexion."

How has this object been attained? We have had an experience of fifty years, during which Maynooth has formed the social character of the priesthood. Two great periods have occurred of political agitation; an agitation in both cases hostile to British connexion. What part have the priesthood taken in these? For the one, I cannot find a higher authority than that of the Member for Waterford, in his History of the Roman Catholic Association. His words are these:—

> "The clergy, too, had sent in from time to time their adhesion. Maynooth began to be felt. Irishmen who had never left Ireland, were the priests whom it sent forth; and though, in some instances, the proprieties and decencies of their ecclesiastical station were considerably lost, the country gained on the whole by the infusion of a more popular spirit among the body."

Again, he says,—

> "The young were of a very different temper; for the most part they had been educated at Maynooth, and had carried with them, as I have already remarked, all that spirit of independence and democracy which of late years has more or less become the characteristic of Irish Catholic education. They were full of the spirit of the times, and thoroughly acquainted with every detail of recent politics."

There was another crisis—the Repeal crisis in 1843—the violence and hostility of which we all remember. It is a significant fact, that the priesthood, almost to a man, were embarked in that movement. I will read to you the observation of an eye-witness, understood to be a gentleman who received office under the late Government, who now holds office, and who addressed, in October, 1843, this letter to the *Morning Chronicle* :—

"The most serious fact of all connected with the present agitation has yet to be mentioned. There cannot be a doubt that the great body of the Roman Catholic priests have gone into the movement in the worst, that is, in the rebellious sense. Many of the priests of the old school, who had been educated in France, and had seen the world, held out for a time; but they were given to understand, that if they continued to take this line, the shepherd would be deserted by his flock, and they were forced to yield. Two or three splendid instances are still mentioned of priests openly professing their determination to submit to any consequences, rather than give their sanction to a movement which they knew to be of the most dangerous and pernicious character; but the curates and young priests brought up at Maynooth, have gone into it heartily, almost to a man. These young men are generally the sons of small farmers, and other persons of a similar rank in life. They, therefore, bring with them strong feelings and limited and one-sided information from home; and at Maynooth they are brought up, like our young Newmanite clergy at Oxford, to regard the Church as the sole object for which they are to live, and think, and act. They have no property, no families of their own, to be compromised by a rebellion; and, as it would be inconsistent with the character of their sacred profession to appear at the head of their flocks on the field of battle, they run no personal risk. They may gain, but they cannot well lose, by the result of a conflict. Some, more heady and enthusiastic than the rest, might even lead their flocks to battle; but, whatever their conduct in this respect might be, there cannot be a doubt that the prevailing spirit of the priesthood is correctly represented by the following expressions, extracted from the speech of the Rev. Mr. Cantwell, parish priest of Tramore, at the late monster-meeting at Lismore :—'He could support O'Connell with his voice, but he would support him with more. Look at that arm (said the reverend gentleman, stretching forth his right arm). After the magnificent scene I have this day witnessed, I'll die a death, or see Ireland free.' (Tremendous cheering, waving of hats, &c.) The priests have given to the repeal movements all the weight of a religious cause in the eyes of a superstitious people."

I could multiply testimony; I give only one from a gentleman long in Ireland, who had great means of observation, and used them with singular impartiality. In his letter to me he says,—

"I never heard the subject of the priesthood mentioned, that it was not universally considered that the priests educated abroad and at Maynooth, were perfectly distinct classes. The one, well disposed, peaceable, and of kindly feeling towards all; the other, turbulent, assuming, political, and hostile to the English Constitution."

The right hon. Member for Dungarvon seemed to think that we contrasted the priest of old times with the priest of modern times. That is not our distinction. It lies between a priesthood educated at such a college as Maynooth, and a priesthood educated in a university of a different character. As an example of what I mean, I take the case of two priests, administrators, a short time since, in the parish of Boyle, county of Roscommon. The one was educated partly at Trinity College, the other in Maynooth. "The Trinity College man," my correspondent writes, "is mild, inoffensive, and gentlemanlike in his demeanour;" the other he describes as a perfect firebrand. And this difference is a matter of easy explanation; I find an illustration of it in the circumstances of our own Church. There are in that Church, clergymen who entertain very strong opinions upon ecclesiastical questions. They hold the highest notions of the authority of the priesthood, and of the deference due to them by the laity. Those, however, who enter the Church, are educated at Universities open to the laity, and where men of all professions meet. In these Universities opinion is formed, moderated by the collision of various classes and sentiments. Suppose, now, we were to constitute for the clerical education of the English Church a separate college; place there as its professors men holding these ecclesiastical opinions; let the students be drilled by them, and let them live there for four years without coming into contact with the laity. I beg to ask what sort of opinions would be formed? what clerical character would result? A character so drilled in monastic notions, so inflated with ideas of ecclesiastical domination, that with such a clergy, the connexion could not exist for ten years between the Church and the State. Yet this is the actual position of Maynooth, with this addition, that as their ecclesiastics are celibates, they are cut off during the whole of their after-life from all the ties and amenities of social life. Can we wonder that the growth of such a system should be that haughty spirit of intolerance, which has been remarked by every traveller as the characteristic of the Irish priesthood? Do you, in your Bill, propose to correct this? to mitigate it, to abate the evil? you propose to increase it, to aggravate it, to lengthen the period, to increase the intenity of this bigoted education. Your plan is this; and there never was one, at once so inconsistent with common reason, and so unlikely to accomplish any practical good. The students under this system are already too numerous; we increase them. They already stay there two long for any liberel education; we shall enable them to stay longer. They have, and this is your complaint, only 22*l.* per annum; and only a portion of them have that sum. We raise the bursary to 28*l.*, and we extend it to the whole five hundred. In the name of common sense, was there ever such a proposal! The absurdity of this was pointed out long ago by a Roman Catholic barrister, Mr. McKenna. He was an advocate for Maynooth; and yet here are the terms in which he speaks of this system of a great number of petty bursaries, which you propose to multiply:

> "No intentions could possibly be more laudable than those by which the Government was influenced on that occasion, and the persons selected to direct the institution were amongst the most honourable in society. But these persons were not concerned in the original design, or in the details. The Ministers who carried the project into effect had not an accurate view of the subject; and they consulted with persons who were incompetent to inform them. The Roman Catholic religion might have received the assistance designed for it at a much less expense; or the sum bestowed might have been rendered a means of more extensive good, and productive of stronger feelings of gratitude. The Government should have contented itself in providing the necessary buildings, appointing officers and professors, with endowment adequate to ensure a succession, and creating a limited number of foundations in reward of merit, or in aid of deserving necessity. There, in my apprehension, it should have stopped. The bounty which supports at the public expense an entire college, and every individual of its members, is too indiscriminate; the emotions to which it might be expected to give rise, are lost in the generality; no man is obliged by what every man partakes of."

These observations are just. If you wanted to stimulate zeal, to rouse literary ambition, you would give your endowments, not, as you propose, to every lad that enters the college, but to those who distinguish themselves by their exertions. The result of your system must be, as it is, to attract to the college the very dregs of the people, and to deter from it every man of better education and more liberal mind. Such is the fact; the hon. Baronet the Member for Louth tried to explain it; he tried to show why the higher classes of Roman Catholics sent no scholars to Maynooth:—he has failed. In Prussia, where the payment is not greater, the sons of gentlemen enter the Romish Church. Why do they not do so in Ireland? I should like to see the Roman Catholic gentleman—I would go a long way to see him—who should tell me that he, brought up in the accomplishments and liberal tastes of our social life, would send his son to be drilled in the bigoted notions and monastic discipline of such an establishment; excellent, indeed, for its end, to imprint upon men such a character as the Irish priest exhibits, but from which I am sure every liberal Roman Catholic would revolt; he would repudiate the idea of sending his son to a seminary, the professors of which, badly educated themselves, give a bad literary and bad mathematical education. [Sir *J. Graham*: Hear.] I will first finish my sentence, and then dispose of the argument expressed in the cheer of my right hon. Friend. Yes, so bad an education, that the professor of mathematics declared to the Commissioners, that he was not acquainted with the sixth book of Euclid. [Mr. *Ward:* Hear.] I perfectly understand the argument of the hon. Gentleman. I know what is meant both by him and by my right hon. Friend. They mean, that if you raise the endowment of the professors; if you give them, as by the Bill you propose to do, higher salaries, you will secure the services of superior men. Is this the mode in which they dispose of all the influences of public opinion? Only pay men well, and they will work well! Why, then, are there so many grammar schools, both in England and Ireland, where the masters are paid well, and do nothing? [Mr. *Milnes:* We have a better chance.] So this is the doctrine of my hon. Friend the Member for Pomfret: we are to pay 25,000*l.* per annum for the chance of a better education! Very dear, if you had the certainty; but 25,000*l.* for the chance—and what a chance! All experience tells us, that when you surround an institution with secrecy, where you shut out its proceedings from the daylight of opinion, and cover them with the shroud of concealment, abuses are sure to arise, and the very object of your endowment to be frustrated. No, Sir, if you will have a college, cut off from all public knowledge of its proceedings—from the intercommunion of different classes—you will have, and you deserve to have, ignorance, and bigotry, and a perversion of public objects for narrow and mischievous ends. The case of Prussia has been cited. Its policy has been quoted as if it were to be our own; nothing can be more different. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Dungarvon stated it as the universal practice of the Roman Catholic Church to train up those who were destined for its priesthood in ecclesiastical seminaries, and in a separate and ascetic discipline, like that of Maynooth. As a general statement, nothing can be more inaccurate. It is true of one of the systems of education for the priesthood pursued abroad—the Italian system. There the youth are trained from the early age of seven till they enter the Church, in seminaries conducted by the priests, and where no lay students are admitted; but the result of this is to train up a priesthood such as we find them in Italy—narrow-minded, bigoted, and ignorant. If your object is to have such a priesthood in Ireland, by means of the College of Maynooth, such an object will be attained. But there is another system conducted on very different principles; and which, as it is established throughout Germany, I shall call, in contradistinction to the Italian, the Germanic. This system has for its object to make the student a citizen before he becomes a priest—to imprint on him the national before he assumes the ecclesiastical character. The mode of doing this is by a system the direct opposite to that which is pursued in Italy and at Maynooth. Instead of allowing the boy of tender years to be draughted into the ecclesiastical seminary, there to be narrowed into bigoted notions and ascetic habits, he is compelled to pass through the literary institutions of his country, from the school which he enters at seven, to the college or public school, and finally to the university. In all these he meets with boys of every class; he is subjected to the contact of every opinion; he is exposed to the strong but strengthening collision of opposite views. The result is, that when at twenty-one he passes from the university into the ecclesiastical seminary, he goes there liberalized with study, with his mind expanded, and his views mitigated by his training. The German priest thus offers a striking contrast to the Italian or the Irish priest. Men of liberal feelings enter the Church; persons of the upper classes of society become members of the German priests hood. That this cultivation of mindis connected with their studies, I will show you from one case—that of Ronge, the son of a Silesian farmer—who thus speak- of his experience. After being nine yea in the high school of Neisse, he, in 1836, entered with inexpressible joy the University of Breslau; he delighted in history and German literature:—

> "I felt and knew that I was free. Associated with a company of noble-minded youths, it was our earnest endeavour to cultivate our minds, and strengthen our bodies. I chose theology as my profession, because I felt a strong leaning towards teaching."

The efficacy of this system has been lately tried. The late Archbishop of Cologne, who had the notions of an Italian priest, threw Prussia into confusion by attempting to establish the extravagant supremacy of the ecclesiastical over the civil power. With his views the Irish priesthood sympathized, and expressed their sympathy through their organ, the *Dublin Review*. This was the natural fruit of their system of teaching; but the priests in the Rhenish provinces, trained in the Germanic system, refused to join in these extravagant claims—the national spirit prevailed over the ecclesiastical—and the result was, that these pretensions were put down, and peace was restored in Prussia. Had you devised a similar system for Ireland, it would have had, on ground of policy, some justification; you might have, at least, pleaded its expediency. Your measure does not possess even this plea. It aggravates the evils from which we are suffering; it perpetuates that character of the Irish priesthood by which Ireland is convulsed. I can discover for it no possible justification; and regarding it as bad in principle, and wretched in policy, I shall confront it with the most resolute opposition; and through all the stages of its future progress, I shall meet it with every resistance which the forms and the votes of this House can present. I now move that this Bill be read a second time this day six months.

Mr. *Grogan* rose to second the Motion

of the hon. Gentleman, and in doing so would at once express his dissent from the measure introduced by Her Majesty's Government in reference to the College of Maynooth. The right hon. Gentleman (Sir Robert Peel) who introduced the measure seemed to rest his case upon two grounds—compact and expediency. But he had made out no case in reference to either. The question of compact was one very easily discussed. The right hon. Baronet said, three courses were open to the Legislature to adopt—namely, to pursue the old system; to abandon the grant altogether; and the course now before the House. If there was a compact in existence, it was not competent to abandon it at all; therefore it was clear by the right hon. Baronet's own showing, that no such compact existed. But there were even stronger grounds in the expressed opinions of those men who, living at the time the grant was first made, might be said to speak the sentiments of the Legislature that bestowed it. Sir Arthur Wellesley (now Duke of Wellington) said, in 1808, that it was never contemplated to support Maynooth from the public purse; and Dr. Crotty, a Roman Catholic prelate, said before the Committee on the subject in 1825, that he did not know whether the Government had intended to make an annual grant or not. The Irish Parliament had only required that certain pious and charitable institutions should be continued for a number of years, on a scale of expense to be ascertained by an average of six years. If Maynooth was entitled to a continuance of the grant secured to it on the same condition as those instructions, so were they likewise. Yet the Government had withdrawn the grant from the charter schools. The measure could be no more supported on the ground of expediency than of compact. Mr. Pitt was sanguine, in founding the college, that men trained in it, and instructed in a royal institution, would turn out men loyally disposed, and inclined to encourage the dissemination of social and kindly feelings amongst their fellow subjects. That was a very natural object for the Minister of the day to aim at, although the experiment was a dangerous one, a fact proved by the very little success which appeared to have attended it. They were now called upon to grant a new charter to this College, and the question for them to put to themselves was, had it answered the purpose for which it was instituted? He was afraid that, for one, he must answer decidedly no. It had already been mentioned in the House that the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland had taken a very prominent part in the agitations which distracted that country about two years ago. He would attribute most, if not the entire blame of that agitation to the Roman Catholic clergy. The people had powerful lay leaders, it was true, but had it not been for the assistance rendered them by the Roman Catholic clergy, he was certain the agitation could not have been so vigorously sustained. But, despite of this consideration, they were, in one point of view, entitled to the highest praise; for when enormous masses of people had assembled from all parts of the country, chiefly through their instrumentality, and under their management and control, little or no damage, either to person or property, had taken place. But the experience, on the occasion he had referred to, of the part taken by the priests in the agitations of the day, was quite enough to establish his position, that the Catholic College at Maynooth had not answered the object which the Government had in view in seeking to rear up a priesthood in a State Establishment. The system of education pursued at Maynooth was so bad, that the best and most humane, if educated there, would turn out precisely as the priests had done who were educate there. The very course of instruction—the system of education in all its branches, doctrines and tenets, were such as to inevitably assimilate all who were instructed there, to what they had already found the priests to be. The College was managed by seventeen trustees, most of them eminent men, and eleven of them either archbishops or bishops of the Catholic Church. He would not trouble the House by entering at large into the subject of the dependence of the Catholic clergy upon the See of Rome. They all knew that it was absolute and complete; and the Protestants of Ireland had strong doubts that this absolute submission to a Foreign Power was not confined to spiritual matters, but embraced also temporal. The extreme devotion manifested by the Irish hierarchy to the Pope was perfectly well known. Lord Castlereagh declared that the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland were more dependent upon the authority of Rome than the clergy of any other Catholic church in Europe. They enjoyed a great degree of liberty in their intercourse with Rome, they enjoyed unrestricted communication with the Holy See, and this more so than their fellow clergy in any other country in Europe. In every other country he believed there were restrictions imposed upon the communications passing between the clergy and the See of Rome, even when solely affecting spiritual things. In Ireland, on the other hand, there were no restrictions —no limitations of any kind. The See of Rome was anxious to maintain, by every possible means, its supremacy in that country. As to the tenets of the Catholic Church in Ireland, he would cite the assertion of Dr. Milner, who possessed the confidence of the Catholics of that country, that there was not a single Catholic Prelate in England or Ireland who was not ready to reject the four articles of the Gallican Church, commonly called the Gallican Liberties. The hon. Gentleman then quoted several works—that of *Valdinatus* amongst the rest—and another in which the students at Maynooth were instructed, and from which they were examined in proof of the doctrines inculcated by the Catholic Church in Ireland, and taught at the College of Maynooth. From these quotations it appeared that one of these doctrines was that heretics were more pernicious than thieves and murderers, as it was much more criminal to steal the souls of men than to deprive them of either property or life. He objected to the continuance of a seminary in which such doctrines were inculcated. The right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Peel) proposed to augment the grant to Maynooth, in order to render those educated there more expert, more liberal, and in all respects better educated men. His object was to secure to them a more liberal, enlarged, and enlightened sphere of information; and this he expected would place the clergy on a better footing, and render them better, while it made them more enlightened, members of society. But let them look at other Catholic countries, where large and liberal endowments supported educational institutions, and where the clergy were instructed at these institutions, and say if they found that the happy results anticipated in Ireland by the right hon. Gentleman had followed in these countries altogether from the mere enlargement of their system of education. Did they not know that of all the different denominations into which Catholicism was divided, the one which was in the most especial manner distinguished for its talent, learning, and ability, was the one which, of all others, had been the most proscribed throughout the whole of Europe?—he meant the Jesuits. They had but little information as to the present management of Maynooth; and he wished that before they proceeded to make an additional grant, some Committee should be appointed to furnish them with the desired information. That which they now had was of rather an ancient date. They had no one subsequent to 1826. From that then afforded they had these singular facts:—During the presidency of the Archbishop of Dublin (Dr. Murray), who was frequently drawn away from his duties at the College by the business of his arch-diocese, to which he sedulously attended, Dr. Kenny was selected to conduct the rituals at the College. It appeared that Dr. Kenny had been educated at the College of Louvain; and admitted himself to be not only a professed Jesuit, but also the chief or general of all the Jesuits in Ireland. They found, therefore, that this College of Maynooth—maintained by money derived from a Protestant State—was at that particular time presided over, governed, and regulated by a gentleman who held the high office of chief or general of all the Jesuits in Ireland. Dr. Kenny was examined as to the general opinions which were prevalent at Maynooth; and he admitted them to be precisely those which prevailed in the college in which he had been educated —that of Louvain—which was a Jesuit college. They had then a college, instituted by a Protestant country, and supported by Protestant funds, which was on one occasion headed by a Jesuit, and the chief of the Jesuits of the country; the book which the students were required to study was a Jesuit book, written by a Jesuit; and the practices which prevailed at the College were such as prevailed at other Jesuit institutions. He did not say that the Roman Catholic seminary at Maynooth was a Jesuit seminary; but he could not say that it was not. It was quite sufficient for him to show that there were grounds of doubt, and reasonable cause of alarm, in the minds of the Protestants generally, but particularly of the

Protestants of Ireland, as to the nature and doctrines of that institution; and they considered it not safe or prudent to grant any further State support to an establishment which, as it appeared from the numerous petitions which had been laid upon the Table on the subject, was anti-social in its doctrines and tendencies. If they granted away the public money to this College, they should be assured that they did not give that money to a body which had been proscribed by every country in Europe. The sentiments of this country upon the subject were well exemplified by the petitions which had already been poured into the House, and would still continue to be presented. The right hon. Baronet proposed to give greatly enlarged funds to this College, without making, at the same time, any attempt to regulate, or to correct the system of education there pursued. If they had discovered by experience, that by these grants they had not been doing good hitherto, why should they now increase the grant, and thereby enlarge the power for causing mischief? They proposed at the present moment an endowment of a very extraordinary character—it was one that did not resemble anything done by them for any other public institution. They had their Army, Navy, Ordnance—they had annual Votes for them—they had two grants for the maintenance of Science and of Literature—all these had to come before them annually; they were called upon to contribute to them by an annual Vote, and they could by that means control them. Even their Established Church, they were told that the Parliament could control it; but now they were about to propose the establishment of an institution, over which neither Parliament nor Government was to have any control. Even the highest and most respectable Personage in the realm—even the Sovereign herself—had her endowment or revenue settled by Parliament at the commencement of her reign; whilst here, a College that almost every Protestant objected to see endowed, was to be established in a permanent manner; and that, too, without the shadow of any control whatever. But then he asked the Government, could they stop with that endowment? Were they, who were Protestants—who gloried in the name of Protestants—were they, he asked, to make Popish priests better disputants, and more able controversialists, and the fitter to oppose these Protestant establishments? And if they did this, what prospect could they have of peace and harmony in the country? If they educated priests by these endowments, could they afterwards send them into the country without some endowment for their support? Were they then, he asked, as a Protestant Government, prepared to endow the clergy of the Catholic Church? The noble Lord the Member for London had intimated that this should be done. So, too, had the right hon. Member for Dungarvon. If they looked to the public press, they would find the same thing stated; they would find it said that it was utterly impossible to endow the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth, without also endowing the Roman Catholic clergy. Now, he believed that the country could not submit to this—he believed that it was the desire of the people of this country, that the utmost exertions should be used to prevent the measure from passing. He must also add this—that whatever opinion he might entertain of the measure, he could not but think that the present moment was a peculiarly unfavourable one. It was brought forward just at the time when we had escaped from an agitation of the public mind that was unparaleled in our history. That agitation had been calmed down by degrees; Ireland was now in a comparative state of tranquillity; and it was at such a moment as this, that a new cause of discussion and irritation was thrown amongst the Irish. The whole of the Protestant community was opposed to this measure; and upon the other side, it had not met with anything like a decided support. Mr. O'Connell had, indeed, praised the right hon. Gentleman; and said that that measure was "a boon for their misbehaviour; and that they were too honest not to give value for their money." Within the last two years they had had a violent agitation in Ireland for a Repeal of the Union. In his opinion, the effect of Repeal would be to throw Ireland into the hands of some foreign enemy—of France or of America—most probably of France. That agitation had been carrying on by Mr. O'Connell; yet now, when the country was partially recovering from the effects of that agitation, this, the first measure proposed, obviously went to renew and promote it. The fact was, they were now going over the same scene that they had witnessed in

1829. The Established Church of Ireland was a Missionary Church, as everybody knew. For many years it had failed in the object of converting Roman Catholics. It had not been on the right course. It could not instruct, because the people did not understand the language; but some twelve or fifteen years ago a different course had been adopted. A great variety of books had been published in the Irish language, and this system had been most beneficial in some instances. Even the very part of the country where Mr. O'Connell resides — in the vicinity of Dingle — many converts have been made. He thought, certainly, a few years' longer delay might have been allowed to enable them to see whether the Church on the present system was not sufficient to bring about an enlarged conversion. He feared that new schisms and a new course of dispute would be introduced by this Bill. There was another fact, too, which he would mention, and which was, that there was an island at the extreme west near Galway, on which lately there was one Protestant. But about ten years back a very pious and zealous gentleman established himself there, and there are now not only schools and a church, but also something like a college for Roman Catholic priests, who have been converted, in order to educate them better and make them good clergymen of the Established Church. The society from whom he had the honour that night of presenting a petition to the House had taken this seminary expressly under their care. At this society there were at least nine gentlemen from Maynooth; and he trusted, therefore, that the right hon. Baronet would also give some assistance to this society, as well as to Maynooth. There were also some other points to which the Protestants of Ireland objected; but these he would pass over, merely observing, it was not their opinion that Ireland was either in so safe or so quiet a state as might be expected. Then, with regard to the bulls of the Pope; there was one in particular then in force in Ireland, which was very alarming in its effect, as denouncing the strongest pains and penalties against all those who were not true believers in that particular doctrine. This was a bull, he would admit, which had not always been in force in Ireland—the bull *in cœnâ Domini*—which had been lately promulgated by the Irish bishops—a bull, the tendency of which was so alarming that it had been objected to and condemned by every Sovereign in Europe, and which abounded in the strongest denunciations of pains and penalties against heretics. It was stated in the course of the examinations which took place in 1825 with respect to emancipation, never to have been in force in Ireland, or to have been adopted by the Roman Catholic Church in that country. It was then stated that, were this bull to be in force generally, there would not be a quiet State in Europe, and every street would be liable to be deluged in blood. That bull, he repeated, had since been published under the sanction of the Roman Catholic prelates of Ireland, and was recited publicly every Holy Thursday. The Protestants of Ireland looked, therefore, with suspicion on the system carried on at Maynooth; and that they had strong reasons, from self-defence alone, to object to the proposed grant. There was also another to which he might allude on the subject of petitions. There had been but one petition in favour of this proposition, and that one introduced by the right hon. Baronet himself, whilst the petitions against it had been numerous; the one petition came from Protestants and not Romanists, while the numerous petitions were from both parties. He considered that several Peers of the Roman Catholic persuasion, as well as most well-educated Irish Romanists, though they might feel some gratification in having their priests put on this footing, did not at all concur in the policy of the measure. It was, perhaps, hard to strike out any new ground of objection, but from the reasons he had already stated, he thought it his duty as a Protestant to enter his protest against the present Bill as one uncalled for, and as a violation of those very principles which every Protestant had sworn to maintain, and for which no vindication could be found either in national compact or enlightened expediency. It must be obvious to the House that it was extremely difficult, and almost impossible, to speak on this subject without offending the feelings of some hon. Gentlemen opposite; still on this occasion he hoped he had not done so, for he had endeavoured strictly to avoid any such thing.

Mr. *W. E. Gladstone*:[*] I am sure, Sir, that the House will excuse my anxiety to take advantage of the very earliest opportunity of delivering my sentiments in this debate. Indeed I feel myself to be under the somewhat unusual obligation to offer some apology to the House for having suffered one occasion, upon which the measure now before us has already been discussed, to pass by, without my having either taken part in the discussion, or given my voice in the division. The truth is, that I thought it incumbent upon me, under the circumstances in which I stand with regard to the question, to make a full statement of the reasons upon which my vote was to be founded, together with the vote itself; and I was desirous to have the opportunity of seeing the Bill of my right hon. Friend in print, and thus of becoming acquainted with the entire detail, in addition to the principles of his plan, as being necessary in order to enable me to put the House in possession of the view which I am led to take of this case as a whole, and of the great questions which it involves. I could not have this advantage when the debate took place upon the introduction of the Bill. It was simply on that account that I remained passive, and not, as I trust I need hardly assure the House, from any disposition to evade the responsibility incumbent upon myself in common with every other Member, or the duty incumbent upon me, in some especial respects, to make a full and frank exposition of my sentiments upon this particular subject. At the same time I hope my hon. Friend the Member for the University of Oxford will not suppose that I intend in any manner or degree to insinuate a complaint of the measure which he adopted in order to obtain so early an expression of the opinion of the House. Representing as he did a sentiment very powerful, and very widely spread among the people of this country, and one entitled to the sincerest respect, and entertaining likewise that sentiment for himself with depth and fervour, as one closely allied to his conscientious convictions of religion, I cannot feel the smallest surprise at his proceeding. And I must frankly avow my belief, that the minority of last week upon the introduction of this Bill did represent the general and prevailing sentiment of the great majority of the people of England and of Scotland. But, after making this admission to my hon. Friend, and believing indeed that the fact is too notorious to admit of denial or of doubt, I must state for myself, that after a mature consideration of this subject in the position in which it stands, and in the position in which we stand, I am prepared, in opposition to what I believe to be the prevailing opinion of the people of England and of Scotland, in opposition to the judgment of my own constituents, from whom I greatly regret to differ, and in opposition to my own deeply cherished predilections, to give a deliberate and even an anxious support to the measure which my right hon. Friend has submitted to Parliament. Now, Sir, I shall endeavour, as well as I am able, to review some of the prominent reasons which have been advanced in support of this measure, and in opposition to it. And I shall first advert to certain of the reasons urged in support of the measure, which I confess appear to me, when taken upon their own merits, to be inadequate to its support; at least for myself I cannot find in them grounds on which to vindicate the vote I intend to give. I may be allowed, I trust, Sir, without any want of deference to the general rules of this House, to refer to the authoritative statement of my right hon. Friend * on the part of the Government, of which he is the head: and I will, presuming upon this indulgence, remind you that towards the close of his address he used some such expressions as these:—That the measure which he invited us to adopt did not amount to more than would be implied by an honourable and liberal construction of that compact or engagement which, with relation to this subject, may be considered to subsist, not indeed in a rigid and literal form, but in spirit and in equity, between the Imperial Parliament and the Roman Catholics of Ireland. Sir, I confess that that proposition is one which, if I could conscientiously espouse it, would materially facilitate my approach to the consideration of this subject; but I will not delude myself with a plea which does not present itself to my mind as real and substantial; I must endeavour to look the question in the face as it is. Now, Sir, I am prepared to contend, with the right hon. Gentleman, the Member for Dungarvon, that there is nothing in the nature of a compact in this case. Of course I do not mean a written instrument, binding the

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[*] From a corrected Report.

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* On Thursday, 3rd April.

Legislature definitely, and without any limit of time, but a state of circumstances connected with the origin and history of the grant, and a state of relations between this Legislature and the people of Ireland, which lead to this result, whether you choose to call it by the name of a compact or not—and, for my part, I would rather decline the mere controversy of words—that they do certainly fetter in a considerable degree the discretion of Parliament with regard to the annual renewal of the ordinary vote in support of the College of Maynooth, and oblige us to feel that we approach the question of that vote under very different conditions from those of a new and unopened question. But the argument, that our judgment is forestalled by previous transactions, is not, in my view, applicable to the measure of my right hon. Friend. I feel that we come to consider the enlargement of the grant, and the other changes which he proposes to make, with our liberty entire, so far as any question of good faith is concerned; and therefore that I cannot shelter myself from any part of my responsibility by alleging an engagement already in force, but that I must examine the subject upon independent and larger grounds; I must regard it as being in its substance and effect a new and original measure. At the same time, Sir, I will ask the House to suffer me to go a little more at large into this part of the argument, because it has a great practical bearing upon the prayer of the petitions against the measure of the Government. Those petitions which I have myself presented, and such others as I have read, refer for the most part to the supposition that a compact subsists with regard to the annual vote; they distinctly repudiate that supposition, and they pray that the annual vote may be altogether withdrawn. It is therefore a matter of importance, with a view to the direction of our conduct, that we should inquire whether the supposition of a pledge of some kind is or is not fictitious. Upon this subject I trust that the House will allow me to refer to a declaration which was made by Mr. Perceval in the year 1812, and which has not yet been quoted in this discussion. In that year it was proposed by Sir John Newport to augment the annual grant to Maynooth; Mr. Perceval resisted the increase, but defended the vote in its ordinary form, in the language which I am about to quote,—

"That he supported the grant as it stood, because it was one of those which the Parliament of Ireland thought it wise to preserve at the Union; because he found it, in fact, given over to England as part of the Union; that if the grant had been fairly open to opposition after the Union he certainly should have been disposed to resist it, because he thought, on principle, that it was wrong in a State endeavouring to establish a particular system of religion to provide a public supply for the maintenance, encouragement, and propagation of another."*

I say, therefore, in few words, that we have these circumstances before us:—A Parliament, composed exclusively of the wealthy minority of the inhabitants of Ireland (that wealthy minority being in the enjoyment, through the Church of Ireland, of the whole religious endowments of that country), alters the law, in the year 1795, in order to facilitate, or rather in order to permit, the establishment of a college for the purpose of training the teachers of the great majority; that Parliament also becomes a contributor to the expense of the establishment by a grant of 8,000*l.*; and the grant thus given was renewed annually, with some variations of amount and with a single exception (that of 1799), during the period of five or six years, for which the Parliament of Ireland retained its separate existence. We then find that Parliament merged and absorbed in a larger body, composed of persons differing in religious profession from the great majority of the Irish people; a body in which Irish influences must necessarily, on account of numerical inferiority, be supposed to be secondary, and not predominant. Now, Sir, this sum of money was voted as a grace by the Irish Parliament to the Roman Catholics of that country, and as a grace which I, for one, am entirely persuaded that a native Parliament would not have thought fit, when once so given, to withdraw. Under these circumstances it would manifestly have been a most ungenerous use of power to avail yourselves of your numerical superiority and mere strength, as opposed to equity, for the purpose of withholding the grant. But if I want a seal to this argument in favour of the existence of something like an honourable obligation on our part, I find it in the declaration of Mr. Perceval, in the declaration of a man who, of all the Ministers of this country since the Union, had the strongest sentiments in favour of the ascendancy in Ireland—of a man whose Government was formed upon the very principle of resisting every concession, great and small alike, to the Roman Catholic claims—of a man who entertained, upon conscientious conviction, insurmountable objections to the principles of the grant—but also of a man whose native honesty and candour led him thus frankly to recognise what he thought an obligation of good faith—limiting and fettering his free agency with regard to the College of Maynooth, compelling him to deal with it rather as an instrument than as a judge, and leading him so far as to the very strong declaration, that he regarded the grant to the College of Maynooth as being a virtual portion of the legislative Union with Ireland. There is no presumption that Mr. Perceval here referred simply to that provision of the Act of Union, which stipulated for the maintenance during a term of years of certain payments for charitable uses. I apprehend he more probably alluded to a general and less definite obligation; and that construction of his we find confirmed by the regular uninterrupted series of annual votes which have taken place since his time, and which, with those that preceded, now make up the term of half a century from the foundation of the college. But, Mr. Speaker, I conceive, that, by adopting the Bill of my right hon. Friend, we are about to alter fundamentally the relation of the State to the College. I take the various alterations which he proposes to make, and I must estimate their effect as a whole. He changes the annual grant into a permanent one, by a permanent Act of Parliament; he increases threefold the amount of the grant, from about 9,000*l.* (I think) to near 27,000*l.*; he incorporates the trustees; he provides a sum for the restoration and extension of the buildings, and he likewise places the future care of the fabric in the hands of a department of the Executive Government, thereby, as I conceive, certainly establishing a very close connexion between the State and the College. Further, I do not think we are to estimate the importance of the increase in the grant to my present argument simply by the number of thousands annually that are to be added to the income of the institution; the increase, in my judgment, alters in its essence the position and function of the State with respect to it. We have the distinct declaration of the Duke of Wellington, when he was Secretary for Ireland, on record, that the original scheme of the college contemplated private and not public benefactions as the means of its support. And indeed it seems to me obvious, on the face of the Act of Parliament in 1795, that the principal object in the view of those who framed the Act was simply to confer enabling powers, and to impose regulations. After the sections for these purposes, the Act proceeds to give 8,000*l.* out of the monies voted for the service of the year, and thereby to make the State a direct contributor to the project—a large contributor—but still, I think, with the view of being one among many contributors. When further sums were granted in the subsequent years, I do not think the idea was changed, although doubtless the anticipations of pecuniary aid from individuals must have grown weaker as time passed on. But now we proceed upon a different basis; we assign a certain magnitude to the college; having given it so many pupils, we reckon what will be requisite for their decent and respectable support; we likewise compute what will be a competent maintenance for the governors and professors whom such a number of pupils will require, and we proceed to provide the whole from the public purse. Thus we charge the State with the whole responsibility of the provision for the college. Let us not blind ourselves to facts; this is the real subject before us, and to this, as a question not foreclosed by any pledge, I intend to address myself. Next, Sir, there is an argument that has been advanced as a ground for the adoption of this measure, which, I think it my duty most emphatically to disclaim; I mean the argument that we ought to vote these funds to the College of Maynooth by way of restitution to the Roman Catholics of Ireland. I do not much envy those who adopt this argument as their own, and who shall, after having adopted, endeavour to limit and control it. I will not now enter into the detail of all the objections that may be urged against it. For the present I protest against it in every view and upon every ground: in the name of the law and the Constitution, in the name of whatever I know of our religion and our history, I disclaim and repudiate this argument.

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* Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Session 1812, vol. xxi. p. 1226.

Only one observation will I offer with regard to it. If this be an act of restitution, it is one of the most shameful confessions ever extorted from a Legislature, because we admit a wrong which we do not repair. If it be an act of restitution, it is a restitution of about 1*s.* in the 1*l.*, or perhaps more nearly one of 6*d.* in the 1*l.* Such an offer would be a mean and shabby offer from a debtor to his creditor; but it is worse than shabby, it is a new act of positive infamy and shame, from a robber to the party whom he has plundered. I beg therefore to be free from all benefit that may accrue to my case from the argument of restitution. Next, Sir, it has been calculated by some persons, that we are to anticipate, as the consequence of this augmented grant, a great and radical change in the class of persons from which the Roman priesthood in Ireland draws its recruits. Upon this subject I confess that I entertain only moderate expectations. On the whole it is my belief, that the Roman Catholic priesthood is at present replenished from the ranks which can alone supply in sufficient numbers persons adapted by their views to the discharge of its offices. A mere provision for the years passed in education, not touching those of after life, although it may have the effect of giving to the earlier term greater attractions, can scarcely operate with power enough to change in any great degree the disposition of the middle and upper class to enter upon the clerical profession. Reference has been made in this debate by my hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle, to the case of Northern Germany. There it is not unusual for members of the aristocracy to receive holy orders; and my hon. Friend, contrasting with that case the case of Ireland, appeared to refer the difference to this cause, that in Ireland the youths intended for the priesthood are educated apart from somewhat early years, whereas in Northern Germany they are, until the age of twenty-one, trained in companionship with young men about to betake themselves to other pursuits. It appears to me, Sir, that this is a far-fetched supposition of my hon. Friend, and that it is easy to suggest a more natural explanation. The church of Northern Germany in communion with the See of Rome is in possession of ancient endowments; it has all the dignity which belongs to a traditional position amidst the institutions of the country, as well as to high station and to revenues which are large with reference to the general standard of wealth. In these respects I apprehend that that church in the north of Germany occupies nearly the same relation to the social system as the Church of England holds in England. It is very easy, therefore, to understand how, there as here, persons of higher birth and station ordinarily find the career of the priesthood one of those open and obvious to them; and it is in this distinction from the state of things prevalent in Ireland, but not in the comparative length of time during which the young ecclesiastic is separated from the laity, that I find the main cause of the total absence of members of the aristocracy of the country from the ranks of the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland. At the same time I fully grant, that whatever tends to give dignity and increased acquirement to the teachers in this institution, will have a material influence in softening its general tone; and so far, I think, we may reasonably calculate upon advantage of this kind. We hear it stated, on authority apparently high, and in evident conformity with probability, that on account of the extremely low salaries received by the professors at Maynooth, they are naturally led to look to their pastoral occupation out of the College as a step in their social advancement, and that, instead of pursuing their studies to greater range and maturity, they are in this way early led into active life. In the first place, we may anticipate that increased emoluments will have an effect in attracting higher talents; and in the second place, diminishing the inducement to removal, they will lead to the occupation of the chairs for longer terms, and thereby will secure to the professors the opportunity of increased acquirements. And in proportion as the governing and teaching body shall have more of a substantive and permanent character, we certainly may expect it to exercise more of a mild and civilizing influence upon the young students of the College, and, through their medium, upon the Roman Catholic community in Ireland. I estimate this argument then as having a certain value, while I hold that it is one liable to be overruled by superior considerations. I will venture, Sir, likewise to notice one more argument, which, I confess, appears to me to be in itself little short of ridiculous. It is given by some persons as a reason for augmenting the revenues of Maynooth, that we are thereby to promote the extension of Protestantism in Ireland. I do not know how the point may occur to other minds—and it is my duty to respect every conviction which is entertained and propounded with *bonâ fides*—but I freely avow that to me it would appear just as reasonable to say that the effect of the discovery of printing was to make books scarce and dear, or that the result of the application of the locomotive engine to railways has been to obstruct and retard the communications of the country. In conferring this increased endowment, do not let us attempt to conceal from ourselves that we are conferring new elements of power; we are providing ease and leisure, the means of reading and of meditation, with a view to the maintenance of the faith which they profess, and without any restraint or other countervailing influence, to inhabitants of a country abounding in natural talent in a degree, I believe, not surpassed by any country on the face of the earth. Do not then let us delude ouselves with the supposition that we are taking a measure, of which, in the ordinary course of things, the effect can be to open the way for the relaxation of the Roman Catholic system, and thereby for the increase of Protestantism in Ireland. Now, Sir, when I proceed to state to the House, so far as my ability will permit, the reasons which have brought me to the conviction that this measure of Her Majesty's Government ought to receive the sanction of Parliament, I must first state that I am to view it not simply as it might be, or as it has been, but as it is at the present time, and under the present circumstances, as it is offered here and now to me in the capacity of a Member of the Legislature. It is obvious that I can neither have credit nor responsibility for having helped it forward to that position. It must be indeed manifest to the House, from what they already know, that, if my agency has had any influence at all upon its destiny, it must necessarily have been rather in retarding than in aiding its advance. But I must regard it with the arguments and authorities that may be advanced in its favour as it stands, and must impartially ask myself, with that view of it, whether I can draw principles from an opposite quarter of a weight and vital force sufficient to overrule them. It cannot be denied, Sir, that you may have many and strong presumptions of a popular kind to urge in favour of a measure such as this. You have to urge the great numbers, the many millions, of the people, whom it purports to favour, and their great poverty—the difficulty they experience for the most part in providing themselves with the very barest necessaries of life, still more than in furnishing support for their teachers of religion, and most of all for the teachers of those teachers. You have the authority which this question has acquired from the dispositions of our statesmen—the known and understood sentiments of many of those who have passed away, of those who lead one of the principal parties in this country, and now also the avowed opinions and the official proposal of the only othe subsisting body of statesmen in the country, of those, namely, who are at this moment charged with the administration of public affairs. You have the strength that a proposal of this kind undeniably derives from those popular principles of Government which so powerfully influence the tone of our actual institutions. According to those popular principles it is admitted, that as the public funds are drawn from the labour of the whole community, it is desirable that, except from strong and overpowering considerations, no class should be excluded from the claim to share in their distribution. You have also, I am bound to admit the recollection of former wrongs. When we look back upon the conduct of England towards Ireland in former times, and especially upon the history of the last century, we cannot but feel that it imposes upon us the obligation to treat Irish questions such as this with an especial tenderness and consideration. I do not say, Sir, that topics such as these are decisive of the question. But at least they make me feel that the burden of proof lies with the opposition to the Bill; that I must give effect to these reasons unless I can produce some powerful argument to countervail them, something not less than a great principle adequately grounded in the law and the Constitution of the country, and not only in these, but also in the convictions of men which form the living basis and support of that Constitution. Now, Sir, nothing has more contributed to confirm me in the propriety of the determination at which I have arrived, than the nature of the reasonings which have been employed by the opponents of the measure. I know well that they are persons not wanting in courage or ability for the assertion of theirprinciples; but what are the principles which they assert? They do not ascend to the whole height of the question, nor meet it in all its breadth. I can find in them little but what is secondary in its character—nothing at all that is solid, palpable, and broad enough to form a ground upon which the Legislature may take its stand in the face of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, and announce its intention permanently to reject this measure, and every other resembling it. If I look first to the speech of my hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle tonight, I find that he reserved indeed his right to fall back upon high constitutional principles, and upon grounds of religion; but still, although he represents, as we must recollect, the very strong feeling that prevails out of doors, and the petitions on the Table which are founded upon religious considerations, and expressed in the strongest language, he did not think fit to argue the question upon those considerations. Some of his main points, indeed, were objections to the structure of the Bill in detail, which appeared to me to be fitter for the Committee than for this debate; none of them appeared in any degree to furnish that breadth of ground which, I am led to think, is absolutely necessary for those who would reject this measure. In fact my hon. Friend rested his argument—the argument which he thought most likely to produce an effect with the House—upon the failure of the college. Now, Sir, I do not think it reasonable to reject the measure upon the ground that Maynooth has failed to realize the purposes for which it was founded. My hon. Friend, referring to the authority of Mr. Pitt, said that Mr. Pitt indeed had thought it fit that an experiment of this kind should be made, but that as it had now been made, and had not succeeded, such a plea could no longer have any force, and we are at perfect liberty to withdraw from our connection with the college. But if I am to withdraw from it on the ground that Mr. Pitt's experiment has failed, I must be sure that I know what really was the experiment that he desired to make. Was it then the view of Mr. Pitt to found this college for the training of the Roman priesthood in Ireland, and to do nothing more? Now the House will observe that I am not at this moment either justifying or condemning the plan of Mr. Pitt, but simply inquiring into it as a matter of fact. And I thought, Sir, it had been generally understood, that Mr. Pitt's disposition was not simply to found an establishment to train the Roman Catholic clergy, but likewise to make provision, by an act of the State, for their subsequent support. The establishment has been founded, and a great number of ecclesiastics have been trained in it, but no provision has been made for their subsequent support. This may be right, or it may be wrong; but at all events, it is sufficient to show that Mr. Pitt's experiment in point of fact has not been tried; only a small part of it has been tried; and I think it is a very partial and superficial view, and in argument an unfair deduction, if you urge that because a limited portion of his plan, carried into execution apart from the rest, has not produced the effects that he anticipated from the whole, therefore even that part should be abandoned. I must say I think those who are desirous to press the authority of Mr. Pitt, have a much fairer plea when they argue that his plan has been intercepted, and that you never can appreciate the results of his views, either in whole or in part, unless you shall have given the whole of them a trial. Well then, Sir, my hon. Friend said much of the defective state of the College with regard to literature. My hon. Friend is generally most accurate in his information; and I shall therefore suppose that he is strictly accurate in the statements that he made to the House tonight respecting literature at Maynooth. Admitting them, then, in their full breadth, I must still ask, whether they form a ground for the rejection of the Bill; or whether they might not also be used for the directly opposite purpose of recommending that by a more liberal provision we should endeavour to improve the defective literature of the College? I scarcely think it possible that any man, with the question on this Bill, as it at present stands, before him, can take into his view the condition of Ireland—the religious divisions of its population—its relation to this country and to the State—and the course of its past history—and, alive to all that these topics suggest, can reject a proposition for increasing the income of Maynooth on the ground of the defectiveness of its literature. What an argument, Sir, is this proceeding from the mouth of my hon. Friend, when we compare it with the character of the policy to which he invites us; and also when we compare it with the language of the petitions on the Table, and with the principles and feelings that have prompted the public movement against the Bill? How striking and significant a fact must it appear, that he shrinks from urging the propositions on which the petitions rest, and confines himself to matters of small and secondary consideration — fit, it is possible, to be examined at later stages of the progress of the Bill—but quite incapable of influencing the essential decision upon its fate. My hon. Friend, in contrasting the literature of Maynooth with that of the Roman Catholic priests of Germany, adverted to the case of an individual named Ronge. I apprehend, Sir, that this is the same person who has recently separated from the Roman Catholic Church. [*Several hon. Members said it was not the same person; and others that it was the same.*] Then, Sir, if there is a doubt upon the matter, I will not embarrass the general course of my remarks by a collateral debate upon his identity, but will omit what I was about to state. The nature then, Sir, of these arguments, and of others to which I might refer, employed in this and in the recent discussion by the champions of the opposition to the measure of the Government, tends to support the presumption, as it seems to me, in its favour. I am also entirely convinced that, whatever may be the feeling out of doors upon this measure, the general movement of the public sentiment is decidedly in favour of the principle upon which it rests. Still, to determine the question, I must revert to the point which I have already put. Can I discover and define any great principle of the Constitution, sufficiently grounded in the actual convictions of the people, upon which the Legislature can permanently and securely stand? Sir, I can discover no such means of permanent resistance. Now, Sir, when I speak of resistance, and the means of it, I am thinking not of physical, but of moral means of resistance. I do not enter into the nice inquiry—what are those political objects for which we may and ought to incur the hazard of a resort to arms. And indeed, as to mere force, I do not entertain a doubt that the vigour of England can supply it in any degree, and for any occasion whatever that may arise. I am not governed in my course principally by the apprehension of the effects to which the rejection of this measure, and the announcement of an opposite policy, might give rise in Ireland, but by convictions independent of such fear. At the same time, I think they would be formidable; and I am not ashamed to say that it is our duty not to shut out such matters from our consideration. There are risks and perils of every kind which are attendant upon the alienation of Ireland from this country, which it is our duty to regard, and, if we can, to obviate. Nor can I admit that such a proposal as this will have no power in softening the minds and gaining the affections of those with whom we have been so long at variance. It seems to me to be a paradox, untenable in itself, and most injurious to human nature, to assert that conciliatory measures have no other effect than that of encouraging extreme demands. I think we must act upon the principle, that they have a natural influence in binding men together. Those who assert the contrary must set out with this for a fundamental article of their creed, that there is nothing generous, liberal, or just in the character of a people who are our fellow-subjects and fellow-Christians, and who are conspicuous among all nations for their susceptibility, and for grateful attachment to those whom they believe to be their friends. I come then, Sir, to examine this question of principle, which, although my hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle has touched it slightly, lies, as I apprehend, at the root of the whole case. And I may, perhaps, best illustrate the aspect in which it presents itself to my mind, by adverting to the two extremes of abstract opinion which are held on opposite sides. By some it is held, that to withhold such a grant as this on the ground of difference of religion is essentially contrary to natural justice; by others it is held that to assent to such a grant—namely, a grant for the particular form of religion which the Church of Rome professes—is necessarily contrary to our religious duty. Now, Sir, I am not able to adopt either the one of these propositions, or the other; but I must faithfully examine the whole of the circumstances under which such a claim is made, and must then act as general justice and wisdom shall seem to me to require. First, Sir, I am as far as possible from holding that it is contrary, in general, to justice, for a State to adopt and promote any one form of religion in preference to another; and I am even inclined to think, that few of those who are accustomed to profess that doctrine among ourselves would adhere to it, if they had sufficiently considered the immense paradoxes which it is seen to involve when it is tested, as universal maxims ought to be tested, by application to various conditions of human affairs. My hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle has with propriety and force referred to the case of the British dominion in India, where, although we do not attempt to interfere by authority with the religion of the natives, yet we are far from observing a perfect neutrality. I am not able to say whether in every case we keep ourselves free, as we ought to keep ourselves, from giving encouragement to their idolatry; nor whether we lend as much aid to the Christian religion as our duty requires, and our power enables us; nor do I inquire whether we lend such aid in the right manner; but thus much is undoubtedly true, that in India we have an immense population of Hindoos and Mahometans, whose labour supplies very large revenues to the State, and out of those revenues we apply without any doubt or scruple, but on the contrary with a full consciousness of doing right, such proportion as may be deemed fit for the support of Christian worship. I almost doubt whether any one will hold that such a course is contrary to natural justice; I at least think it most suitable to the nature of government, and sustained by the highest justice, and the highest consideration for the welfare of the inhabitants of India. But it may be urged, that this refers to the case of a Christian Government in its relation to a people who are not Christians. I will then further proceed to test this maxim, as it is one which is frequently propounded in this House, and likewise by large numbers of persons out of doors, in another instance. Allow me, Sir, without offence or assumption towards any man, to put the case of the Tudor Sovereigns of England in the sixteenth century. It is, I think, sufficiently clear, that the English Reformation, to which I am making reference simply as matter of fact, was propagated from above, and not from beneath. It proceeded from bishops and clergy—from Sovereigns and rulers; it was through the influence of these orders that it impregnated the mass of the people, who were brought to concur in it through the influence of their governors in the Church and in the State. There was, therefore, a time, perhaps there was more than one, when the sense of the Sovereign and the Government was inclined to the one part, and the sense of the majority of the people to the other. Now, Sir, allow me to ask any Gentleman—allow me, in particular, to ask any one in communion with the Church of England, to which the great proportion of us belong, is it to be held that Queen Elizabeth, and others who preceded her, and those also who served the State under her, were guilty of a violation of natural justice in adopting—I do not say those particular measures which they did adopt, because it would be quite irrelevant to my purpose that I should enter upon the question of coercive and penal laws in matter of religion—but in adopting measures, according to the powers which they possessed under the constitution and with the full acknowledgment of the people, for communicating to that people the greatest of all blessings, in their estimation, that could be conferred upon them? If there be such an opinion among us, I must be content with entering my decided protest against it and must hold that it is the duty of Government, according to its just prerogatives and its opportunities, to form a judgment upon religion, and to act in support of it. Then, Sir, I turn to the other opinion, of those, namely, who hold in the present case that this country is a Protestant country, and that, therefore, it is a breach of our religious obligations that we should under any circumstances consent to the proposed grant for the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth. It appears to me that those who hold this as an universal maxim, independent of any secondary considerations, overlook some of the essential conditions of political society, and confound together the principles upon which we are free to act in our individual capacity, and those upon which we may be required to act as members, and more especially as governors of a community. In our individual capacity we are the supreme governors of ourselves; we have a will and conscience given us, and no force external to us can prevent that will and conscience from acting according to their own dictates. We may, indeed, betray or abandon our duty through internal defect, but no other person can separate between us and it. But in political society, the will and conscience of each individual cannot be supreme. Communities can only exist by a combination of many wills, and, since among those many wills differences will certainly and constantly arise, by a combination involving mutual surrender and mutual concession: and if, placed as we all are by Divine ordinance in political society, we are to insist, every man for himself, that his own will and opinion, without bating one jot or tittle of it, shall take effect, and that all others shall conform themselves to it, and that it shall be the model of the law, I say, he that holds this doctrine proclaims a principle which, if it be universally adopted, is fatal to political society, and must issue in its utter disorganization. I must inquire, then, Sir, into the ability of the State to promote religious truth, as being, under any given circumstances, the measure of its duty. And here I must fervently say, happy is that land in which religious unity prevails among the people, and in which, because it prevails among the people, it can also be maintained as the characteristic of the acts and legislation of the Government. I cannot scruple, Sir, to place that religious unity at the very head of the list of all social and civil blessings; I cannot for a moment seek to win your approbation, by pretending to believe that religious profession has no kind or degree of bearing upon civil and political duties; nor can I exhibit anything resembling indifference to those divisions in religion which unhappily prevail amongst ourselves, and which I find to lie at the very root of all our social difficulties and discords. But, Sir, while entertaining these general convictions in their full force, I cannot by them alone decide the practical question: I again say, I must examine the ground of resistance on which it is proposed to refuse this measure. I must ask, in the first place, whether it is in its own nature a substantive and a positive ground; whether the argument will merely avail to overthrow what is proposed by others, or whether it promises to supply me with a principle upon which the country may be governed. Generally speaking, the opponents of the measure disapprove of the grant because they are Protestants, and because the grant is to be conferred upon members of the Church of Rome. Here I find a flaw at the very outset. They do not say, here is a body of definite truth on which we lean ourselves, and on which we wish others to lean, which we will not have impugned, and which the Church of Rome does impugn. This would be offering a man something on which to rely. But, without stating what it is that as a body they approve and agree in, what they say is this: Here is a particular form of the Christian religion, of which we disapprove; and whatever you may do with regard to other forms of it, this you must never encourage or support. I do not find here, Sir, any good omen, nor any promise of that solid and intelligible ground of opposition for which I look, as alone entitling me to reject this Bill, and on which alone we could well and consistently justify our rejection of it in the face of the Roman Catholics of Ireland. Let me look, Sir, for a moment at the materials of which the opposition to the measure is composed, of the thousands of petitions which have been presented, and of those still more numerous petitions which probably will appear on future days. I apprehend that nearly half of them may proceed from persons who object on principle to all grants from the public funds for the purposes of religion. The other half have no such objection, and generally deem it the duty of the State to support religion, but object in this case to the particular form of religion for which the grant is to be made. What unity, what consistency, what hope of permanence, can there be in an opposition thus made up of parties having their several positions at the very extremes of the poles of opinion? what hope, I say, does it afford of extracting from it any positive principle for the future direction of this department of public affairs? Here is my hon. Friend who sits by me, the Member for the University of Oxford, who is at the head of this opposition; he holds firmly by a rule which is perfectly intelligible, and by which I too would closely hold, if I could persuade myself that the state of the general convictions of the country, and its divisions, would warrant it, namely, that of the exclusive support of the national religion. But what would be his position if he should succeed in obtaining the rejection of this Bill? By what companions, and by what followers, will he find himself surrounded? One large part of his supporters will at once go to issue with him on the ground of their universal objection to public endowments for religion; and another large part, though differing from the former, will also differ from my hon. Friend, and his principle of exclusive duty to the Church, and will say to him, "Although we have conscientious objections to any grant for the Roman Catholic religion, we think it right that all forms of the Protestant religion should be deemed fit recipients of State support." Sir, to oppose a measure, to take exception to a course of policy suggested by an Administration, and to array the materials of resistance to it, are operations of one kind; but to conceive a positive principle of action, to design and carry into execution a definite idea for the government of a country, is another and a very different matter. It may be easy to form conjunctions by the accidental coincidence, on a particular and isolated point, of those who essentially differ in their general views, and by these to form a power which shall be effectual for its immediate object; but this is the commencement, not the end, of their labour; and when, after this first success, they come to ask themselves upon what principle they are to conduct the public affairs, what answer, capable of bearing the scrutiny of just reason, they will make to the Roman Catholics of Ireland in vindication of the course they have pursued, then, Sir, a new order of ideas comes into view, and difficulties of which we had never dreamed start up before us into gigantic magnitude. What I hold, Sir, is, that if we reject this Bill of the Queen's Government, we ought to be prepared to state, for the information and satisfaction of Ireland in particular, not only that we objected to this Bill on account of its relation to the religion of the Church of Rome, but likewise what is the policy on which we mean to act, and what the principle which forms its foundation; and the result of my consideration is, that I am unable to find in the public sentiment of the country, or in the opinions avowed by the opponents of the Bill, or in the actual practice of the Constitution, a principle which I can justly and reasonably endeavour to make available for such a purpose. Now, Sir, it is well known that the connexion of the Church with the State continues to subsist among us as a general rule, and that both in England and in Ireland the Church has a great prominence among the established institutions of the country, and long may it so remain; but yet the rigid theory of exclusive support to the Church has for so many years, and in so many ways, been progressively impaired, that I no longer can think it equitable to urge it as forming of itself a conclusive reason for the rejection of a measure that applies public money to the purposes of some other communion. Scarcely a year passes, as I have observed, without the introduction of some provision into our law, or some practice of our Government, that constitutes, on a scale sometimes smaller and sometimes larger, a new violation of that theory. Anxious really to understand the state of facts around me, and to see them as they are, and seeking, as I have said, not for a plea of rejection, but for a positive constitutional principle by which to direct a future course, I cannot with honesty persuade myself, or seek to persuade others, that this measure should now be resisted on account of the exclusive allegiance of the State to the Church as established by law in England, or on account of the same rule, with the variation introduced into it by the legal obligations which the Legislature has contracted to the Establishment of Scotland. Neither can I find the answer to my question in the view which is entertained at the opposite extreme. Many of the petitioners, and some Members of this House, recommend the entire abrogation of all religious endowments. But a contrary sentiment is so generally accepted in the country, and among its rulers, that, independently of any examination into the merits of such a proposition, it is perfectly manifest that we cannot reject the Bill on this principle, because we are almost infinitely remote from being prepared to apply the principle in other cases; and accordingly, always bearing in mind that it is not enough for our justification to object to this or that, and that we must have some substantive and intelligible intention, I dismiss wholly from my view the notions of this class of objectors to the measure. I now come, Sir, to that which I think is an objection springing out of a religious sentiment, and entitled to profound respect on that account, as well as on account of the numbers of persons by whom it is entertained. I mean the objection of those who would propose, as the rule of the future policy of the State, that we should recognise as admissible to public support all the forms of Protestantism, without making any specific exception, but should at the same time hold as disqualified all that is in the communion of the Church of Rome. Now, Sir, I am bound frankly and plainly to avow, that I cannot understand nor adopt this principle, either as a principle of the Constitution, or as a principle of religion. I cannot in the first place understand that there is an essential alliance between the law and the Constitution on the one hand, and an undefined and negative idea, such as that which is indicated by the term Protestantism, on the other. But do not let me do an injustice, nor seem to glance at that which I have not in my view. I am very far indeed from asserting that the phrase Protestantism, as it is used by individuals, is necessarily or always indefinite. It is in many minds any thing rather than a negative idea. With them, so far from being confined to mere negation, and to a protest against opinions or practices that they disclaim, it is the exponent of a definite and positive belief in the truths of the Christian revelation, on which those who employ it are content to build their individual hope of salvation. Of these I do not speak, but of the signification which the term Protestantism will be found practically, and I fear inevitably, to bear, if it is adopted as the legal definition comprising all forms of Christianity which are to be admissible to the favour of the State, and excluding those which are to be disqualified. In this point of view I deny that the constitution of the country recognises all that bears the name of Protestant, and nothing that does not bear it. It is provided indeed by law that the Sovereign of the United Kingdom cannot be other than a Protestant; but this general term acquires a defined and positive sense, from the further provision of the law which requires that the Sovereign shall also be a communicant of the Church of England. I admit that the law does not recognise the religion of the Church of England alone; there is also an alliance formed by Statute between it and the Presbyterian Church Establishment of Scotland. That Establishment, therefore, professes a Protestantism which is known to the Constitution. But here we are dealing with what is definite; what is known to the State, embodied in written instruments, and incapable of alteration, except with the knowledge and consent of the State. Now, Sir, let me assure the House, I am not going to compare one form of Protestantism with another upon its religious merits, for which this is not a seemly place. I wish to confine myself strictly to matter which is relevant and suitable for the consideration of Parliament. And I do most confidently submit to you the impossibility of maintaining as a ground of legislative policy, in the face of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, that we cannot contract or deal with them, because we intend to confine the contributions of the State, for religious purposes, to bodies agreeing together only in entertaining objections to the practices of the Church of Rome, and in the liability to a common, and, at the least for public purposes, a most delusive appellation, of which we are totally unable, as a Legislature, either to fix the meaning, or to check the variations. I confess, Sir, I am deeply struck with the language which Mr. Burke has used on this subject; and which derives a peculiar force, lying as it does so near the ground of religion, from the circumstance that it is found in his later and his very last works on the subject of Ireland; in works composed during the closing years of his life, when his mind was evidently under very solemn impressions of the reality of things unseen. He judges it to have been one of the most cruel features in our system of penal laws for Ireland during the last century, that instead of punishing men as former persecutors had punished them, for refusing to embrace the truth, all our labours were directed towards detaching them from their own form of religious profession, and we were utterly slack and indifferent in guiding them to that by which we professed a desire to supersede it. A passage of his, in his last letter on public affairs, shows how ill he could reconcile with his personal convictions of religious duty the spirit of our repressive laws in Ireland. The letter was written in March, 1797, and he speaks in it as follows:—

"It is agreeable neither to piety nor to policy to give exclusively all manner of civil privileges and advantages to a negative religion—such is the Protestant without a certain creed—and at the same time to deny those privileges to men whom we know to agree to an iota in every one positive doctrine, which all of us who profess the religion authoritatively taught in England hold ourselves, according to our faculties, bound to believe."*

Sir, I know so well the depth and reality of the religious feeling of individuals, which is thus, as I believe, directed towards an impossible purpose, and I so truly respect it, that I do with the greatest earnestness implore hon. Gentlemen not to rest in general phrases, but to examine with care the position in which we actually stand, and not until after having so examined it to take their stand upon any such principle, either by way of ascribing it to the constitution, or in connexion with a motive of religion, as this, that we shall agree to embrace and encourage every thing that may be called Protestantism, but nothing that may not. Again I assure you, Sir, I am not about to institute any minute comparison between the relations of different creeds or professions beyond her pale to the Church of England; but I must ask you, as I have asked myself, whether our present practice will warrant and enable us, upon a religious ground, to plead our scruples for the rejection of this measure, in the face of the Roman Catholics of Ireland? Can we with a decent and tolerable consistency, and with the details of our present practice full in our view, refuse the Bill, and determine to rest for our vindication upon the doctrine to which I have alluded, as a rule of religious obgation? Sir, we must scrutinize ourselves severely, as we shall be severely scrutinized by others. If we reject this Bill, of course it is certain, and it is right, that our proceeding should be rigorously examined, and our inconsistencies, if we are inconsistent, mercilessly exposed. Let us endeavour, Sir, in considering it, to put ourselves in the place of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, and to judge it from their point of view, as they are the party more immediately interested. [*An ironical Cheer from an hon. Member.*] Yes, Sir, I say, that not only in this case, but in every case where we, as a Parliament, are dealing with the interests and feelings of persons or of classes out of doors, we ought, as a matter of justice and of right, to endeavour, so far as possible, to assume their position, in order to test and to correct our own view of what is before us; and I am surprised that any hon. Gentleman should be disposed to contest a remark so obvious. What then, Sir, will the Irish Roman Catholic perceive, when he comes to examine our conduct, after we have rejected this Bill upon the allegation of a religious objection? We make votes of money from year to year, without resistance, for persons not agreeing with the national religion; and let it not be said these votes are for persons who, if they differ from the National Church, differ upon matters secondary and unimportant. To confute that plea I will not enter upon any ground that might be thought open to dispute, but will refer to that which I think will command an universal admission. Last year, Sir, when the Bill termed the Dissenters' Chapels Bill was before Parliament, some of its opponents, using the license which politics are taken to allow, denominated that Bill a Socinian Endowment Bill. I think, Sir, that the denomination was an unjust one. But, I lament to say, that if parties are seeking a Socinian Endowment Bill, they need not resort to that particular measure; every appropriation Bill that passes through the two Houses, and receives the Royal sanction at the termination of the Session, is, in its degree, a Socinian Endowment Bill; that is to say, it contains grants of money from the funds of the State for the support of persons, some of whom are avowedly teachers of Arian and Unitarian doctrine. Now, Sir, it may be said, and said with truth, that the sums of money to which I allude are not given by a permanent Act, but are renewable from year to year; and that thus the opportunity of altering or discontinuing them periodically and rapidly recurs. I am sorry to say, Sir, that, as against the present Bill, I must consider that to be a merely technical and not a substantial argument. Is there any likelihood that these votes will be altered or discontinued? On any of the numerous opportunities that they present to us, does any Member propose it? In point of fact, they are voted year after year as a mere matter of course, or little more. I must then recognise this as being so far an established fact. I may, and I do, lament it; but if I cannot alter it, it would be dishonest to refuse to recognise both it, and what it entails and involves. This very night, Sir, my right hon. Friend at the head of the Government has presented a petition from the body termed the Remonstrant Synod of Ulster. That body has stated that they receive from the State pecuniary assistance, both for the support of their ministers, and likewise for the instructors in their theological academy; and they pray that the like advantages may be accorded to the Roman Catholics of Ireland. By this petition it appears to me that the parties have done themselves high honour. They are, as I believe, honest and avowed supporters of Arian tenets; and I conceive, therefore, that they feel themselves to be cut off by a much wider interval from the predominant religion of this country than are the members of the Church of Rome, inasmuch as with them we differ upon the great and cardinal doctrines which relate to the object of our faith; and that, being themselves endowed, or at least supported by annual vote, in spite of this essential difference, they cannot understand how, on account of differences that relate to inferior subject matter, we should refuse to grant adequate aid to the College of Maynooth. If then these parties conceive that by a law of equal justice we are bound, while we render aid to them, and mean to continue that aid, not to withhold aid on any religious plea from professors of the religion of the Church of Rome, and if they cannot understand our refusal, sanguine indeed must be the man who can hope that the Roman Catholics of Ireland will, or who can think that in reason they ought, to be better able to understand it. I am bound, Sir, to add, before I quit this topic, that whatever I may think of votes of money for Arian and Socinian purposes, I am not able to conceive in what manner we can withdraw them, because I do not know by what rule this House, having once departed from the rule of exclusive support to the established religions of the country, could distinguish with any certainty and permanence between those Dissenters who are Arian and those who are not, or could draw the line within which, on account of their supposed proximity to religious truth, particular forms of belief should be qualified for the favour of the State, and beyond which they should be excluded from it. And I certainly believe, that if we were to attempt to divide these portions of the Presbyterian body from the rest for such a purpose, we should find ourselves involved in the details of theological discussions, with which, important as they are, we as an assembly are wholly unfit to deal, and should utterly fail to establish a criterion. So that I say, Sir, viewing the practice of the State in Ireland as it is, and as it is likely to remain, I find that it has cut away from under me any ground of religion upon which a stand might have been made. And again I must admit, I cannot find in our existing system—I cannot find in those convictions of the people with regard to it, which form the actual materials for governing the country—any principle of a substantive and consistent character, founded upon equality of dealing towards the several sections of the people, which will sustain me in the rejection of the Bill. I may weary the House in surveying, at so great length, these proofs of the negative, which I find crowding upon me from such various quarters; but yet, before I leave the subject, I will advert to the speech of my hon. Friend the Member for Dublin (Mr. Grogan), who seconded the Amendment to-night. Now, I understood my hon. Friend himself not to take his stand upon any principle of unity of religion appertaining to the State, but rather to advert to the peculiar social circumstances of Ireland, and to the particular form in which, and the pretensions with which, the system of the Church of Rome is there inculcated. He spoke of the Gallican Articles of 1682 as not being recognised at Maynooth; he complained of certain papal bulls (the bull *unam sanctam* and the bull *In cœnâ Domini*) which are held to be in force in Ireland, and he also complained that it is not proposed to establish on the part of the State any powerful control over the system of education which is to be carried on in Maynooth at the public expense. But I understood him to go so far as to intimate, even for himself, that if the Articles of 1682 were recognised, if these particular bulls were not in force, if such a control were enforced, it might have been a fair question whether some concession to the Roman Catholics should be made. [Mr. *Grogan* expressed his dissent.] But, Sir, if I have inaccurately collected the meaning of my hon. Friend, I must still make the principal observation I had in view, which is this: My hon. Friend founded his reasonings chiefly upon objections to one form of the Roman system as compared with another. So if we look into the popular publications of the day, the main strain of the objections to the College of Maynooth is similarly conceived; and it is constantly said, if particular opinions relating to social relations, or other particular opinions presumed to be separable from the substance of the Roman system, were not taught there, the matter would be very different, and we should be happy to concur in any attempt to improve the condition of the College. But, Sir, the House will not fail to observe, that, when we adopt this line of argument, we descend from the high ground of objection upon a religious principle, and preclude ourselves from resuming it; and I am quite sure that if we reject this measure, not because the Roman system is taught at Maynooth, but because it is taught there in a particular form, and with certain pretensions that may be less prominent elsewhere, we shall rest upon what is termed a false position—upon a position which, not being religious, is also not comprehensible—and shall involve ourselves in hopeless intricacy and confusion. In my opinion, we have but two alternatives: either to announce some constitutional principle capable of being defined and understood, to which the law of the land, and the practice of the Government, may be made to conform, and which will, as a principle, exclude this measure; or, if Parliament will not adopt such a principle, and give it effect, then I think that common honesty binds us to admit the Roman Catholics of Ireland to be free to urge their claims against the State, upon a footing of equality with other religious bodies, in circumstances like their own, as policy and justice may require. Failing then, Sir, to discover any principle so grounded, both in the convictions and in the constitution of the country, as to warrant the Legislature in pursuing a course of exclusion with reference to the Irish Roman Catholics, and in pursuing it according to the plan of my hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle, namely, by the rejection of this Bill, I must next proceed to avow my impression that the boon, to which I for one have thus agreed, is a very great boon. I think it important, most of all important, with regard to the principles which it involves. I am very far indeed from saying that it virtually decides upon the payment of the Roman Catholic priests of Ireland by the State; but I do not deny that it disposes of the religious objections to that measure. I mean, that we who assent to this Bill shall, in my judgment, no longer be in a condition to plead religious objections to such a project. There are many political and social questions which may arise in connexion with it. These may indefinitely retard its approach, they may raise insuperable objections to its being carried into execution, or they may not; but I think we must not conceal from ourselves that the acceptance of this measure, introduced in the year 1845, and under auspices of such authority, will preclude the rejection on any grounds, purely religious, of the other. In a different view, the measure is a great one. I do not mean that the number of thousands per annum bestowed by it upon the college amounts to a very imposing sum; but I do not know of any religious endowment held by the Church of England or by the Church of Ireland upon terms so easy and unconstrained; nor do I know whether the church of any foreign country, being in communion with the See of Rome, will afford such an example. At the same time, Sir, I am far from impugning the measure upon this account. I think, considering the position of the Roman communion in Ireland, and our relations to it, my right hon. Friend and the Government have acted wisely in framing their plan upon this basis; only, I say, let not any one pretend to decry this as a paltry gift to the Roman Catholics because the amount of revenue to be bestowed upon Maynooth, although considerable, may yet fall short perhaps (but I speak in uncertainty) of that enjoyed by the University of Dublin. The privileges of that body are held upon very different conditions. It is a common thing in this House to speak of the alliance between the State and the Church as of an arrangement securing to the Church the benefit of a temporal provision without any corresponding burden. But the case is far otherwise. If the State grants to the Church the privilege of endowment, and some other privileges, chiefly of an honorary kind, on the other hand it imposes upon the Church severe restrictions. It is a scheme of giving and taking, both upon the part of the State and upon the part of the Church. The State restrains her right of synodical assembly; it fetters in many ways her original and organic powers; it imposes limits upon her discipline and laws; and even the expression of any of her doctrines cannot be varied without its knowledge and assent. Sir, I do not mention these things as matters of complaint; nor do I advert to the case of the Church of England in particular. The same state of facts obtains abroad. The doctrinal statements of the Church are tied down, I apprehend, by acts of the State in France and in Austria. In neither of those countries can a papal bull have any validity without the consent of the civil power. Thus the State claims an universal right of intercepting the action of the Church. Accordingly, Sir, the endowment which we are about to confer by this Bill upon the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth, although it may be limited in pecuniary amount, is nevertheless a great and liberal gift, indicating a hopeful spirit—a spirit of confidence and of kindness—which I trust will be as liberally appreciated; for the College of Maynooth is to remain unfettered by such conditions; and the Bill, be it recollected, confers all that it purports to confer upon terms more liberal than those granted to the established religion of the country, or than those required by great Foreign States from the Roman Catholic Church in foreign countries. I look upon the proposition, then, as one of great moment, and upon the boon as one of great magnitude. And such being the case, I do, Sir, fondly trust, that if we have made up our minds that the state of our laws and institutions, and of the public sentiment with respect to national religion, and the relations of different religious communions among us, leave it upon the whole a matter of justice that this grant should be given; if in our hearts we feel that we cannot oppose to it any grounds of reason that shall be equitable, that shall be consistent, that shall promise to be permanent—then, Sir, I trust with earnestness that what we are to give we shall give freely, and give cheerfully. I know well the objection may be made, that this concession is a reward to past agitation, and a premium upon its continuance; and I am not prepared to assert that that objection, within its own sphere, is wholly without weight. I fear it is too apt to be true of boons and concessions generally, that those on whom they are conferred do not measure them as liberally as they ought. But, Sir, I must urge upon the House, that it is not justifiable to make an objection of this kind a primary ground of action. If we believe, as I believe, that what we are about to do is just—just in that sense in which alone measures of public policy are usually to be deemed just or unjust, namely, with an equitable and comprehensive regard to the actual circumstances of the period and of the country—if in this true sense of public policy our measure be a just one, we must not allow ourselves to be governed in affirming or rejecting it by the consideration of the manner in which it will be received. At the same time, I grant to my hon. Friend the Member for Dublin that there is cause for uneasiness on this head. I have read to-day words ascribed to a Gentleman well known to us all in his capacity as a Member of this House,* and so full of vigour and of humour, that they bear with them sufficient evidence of their authenticity. In a speech said to have been delivered elsewhere, that Gentleman is said to have hailed the measure in the following terms: "Agitation, I think you; Conciliation Hall, I am much obliged to you; Repeal Association, Maynooth ought to pray for you." And it seems also to have been said that this measure was a reward for past misbehaviour, and ought to be rewarded in its turn by perseverance in a similar course. But, Sir, if this language be held, and these intentions cherished, I trust that those who hold and cherish them may be brought to remember, that agitation is a two-edged weapon, and that the lesson they give is one that may operate here as well as there, and in an opposite direction. If the mind of the Irish people, on an occasion such as this, offers to the agitator a tempting field where he may labour to stimulate their passions by it to a demand for more, then I say, Sir, the petitions which have been already laid in multitudes upon your Table, and the still greater numbers of such petitions which will follow them, and the language which those petititions employ, may well serve to demonstrate that the mind of the people of this country—of England and of Scotland, and of an important part of Ireland—offers to the agitator of another class, at this time, another field not less open—not less inviting and seductive, for his labours, in opposition to any such project of concession. Sir, for my own part, with the view I take of the subject, I must deprecate agitation, as distinguished from the calm and deliberate expression of opinion, both on the one part, and on the other. I must trust that a kindlier and a wiser spirit will prevail both in the minds of Members of this House, and in the general mind of the country; that, both in Ireland and in England, parties, upon mature reflection, will come to the conviction at which, certainly without any undue predilection to bias me in its favour, I have for myself deliberately arrived, that the occasion demands of us all, as a matter of social justice, the surrender of something of our rival claims, and of our extreme opinions. Only, if these menaces of constant agitation are to be launched at us on the one hand, and such a plan is to be construed only as an incitement to increased demands; if on the other hand is to be advanced the plea of religion, shorn as it has been of a consistent and intelligible character, and immoveable considerations of abstract duty are to be urged against all concession, how is society to subsist in peace, and what is to be the fate of our common country? It must be torn by hopeless and interminable discord. But, Sir, I feel that we have some reason for cherishing the hope that these unfavourable anticipations may not be realized, and that parties will be content to abate from their desires, and to follow the path of conciliation, when they reflect how utterly contrary it is to the very first requisites of our condition, as members of a community, that, notwithstanding the differences that so extensively subsist among us, each of us, setting out from his own idea, should urge every claim to an extreme. No doubt, Sir, it will be said that we admit principles in this grant which are sure to be carried to the remotest of all the consequences they may seem logically to involve. But while it is difficult to confute this argument in the abstract, the history of the country shows that practically it can only be received with very great qualification. This was the reasoning so strenuously urged against Mr. Burke at the period of the American war. When he recommended that this country should altogether refrain from enforcing in the Colonies its sovereign right of taxation, he was told, not only that he would fail to give satisfaction to the Americans, but also that all other persons at home who, like them, were unrepresented, would claim a similar exemption by parity of reasoning, and that general disorder would ensue. In answer to the objection Mr. Burke used the following language:—

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* Burke's Works, vol. ix. p. 465.

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* Speech of Mr. O'Connell, at Dublin, in *The Times* of April 11, 1845.

> "It is a very great mistake to imagine that mankind follow up practically any speculative principle, either of government or of freedom, as far as it will go in argument and logical illation. We Englishmen stop very short of the principles upon which we support any given part of our constitution, or even the whole of it together. . . . . These are the cords of man. Man acts from adequate motives relative to his interests, and not on metaphysical speculations. Aristotle, the great master of reasoning, cautions us, and with great weight and propriety, against this species of delusive geometrical accuracy in moral arguments, as the most fallacious of all sophistry." *

And surely, Sir, as this is true of mankind in general, so is it especially and pointedly true with regard to England and to Englishmen. Granted, that principles of policy have a tendency to work out their logical results, yet surely it is impossible not to see that nearly our whole system of law and polity consists of a combination of opposite principles, each checking and modifying the rest, in their separate and uncontrolled action mutually destructive; but scarcely one of them carried to the extreme which in speculation it might appear even to require, and all hereby subsisting in harmony and collected strength. I do not wish to introduce any new matter of a nature to be controverted into this discussion; but I cannot help feeling persuaded that the reference I am about to make will be received, as matter of fact, with one accord among us, whatever view we may take of it as matter of opinion. Surely then, Sir, we have a most remarkable instance of the manner in which the apparent and argumentative consequences of political principles may be intercepted, in what has taken place among ourselves since the memorable occasion of the Reform Bill. Who that considers the nature of the admissions which that measure appeared to make, and of the arguments by which during the fever of the discussion it was very commonly maintained, can fail to be surprised at the manner in which the influences and

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* Burke's Works, vol. iii. p. 110.

powers then set in motion, and sustained by the apparent sanction of the Legislature in a solemn act, have been checked and qualified by the practical good sense and the reflective and sober-minded habits of the people of England? Let us not, then, assume that every thing, which a measure may be shown theoretically to warrant, will of necessity be found to flow from it in practice. Upon the whole, Sir, while I recognise the importance of the boon, I am anxious to avoid any sanguine anticipations of its results; but believing that justice recommends the Bill, and that, though there is power enough which might at this moment be employed for its overthrow, there is no rule of public policy on which, as a Legislature and a country, we are in the least degree prepared to act, that would warrant such rejection, I do trust, that, notwithstanding the great sacrifice of feeling which I admit that it demands from the people of England and of Scotland, it may pass into a law, if not with their approval, at least with their acquiescence; that there will be a disposition on the part of its opponents to consider the feelings of those whom it immediately affects, and the claims which they may fairly found upon the actual spirit of our policy, both general and religious; that they will surrender something even of what would be dear to them, in deference to the great social law that binds us all together, and in the hope of making a contribution, such as the public exigencies demand, to the common good. Sir, I have now only to return my cordial thanks to the House for the indulgence which it has extended to me, and to close with a single remark not affecting the general question. I have thought it right to discuss that question, notwithstanding the relation which it bears to myself individually, without the introduction of any personal matter. I should have done injustice to the House, and to the subject, if I had lowered the tone of a debate involving such grave issues, by mixing with it matter of a nature so trivial. I would much rather, Sir, that my vindication, if I need one, should follow in the train of these infinitely greater considerations. I am best content to seek it simply in the pursuit of such a course as may tend to produce the belief, that I have endeavoured to form an impartial judgment of the merits and the bearings of a measure so important to the country. Indeed, for us all, I am convinced that we shall most fitly provide for our own characters by leaving behind us such words and acts as will convince those who are to follow us that we have laboured in our own day and generation, if with fallible judgment, yet with integrity of intention, and with a constant will, to consult for the interests of those whose social welfare is committed to our charge.

The Earl of *Arundel* and *Surrey* congratulated the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel) after the speech of the right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down, at now having the support of every man who was worthy of the name of a statesman. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Dublin had alluded to the want of Catholic petitions for this measure. The hon. Gentleman had made a long speech, characterized by amenity of manner, and by language of which no one could have any right to complain; but he wished to tell the hon. Gentleman that what affected the Catholics of Ireland affected also the Catholics of England; that the Catholics of England rejoiced in any good that was offered to Ireland, and that they viewed with delight and gratitude the boon which was about to be bestowed on the Catholics of Ireland by the right hon. Baronet. He must say also, that the hon. Member's speech was full of exploded charges against the Catholics, and of no doubt unintentional misrepresentations against Catholic doctrines and principles; but the real point of the speech was to be found in the last sentence, wherein he declared that he opposed the grant, because he was opposed to the Catholic religion, and that was the real reason of the violence, and of the "No Popery" cry. The sole reason was this they said, "You are wrong and we are right." They denied, indeed, any desire to persecute the Catholics, but they were endowed with no friendly feeling towards them. They were influenced by a spirit which would have qualified them to become one of the Knights of King Arthur's Round Table; a spirit and a frame of mind which, a few centuries ago, would have made the hon. Member for Kent turn him at a slowfire, and some other person turn the survivor, and that without any great loss to the country. But, to go back as far as eighteen centuries, suppose the hon. Member for Kent had been born an Israelite, and brought up an honest and conscientious Israelite, would he not, with the same frame of mind and disposition, have desired to impeach the Roman Governor, Pontius Pilate, as the hon. Member for Knaresborough now wished to impeach the right hon. Baronet? He did not wish to pick out the hon. Member for Kent invidiously; but that hon. Gentleman had attacked him, and charged him with being an idolater, to the great amusement of his right hon. Friend the Member for Dungarvon, who said he heard him with a feeling akin to love. The hon. Friend of the Member for Kent, the Member for Oxford too, displayed a soured spirit, which seemed to qualify him to be High Priest of the Jews. He was no latitudinarian. He was a Catholic in communion with the Church of Rome by conviction, by examination, confirmed by those Scriptures which the Catholics were accused of not being permitted to read. But, holding that creed and profession, he did most strenuously abhor and repudiate religious persecution in every country, and under every creed. Whether in Great Britain, or in Spain, or in Naples, or in Russia, he fully abhorred it. He should not have done his duty if, before he sat down, he did not pay a tribute, though a most inadequate and humble one, but certainly a most unqualified one, of admiration, at the position in which the right hon. Baronet had placed himself in bringing forward this measure, opposed as he was by a great minority of his usual supporters. Calm and intrepid, the right hon. Baronet bore up against the stream, firm in his determination, and supported by every true statesman in the United Kingdom; and he trusted that he would not merely triumph in this Bill, but succeed in promoting the pacification of the empire.

Mr. *Disraeli* said: Sir, I should not have intruded for a moment between you and the noble Lord just now, had I the slightest idea that he intended to have caught your eye; but the Amendment having been withdrawn, I imagined, and that supposition is very general on this side of the House, that we should not have been honoured with any declaration of opinion from Gentlemen opposite. But I am extremely glad that the noble Lord has had an opportunity of expressing his opinion on the subject. I trust he does not for a moment imagine that I rise to say anything injurious to his creed, which I respect, or anything offensive to himself and his co-religionists, with whom, in many respects, I sympathize. I come to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newark. My first impression, when I listened to that able address was surprise that the right hon. Gentleman had passed the gangway to deliver it. It seemed to be worthy of the Treasury Bench, of that Treasury Bench which this evening he criticised. It seemed to me that while the right hon. Gentleman informed us that though he supported the present Bill, it was not for the reasons which were adduced by his late right hon. chief; yet, nevertheless, had he been in his position, and had he introduced the Bill himself, he might have brought forward, perhaps, unanswerable arguments in its favour; and, deeply sensible of what he styled the circumstances of the case, he might, perhaps, have arrested the flow of those petitions which he confesses has astounded him, but which next week he informs us will astonish us still more. But if I asked myself for a moment what was the necessity for the right hon. Gentleman passing the gangway to deliver that speech, ought I not rather to have asked myself the question, what was the necessity for the right hon. Gentleman to have crossed the House to deliver that speech? If those are the opinions the right hon. Gentleman entertains, how can he, subtle a casuist as he may be, reconcile the course which he now pursues to that which he pursued when in opposition? Because, after all, what is the result of the adroit argumentation of the right hon. Gentleman? It is this; that the principle upon which the State has hitherto been connected with the ecclesiastical affairs of this country is worn out. We must seek a new principle, says the right hon. Gentleman, and the Government which I have left because I support it—that Government has discovered a new principle. But where is the new principle? He tells us that it is not now definitely and distinctly made out. He acknowledges that the exposition of it is feeble, a little vague. It is not now complete; we must look to futurity. But if this is the case, have there been no prior attempts to adumbrate this new system, and have no public men in this House raised their voices to support this principle and advocate this new settlement? Have not their opinions been in fact the foundation of measures brought forward by them as a Government which no longer exists? And was not an opposition to their measures, however imperfect their provisions, or however partially advocated, the bond of union of the party which opposed them, and the foundation of the Conservative theory? I am perfectly ready to agree with the right hon. Gentleman that the relation which exists between the Church and State in this country is an extremely unsatisfactory one. I have had some opportunities for observation on this head. I have been a Member of this House now eight or nine Sessions, during a very tempestuous period, the principal part of which has been expended in discussions arising out of this controverted principle. I have read the right hon. Gentlemen's book. But the right hon. Gentleman, in his argument to-night, has made one great assumption. He says,—"You have endowed the Anglican church. Can you, in fact, refuse to endow the Roman Church?" But have we, in fact, endowed the Anglican Church? That is a question. We know that there has been an alliance between the Church and the State; and the very term "alliance" shows that they met on equal terms, and made an equal compact. But the right hon. Gentleman, with all his historical lore, and with all his trained casuistry, cannot place his finger on any page in history which shows that the State endowed the Church. You may regret that the ecclesiastical power in this country has a large estate. You may say that it makes it predominant, and reason against the policy, but its estate is a fact which none can deny. We deal with it as we deal with the great estates of the territorial aristocracy. Parties may be divided upon the policy of the landed inheritance of the country. But you cannot deny the fact. As practical men we deal with great facts in such a way as to secure the greatest possible benefits. But when we come to the question of fresh relations, and speak of endowing religions, the plea, I will not call it an argument, of analogy fails us. I should like to know what principle you will lay down for the step you are invited to take. I know, the right hon. Gentleman who introduced the Bill—and I must make the same apology as the right hon. Gentleman the late President of the Board of Trade for referring to his speech—told us, that upon this subject there were three courses open to us. I never heard the right hon. Gentleman bring forward a measure without his making the same confession. I never knew the right hon. Gentleman bring forward, not what I call a great measure, but a measure which assumes to settle a great controversy—there is a difference—without saying that three courses were open to us. In a certain sense, and looking to his own position, he is right. There is the course the right hon. Gentleman has left. There is the course that the right hon. Gentleman is following; and there is usually the course which the right hon. Gentleman ought to follow. Perhaps, Sir, I ought to add that there is a fourth course; because it is possible for the House of Commons to adopt one of those courses indicated by the right hon. Gentleman, and then having voted for it to rescind its vote. That is the fourth course, which in future I trust the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Peel) will not forget. The right hon. Gentleman tells us to go back to precedents; with him a great measure is always founded on a small precedent. He traces the steam-engine always back to the tea-kettle. His precedents are generally tea-kettle precedents. In the present instance, he refers us to Mr. Perceval, and to some odd Vote in a dusty corner from which he infers the principle is admitted. He says, "You have admitted the principle. Confine yourselves to the details. Don't trouble yourselves about the first and second reading, but reserve all your energies for the Committee, because the principle is admitted." Now, I deny that even, in the limited sense the right hon. Gentleman says, it is admitted. In the first place, that was a temporary vote, and this is not; in fact, it is a permanent one. But I will not make that the ground of opposition to the right hon. Gentleman. I will go to the argument, founded on circumstances, of the right hon. Gentleman the late President of the Board of Trade: I am somewhat astonished that he should so completely have given up principles. I looked upon the right hon. Gentleman as the last paladin of principle, the very chivalry of abstraction; and, when a question was raised which touched the elementary principle of ecclesiastical institutions, I never supposed that it would be the right hon. Gentleman who would come and give the House the small change of circumstances to settle this great account. But have circumstances, which ought to settle every thing—have circumstances not changed since the time of Mr. Perceval? How astonished must Mr. Perceval's ghost be—if he have a ghost to be thus appealed to! Were it Mr. Pitt, or Fox, or Burke, whom the right hon. Gentleman has quoted to-night, that was brought in to settle this question, we might feel the controlling influence of the great apparition. But Mr. Perceval to be brought in to settle it! Mr. Perceval seems casually to have agreed to a miserable vote about this accidental college at Maynooth. What, let me ask you, was the political and religious situation of affairs by virtue of which Mr. Perceval became Prime Minister at the time of which I am speaking? You had really then in England what you pretend you now have—a Constitution in Church and State. You had that Constitution, and Members of Parliament being then necessarily in communion with the Church, were, by virtue of this junction of Church and State, in fact members of a lay synod. What, again, was the situation of the other kingdoms of the Empire? You had a Church in Scotland without any Dissenters. What was the case with respect to Ireland? There was a Constitution in Church and State not only in principle, but rigidly adhered to. What do we now see? You have no longer in this country your boasted union of Church and State. You may proclaim it still — you may make speeches to prove that the Union is as strong as ever —you may toast it at your public dinners; but I tell you that the constitution in Church and State no longer exists. What is the undeniable fact with respect to this proclaimed union? You know very well that the Church of England is subject to the control of those who no longer exclusively profess communion with that Church. I am politically connected with a district which is threatened with very severe suffering in consequence of this supposed union of Church and State; the inhabitants of that district are about to endure one of the greatest blows that could be inflicted upon them, and this solely because it has pleased a Conservative Government to destroy the ancient episcopate under which they have so long been governed. What is now the position of the Church of Scotland—a Church which the late Earl of Liverpool held up as a model, and as the perfection of a religious community, because, I suppose, it gave him no trouble? What, I repeat, is the present situation of the Church of Scotland? It is rent in twain! Besides the Kirk, there is now the Free Kirk. Well, will you endow the Free Kirk? Will you apply this principle of endowment to sectarians and schismatics of every class? Where will you stop? Why should you stop? And this consideration brings me to the real question before the House. You find your Erastian system crumbling from under your feet. Will you adopt a pantheistic principle? I have unfaltering confidence in the stability of our Church; but I think that the real source of the danger which threatens it is its connexion with the State, which places it under the control of a House of Commons that is not necessarily of its communion. Leave the Church to herself, and she will shrink from no contest, however severe. I believe in Ireland itself, if the question be, will you sever the Church from the State, or will you endow the Roman Catholic Church?—for my own part, I believe the Protestants of Ireland would say, "Sever the connexion between the Church and the State, and don't endow the Roman Catholics." But then we come to this other consideration—are we to recognise a pantheistic principle? Because, judging from all that has passed, I can only come to the conclusion, that any body of sectarians that can prove a certain population to Downing-street, will be considered to have a claim for an endowment. For my own part, I confess I have no great confidence in the cure of souls in that quarter. I observe in Downing-street a disposition to assail our old and deeply rooted habits. From that quarter has proceeded the assault on the parochial constitution of the kingdom. Will they complete it by attending to our spiritual necessities? I am totally opposed to such a proceeding. I can conceive nothing more opposed to or more utterly at variance with the feelings of this country than a police surveillance, such as is contemplated over the religious ordinances of the people. I deny that the Church of England is the creature of the State. The alliance between them has been one formed and maintained upon equal terms; and if it be attempted, as appears to be the intention, to place all ecclesiastical affairs under the control of Downing-street, and to subject them to the same species of discipline that is enforced in Prussia over the religious establishments there, I tell the right hon. Gentleman that the people of this country will never endure such a system. This alone is a sufficient ground with me to oppose the Bill now before the House. I will not say that this Bill has been introduced into the House in a sinister and insidious manner, though I, in common with others, have formed my conclusions upon that point; but I will assert, what I believe cannot be denied, that the measure has taken the country by surprise. But I have other reasons for opposing this measure. I oppose this Bill on account of the manner in which it has been introduced, and I oppose it also on account of the men by whom it has been brought forward. [*Loud cheers*]. I am perfectly ready to meet those cheers, and I do so by declaring, that I do not think—putting totally out of view the other objections which I entertain—that the Gentlemen who are now seated on the Treasury Bench are morally entitled to bring such a measure forward. This measure, Sir, involves a principle against which the right hon. Gentleman and most of his Colleagues have all along signally struggled. When I recall to mind all the speeches, and all the Motions, and all the Votes which have emanated from the present occupants of the Treasury Bench on this and analogous questions—when I remember their opposition to that system of education which they now seek to promote—when I recollect the procession of prelates going up to the palace of the Sovereign to protest against analogous measures with those which the very men who incited that procession are now urging forward—when I recall to mind all the discussions which have taken place here upon the subject of Irish education—when the Appropriation Clause presents itself to my memory, I consider it would be worse than useless to dwell at any length upon the circumstances which induce me to adopt this opinion. And are we to be told, that because those men who took the course to which I have referred have crossed the floor of this House, and have abandoned with their former seats their former professions—are we to be told that these men's measures and actions are to remain uncriticised and unopposed, because they tell us to look to the merits of their measures, and to forget themselves and their former protestations? Such pretensions naturally lead to the question whether party, as a political instrument, is or is not to continue to govern the discussions of this House? The question touches the whole of their Ministry. Let us, therefore, grapple with it, and decide what our future course shall be in this respect. Let us endeavour to put an end to the misconception and subterfuge which now surround us. I am perfectly contented to place the question upon this footing. Now, Sir, it is very easy to complain of party Government, and there may be persons capable of forming an opinion on this subject who may entertain a deep objection to that Government, and know to what that objection leads. But there are others who shrug their shoulders, and talk in a slipshod style on this head, who, perhaps, are not exactly aware of what the objections lead to. These persons should understand, that if they object to party Government, they do, in fact, object to nothing more nor less than Parliamentary Government. A popular assembly without parties—500 isolated individuals — cannot stand five years against a Minister with an organized Government without becoming a servile Senate. The objectors to party Government may have a good case, on the merits of which I give no opinion. They may say, "Here are we the Parliament of England; we have had the virtual sovereignty of this country for a century and a half; we have plunged the country in debt, and we can't pay it. We have done more than patrician Rome in its most rapacious hour; we have mortgaged industry to protect property. We have passed laws on the currency which have affected property more than all the tampering of the coinage by all the Sovereigns that have ever existed; we have violently assailed, and now still more enormously menace, the parochial constitution of the country, and, having differed on every other subject, we have at length agreed on one point, that with relation to the civilization, the wealth, and luxury that surround them, the people of England are the hardest worked and the worst fed, the most miserable and degraded population in the world." This is the case of those who are opposed to party Government. Well, let them carry out their principle; let them vote an Address to the Crown, go up to Buckingham Palace, fall on their knees before our Sovereign Lady, and restore to Her the prerogatives which they have so long usurped and so injuriously used. But for the right hon. Gentleman, even a pedant in favour of Parliamentary Power, who, First Minister of the Crown, declares he is ready to go to war to-morrow with the Lord Chief Justice of England in behalf of your privileges—who is jealous of the slightest interference with your business or your duties, even if you cannot transact or perform them—who enjoins the youth of England not to make brilliant speeches, but to work on railway Committees—for him to set up for one who would be independent of Parliament and party, is indeed astonishing. The noble Lord opposite, the hereditary leader of the Whig party, who founded Parliamentary Government in this country, will, I am sure, not withhold his concurrence with the principles I have laid down. That noble Lord, the representative of Mr. Fox, will not gainsay the motto of that great leader—" Men, and not measures." And I would ask Gentlemen on this side, how has the opposite system answered for them? You have permitted men to gain power and enter place, and then carry measures exactly the reverse to those which they professed in opposition, and they carry these measures by the very means and machinery by which they conducted the opposition, and by which they gained power. And you are reconciled to this procedure by being persuaded that by carrying measures which you disapprove of and they pretend to disrelish, they are making what they call "the best bargain" for you. I say, that the Parliamentary course is for this House to have the advantage of a Government formed on distinct principles, and having in consequence a constitutional Opposition. Here is a Minister who habitually brings forward as his own measures those very schemes and proposals to which, when in opposition, he always avowed himself a bitter and determined opponent. He brings in Canada Bills, he brings in Maynooth Bills; he uses expressions and excites feelings still more objectionable than the measures; but, let me ask the admirers of "the best bargain" system, how they think the right hon. Gentleman would have acted had they been introduced by the noble Lord opposite? Why, then those Bills would have been at least checked by the Opposition, by a constitutional Opposition; the questions would have been criticised, the measures would have been modified. Grant even that some measures might have been factiously opposed; that would have been only one of the necessary inconveniencies of a Parliamentary Government. In what situation are we placed now? Up come all these petitions; in them we hear the loud murmurs of the people, because there is no exponent of a great national opinion in this House, while we have a Government which came into power by an organization prepared to oppose such measures, now engaged in carrying them. I may on constitutional grounds say, the noble Lord (Lord J. Russell) ought to oppose the present measure, though he approves it, because it is thus brought forward. He will reply it is for those who act on another set of principles to oppose the Government; consequently the country is without a consitutional Opposition to keep the Government in check. Now, I hope it will not be said, because I have made these observations, which are in entire and complete relation and affinity to the Motion before the House, that I am "bandying personalities." Certainly, we live in strange times, when Parliamentary criticism on a person in so eminent a position as the First Minister of the Crown, is to be stopped by his declaring it personality; when it is but fair observation on the character and conduct of a public man, whose career is open to us, with respect to whom we have a right to draw the inferences we think legitimate; and if they are not just they may be contravened in free discussion. I do not know what the House thinks of this system of putting down Parliamentary discussion; it is not a very new experiment; it has been tried in —I will not say another House, for that must not be referred to—but it has been tried in what is called "another place." I do not know whether the position occupied by "another place" in the public estimation and the public eye is one of which the Members of the House of Commons are particularly ambitious. I remember when we used to toast "another place" with three times three and nine times nine; the independence of "another place" was once a favourite toast at all Conservative dinners; where is the independence of "another place" now? It is not Radicalism, it is not the revolutionary spirit of the nineteenth century, which has consigned "another place" to illustrious insignificance; it is Conservatism and a Conservative dictator. Are you prepared to meet the same fate? Every time a Member expresses any opinions not absolutely agreeable to the Minister of the day, is he to be stopped by a charge of "bandying personalities?" Whenever the young men of England allude to any great principle of political life or Parliamentary conduct, are they to be recommended to go to a railway Committee? I have no doubt it would be very agreeable if this House were in the same condition, especially with regard to the Bill, as "another place." I know the elements of this House are different, that the characters of the individuals who would control us are different; but the process with both bodies, although it varies, is in result the same. It may break the spirit in "another place," and it may lower the tone in this; "another place" may be drilled into a guard-room, and the House of Commons may be degraded into a vestry. But the consequence is exactly similar; and that consequence will be, that you will have Bills like the Maynooth Bill, and that still more important measure which, after the admission of the right hon. Member for Newark, may be looked on as a fact, if not accomplished, yet ascertained, introduced, and carried through this House, and of course through "another place;" and you may have the floor of this House covered with petitions, and the lobby of "another place" crowded with the constituents who have left us in despair; but, whatever may be the degree of public feeling, whatever may be the depth of the national sentiment, if you choose to support a Government that announces no distinctive principles, which is in turn supported by an Opposition that does not oppose, I am certain there is no spirit and no nation that can resist a "cross" so deeply laid and so deliberately accomplished. This Maynooth Bill, I suppose, is introduced instead of the Irish Registration Bill, the necessity for which was so apparent when the right hon. Gentleman was in opposition. It is brought in after a four years' experiment of lowering your tone, and working that, constitutionally, by means of a Whig Opposition. During those four years what has the Conservative party endured? What has it experienced? What is the treatment it has been obliged to submit to, till the thing was so ripe that even your murmurs are not noticed? This Bill brings affairs to a crisis; the question is not to be decided on its merits; it is to be decided on the fact—who are the men who bring it forward? If you are to have a popular Government—if you are to have a Parliamentary Administration, the conditions antecedent are, that you should have a Government which declares the principles upon which its policy is founded, and then you can have on them the wholesome check of a constitutional Opposition. What have we got instead? Something has risen up in this country as fatal in the political world as it has been in the landed world of Ireland—we have a great Parliamentary middleman. It is well known what a middleman is; he is a man who bamboozles one party, and plunders the other, till, having obtained a position to which he is not entitled, he cries out, "Let us have no party questions, but fixity of tenure." I want to have a Commission issued to inquire into the tenure by which Downing-street is held. I want to know whether the conditions of entry have been complied with, and whether there are not some covenants in the lease which are already forfeited? I hope I shall not be answered by *Hansard*. I am not surprised the right hon. Gentleman should be so fond of recurring to that great authority; he has great advantages; he can look over a record of thirty, and more than thirty years of an eminent career. But that is not the lot of every one; and I may say, as a general rule, I am rather surprised that your experienced statesmen should be so fond of recurring to that eminent publication. What, after all, do they see on looking over a quarter of a century or more even of their speeches in *Hansard?* What dreary pages of interminable talk, what predictions falsified, what pledges broken, what calculations that have gone wrong, what budgets that have blown up! And all this, too, not relieved by a single original thought, a single generous impulse, or a single happy expression! Why, *Hansard*, instead of being the Delphi of Downing-street, is but the Dunciad of politics. But I want something more than quotations from *Hansard* to account for the process by which parties have been managed in this House. It is a system so matter of fact and yet so fallacious, taking in everybody, though everybody knows he is deceived; so mechanical, and yet so Machiavelian, that I can hardly say what it is, except a sort of humdrum *hocus pocus*, in which the order of the day is read to take in a nation. Now; the system is to be brought to a test to-night. Will the House support the Government in a measure which, according to the highest authority—one who has quitted the Cabinet for some reason that has not been given, and who, probably, may join it again under circumstances equally obscure—is, in fact, an endowment for the Roman Catholic priesthood of Ireland? If any vote were at stake in which the social and political equality of the Roman Catholic population were concerned, I would go as far as any man in the House, and perhaps further than many. But, Sir, no one pretends that this is now the question. The grounds on which I oppose this Motion are not those of hostility to their claims, but grounds which they themselves, after the clamour of the moment, must feel are legitimate ones. I cannot admit the plea *ad misericordiam,* founded on the state of Maynooth. Surely men of high spirit and bearing cannot for a moment bring themselves to suppose that we shall be induced to vote for the measure on this plea; it would be an insult to them to suppose so. I know there are Roman Catholic colleges, well organized and well ordered, that are not in the condition of Maynooth; there are sectarian colleges in England with larger revenues even than those now proposed to be given by the Government in support of Roman Catholic principles. What sustains them? The sympathy of their co-religionaries. I cannot believe, therefore, that those Gentlemen will, upon reflection, be anxious that this Bill should pass. I do not think it a measure either flattering to their pride, or solacing to their feelings; I do not think it either a great or a liberal measure. The right hon. Gentleman is a supreme master of Parliamentary tactics, and when he found he was not receiving from the seats behind him the once abundant chorus of applause to which he was accustomed, he went forward to the red box, and saying, "I know this is a great grant to Maynooth," obtained the heedless assent of some hon. Gentlemen opposite to the assertion. But if the right hon. Gentleman's principle is correct, I think it is not a great grant; I think it is a mean, a meagre, and a miserable grant. If the Roman Catholic priesthood are to be educated by the State, it must be something greater than the difference between 23*l.* and 28*l.*, something higher than the difference between three in a bed and two. That is not the way, under any circumstances, in which I would approach a reverend priesthood. I cannot believe, therefore, that the Roman Catholic gentlemen, on reflection—and I hope they will have time for reflection—will vote for this measure, when they consider what it is. Who is he who introduces it? He is the same individual whose bleak shade fell on the sunshine of your hopes for more than a quarter of a century. Will not this consideration affect you? What if it be a boon?—I deny that it is one—but if it were the boon it is said to be, would you accept it from hands polluted? It is not from him you ought to accept it—not from him who, urged on, as he reluctantly admitted, by fatal State necessity, accompanied the concession of your legitimate political claims by the niggardly avowal that he was obliged to concede them. As to the Whigs, I am almost in despair of appealing to their hereditary duties, their constitutional convictions, or their historical position; but I should have thought that the noble Lord opposite was almost weary of being dragged at the triumphal car of a conqueror who did not conquer him in fair fight. I think the noble Lord might have found some inspiration in the writings of that great man whom he has so often quoted, and whose fame he attempts to emulate. I should have thought that a man of the mind and spirit of the noble Lord—and he has a thoughtful mind and a noble spirit—might have felt that Mr. Fox would have taken that course which I still think the noble Lord, touched by his high position, and the responsibility of that position, will still adopt. His party may have fallen, but it still is one connected with the history of this country. Other parties have also fallen; they have been reconstructed, and they have been destroyed. The noble Lord is not in so fallen a position as that in which the right hon. Gentleman was in 1831. But let the noble Lord beware of this; let him beware of rising from that degraded position again by the same system of tactics. They may bring some short-lived success, but upon conditions which I believe the gallant spirit of the noble Lord would disdain. I do not, then, despair, Sir, of the aid of the Roman Catholic gentry of Ireland, or of the Whigs of England, in opposing this measure respecting Maynooth, as well as of those who would reject it on exclusively Protestant principles, or on the general principle against State interference which I have attempted to uphold. But, whatever may be the various motives and impulses which animate these different sections of opinion, there is at least one common ground for co-operation—there is one animating principle which may inspire us all. Let us in this House re-echo that which I believe to be the sovereign sentiment of this country; let us tell persons in high places that cunning is not caution, and that habitual perfidy is not high policy of State. On that ground we may all join. Let us bring back to this House that which it has for so long a time past been without—the legitimate influence and salutary check of a constitutional Opposition. That is what the country requires, what the country looks for. Let us do it at once in the only way in which it can be done, by dethroning this dynasty of deception, by putting an end to the intolerable yoke of official despotism and Parliamentary imposture.

Mr. *Roebuck* said, he approached this question with considerable apprehension as to whether he would be able adequately to explain the opinions he held upon it, and the reasons for his vote. He felt this the more, because it appeared to him that this was a great national question, and that there was danger from what they had heard to-night that all considerations of national welfare would be forgotten in petty private pique, and personal feeling. He did not like on a question of this kind to see feelings of a merely personal nature introduced to disturb those other considerations which must of necessity in that House, and at that time, excite great anxiety in the minds of all men, who felt that they had a great duty to perform to the people, and who did not forget the interests of the people in considerations concerning themselves. And here he would for the moment make one passing remark of a critical character. He could not congratulate the hon. Member for Shrewsbury on the effect of the manner of his speech; it certainly had not been characterized by any of that remarkable talent which was necessary to bear away the open malice which it evinced. That speech was certainly poor in its performance, however malicious in its motives. It was said to be something to be praised by one who was himself worthy of praise; so it was hard to be accused of inconsistency by one who was himself open to the same charge. Even if he (Mr. Roebuck) were unwilling to use towards the hon. Member those hard words which seemed to stand in the place of wit on this occasion, the argument, if argument it could be called, which formed the sum and substance of the hon. Gentleman's speech, could be retorted on the hon. Gentleman himself. What did his charge amount to? Why, that the right hon. Baronet had in former times held former opinions, and that with the change of times he had changed his opinions. The hon. Gentleman himself was open to the same charge. What was the sort of constitutional opposition to which the hon. Member at one time aspired? Why, it was not only a constitutional opposition, but a liberal one. The great model of his Parliamentary career was at one time the hon. Member for Montrose. Commencing life with these aspirations, he was shortly afterwards to be found in open opposition behind the back of the right hon. Baronet. How came he there? That was a natural question. An equally natural one was, why did he remain there? If, indeed, his brilliant merits have been forgotten, and the right hon. Baronet has indeed thought of measures and not of men, then, indeed, we may understand the position of the hon. Member and his unfortunate state of mind —unfortunate, perhaps, only because he has never had afforded to him the opportunity of "coming below the gangway." But, he asked, were not these miserable displays on such a question? When they had the country from one end to the other excited by the deepest and strongest feelings respecting their religious belief and expectations, was it not deeply to be regretted that they had had their minds turned from the great object of the debate to these petty feelings and considerations? And he did hope the House would pardon him if he endeavoured to forget all consideration of the immediate amusement which might be derived from malice in the guise of wit, and left it at once for the more serious subjects involved in the question. It was a question which must be regarded as of great importance on that (the Opposition) side of the House; for it involved not merely the quiet of Ireland, but also the quiet and well-being of England; and perhaps, without exaggeration, he might say, the quiet of the world at large. It was because he viewed the question in this light, and because the country generally, and his constituents in particular, were deeply stirred by conscientious scruples in connexion with it, that he approached it with feelings of doubt and anxiety. If the question came before them now for the first time, it would assume a very different aspect. But, however easy it might be to laugh at the word "circumstances," he could not shut out from his view the present condition of Ireland and of this country when he came to consider the course he should take on this measure. "Circumstances" might be cited often, as indeed might "principles," without much care being felt for either one or the other. But when he looked at the state of Ireland, and at the circumstances under which they were called upon to vote on this question, he must say that it behoved them to place themselves above the agitation around them, to set an example to those whom they represented, to do their duty boldly, and, whatever might be the result, to act up to their view of what was right and proper, and likely to conduce to the welfare of this great community. Now, looking at the grant then proposed by the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government, he had no hesitation in saying that he, for one, was prepared to support it. He would go one step further, and declare that if the right hon. Gentleman had come down to the House to propose a grant, and they were for the moment excluding all recollection of any money having been formerly granted for the same purpose, he (Mr. Roebuck) would at once close with the offer. But he would take the case as it was first presented to them. A purely Protestant Parliament in Ireland, endowed, as it was termed, though he objected to the word, the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth. An annual grant was made by a Parliament exclusively Protestant, and composed wholly of the rich, and that grant was continued up to the time of the Union. At the period of the Union a purely Protestant Parliament repeated the Vote. Various Ministers came into power; political parties of various descriptions took office; and under all, this grant was continued. He wanted the House, however, to remark particularly the circumstances under which a grant was first made to the College of Maynooth. This ~~took~~ place in 1795, at a time when the Protestant feared the Catholic less than he feared the principles of France, when he would rather see in every parish in Ireland a Catholic priest, a follower of the religion of Christ, than an emissary of the Jacobin Club in Paris, or a follower of Robespierre. During the existence of the Reign of Terror, they applied themselves to the task of conciliating the Catholics; and to secure their assistance in the battle which they were fighting, this grant was made. As time went on, the parties in the conquest changed. Napoleon, it was true, established Catholicity in France; but it was supposed that he aimed at universal dominion, and Ireland was required to send forth thousands of gallant soldiers to fight the great battle that was then going on between France and England. In the year 1808 the principle of the grant was again mooted, and again discussed, and they added to the grant that was originally made. They found a purely Protestant Parliament acting in this way, for its own purposes, under all Ministries, up to the year 1827. In that year, the Roman Catholics were, as it was termed, emancipated, and entered into the composition both of that and the other House of Parliament. The grant to Maynooth was again renewed, and was continued up to the time of the Reform Act. Now, it might, and probably would, be said that the doings of an aristocratic Government were not those with which they could have much sympathy, it being notorious that an aristocracy consulted only its own convenience and its own selfish interests. But after the year 1832, the Parliament was one which represented the great body of Dissenters in this country; and from that time to the present had the grant been continued. What he had to say on this subject he wished to address to his constituents and to the people out of doors. They had for the last twelve years sanctioned this grant; they had sanctioned the principle of it up to the present hour; and they could not, therefore, now turn round and tell their Representatives, whilst they suddenly startled their ears with a sort of ecclesiastical trumpet, that Protestantism was in daily and hourly peril on account of this grant. They had seen the former grant made, not only without remonstrance, but with applause; and if the grant had been made for twelve years by four successive Parliaments, with different Administrations in power, the principle being the same as regarded the religious question, whether the grant were 8,000*l.* or 26,000*l.* they could not be suddenly called upon to recede from the principle on which the grant had hitherto been made. Some complaint had been made against the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Peel) on account of his stating that there were but three courses open. It would not be denied that it was excedingly useful to look at the real position in which they were placed. That matters should remain in their present position every one acknowledged to be impossible. It was admitted that the present potition of Maynooth could not continue, first, by the hon. Member for the University of Oxford, who had always consistently been opposed to the grant; and, secondly, by those who had had a new light brought into their minds by the proposed extension of it. Hon. Members on that side of the House who supported the policy of the Government, contended that the providing for the proper education of the Roman Catholic priesthood of Ireland was of the highest moment, as being calculated to make them feel that they were not aliens from the country of their birth. They felt that it was desirable to do all in their power to create in the minds of the Irish priesthood feelings of affection for the Government, and associations of pleasure in connexion with the place in which they were educated, instead of associations of insult and indignity. It must be recollected that the institutions of this country were not in any case paltry or mean, because they were unable to make them otherwise. They were, in fact, for the most part, distinguished by magnificence and liberality; and if Maynooth were treated in a different manner, it would be attributed, not to an inability, but to unwillingness to provide proper support. The Roman Catholic clergy had in many cases endured poverty and privation in carrying what they believed to be the truth from one end of the globe to the other; and if it were necessary, he believed they would at all times cheerfully assist in bearing public burdens. But when they found all the appliances of wealth exerted in other cases, and withheld in their own, they naturally felt that they did not enjoy their due share of the sympathy of England. What course, then, could the House pursue? Why, they must either get rid of the grant altogether, or accede to the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman. His only objection to that Motion was, that it did not go far enough. He had hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would have proposed a broad scheme of academical education, making Maynooth a Roman Catholic university, similar to Oxford and Cambridge in the power of conferring degrees, so that the clergy and the gentry might equally have availed themselves of its benefits. Had that course been pursued, he believed no more hostility would have been exhibited to that proposal than the present. Now, there were two classes of objectors to this measure. The first class, with whom he deeply sympathized, opposed the grant on the voluntary principle, objecting to the endowment of any religion by the State. They said, that at the present moment, the Established Church was the monster grievance of Ireland, and they objected to what they called the setting up of a Roman Catholic Church establishment as equally objectionable. But he contended that this was not the setting up of another establishment, but a contribution towards the education of Ireland—a contribution in the best form towards the teaching of the only teachers of the Irish people. He regretted that the measure of the right hon. Gentleman was so inadequate to that object; but he supported it as an approach towards national education; and he would do so if, in place of being intended for the benefit of their fellow-Christians in Ireland, it were designed for Jews or Mahomedans. Did they not already contribute towards the teaching of the Brahmin priests in India, and of the Roman Catholic priests in Canada? In Canada there was a priesthood endowed by Act of Parliament, and not one word had been said on the score of a violation of conscience. In fact, an hon. Member had that evening admitted, that without this it would be impossible to maintain their Colonial dominion. The question of principle, it appeared, had no influence when interest was concerned. Then they put the principle in their pockets and sanctioned the endowment, as it was called, of the Roman Catholic religion. He did not object to this; he acknowledged the reason of it, and thought it a sufficient one; but why not apply the same argument to Ireland? If it could be shown that there were in Ireland reasons for believing that they would conciliate the people, that they would very much contribute to the harmony of the whole people by continuing and increasing this grant, how came it that it had the opposition of persons who could concede to this principle for the purposes of Colonial religion? The truth was that there was not a single hour of any one of their legislative days that they did not break a principle. He supported the grant on the ground that we were of necessity obliged, so far as the religious teaching of the people was concerned, to be for the moment passive. We must contribute as well as we could to the due education of the people in the faith which they held, and in which we had not a right to interfere; all that the State had to inquire into was, were they good citizens? And, therefore, going from one end of the world to the other—to Canada, to India, to Malta, to the West Indies—in fact, through the whole of our Foreign Possessions, we found that this was the system pursued; but, on turning to Ireland, he supported the measure on this ground of conciliation. He had once heard an observation made by a right hon. Gentleman opposite, "that we had come to the end of conciliation." He was not going to quarrel with any change of opinion which experience might have wrought on the minds of right hon. Gentlemen opposite; but he considered that within the last two years a great change had taken place with regard to the government of Ireland. We had adopted a different system to that which had prevailed almost during the recollection of every man in that House; and he considered this, the last proposed act of the right hon. Gentleman, a most marked step in the progress of this system of concession—a conquest over every successive Ministry that had governed Ireland since the passing of the Reform Bill. It had sealed upon it the doctrine of concession, and both the great parties of this country were now endeavouring to make all necessary concessions to Ireland. He took this measure as one great step in that concession, not because (as had been asked) they expected all these great consequences from this paltry concession—from the difference between 9,000*l*. and 28,000*l*. a year—for he did not expect this. He might be asked, did he expect the priesthood of Ireland to be bribed to our service by such means? His answer was, he did not want to do that; but he wanted to make the people feel that the system was changed—that we were endeavouring to do justice to that unfortunate people. Though he did not expect great results—though he did not hope that the priests might be established in that country immediately, yet he did hope that when this great measure was consummated in all its circumstances, the very opposition to it marking how strong was the necessity on the right hon. Gentleman's mind of such a proposition, this concession would convince the leaders of the Irish people, and address itself to their calm and thinking minds and generous feelings, and that their leaders and those who wished to excite them for purposes of personal ambition, would not have them, as they now had, so thoroughly at command and beck. He took this as the greatest boon that had been conferred, not upon the people of Ireland, but upon the people of England; for we might depend upon it, that if assailed to-morrow from abroad, and we were to refuse this grant, the insulted people of Ireland would recollect the insult. They had been told by many ardent persons that the religion of the Irish was a superstition and immoral, and parts of their books had been brought forward to prove it; and that to endow this college was to endow a college to teach immorality and superstition. The insulted people of Ireland would recollect this; and we should find our danger came not so much from abroad as it was at home. Our chief enemies would be at home, and we should be weak, and open to the insults of the world, because we had been unjust to one-third of our countrymen. It was upon this great ground that he maintained the grant proposed by the right hon. Gentleman. Look at the condition of Ireland at the present moment. Suppose that at the present moment England was in the same situation, and Ireland in a situation totally at variance with its present condition of great depression. Suppose they could find some Saxon demagogue—some William Long-beard to appeal to the oppressed Saxon and point to his Norman spoliator, and appeal to what was in the memory of many living men, and speak of the desolation which was spread through the land, of cabins burnt, of fields laid waste, and of thousands of people turned out to starve; suppose, then, he could point to the scene of the patient and deserving priest, careless of danger, and wealth, and power, going to these people thus beaten down and trodden to the earth, and ministering to them courageously and bravely all the religious comforts which their condition demanded—suppose a demagogue in England could say these things, would England be quiet under such circumstances? Would she not rise up as one man and put down the oppressor? And had not the Irish people the same feelings and power as we had? And were we to forget that this hypothetical case which he was putting, was actually the case in Ireland? Mr. O'Connell regarded the proposition of the right hon. Baronet as a "bidding" against him; he (Mr. O'Connell) knew very well that if justice were done to Ireland, Ireland would no longer seek to be divided from us, but would be our right hand in the time of war, and our friendly ally in the time of peace. Taking into consideration the religious and moral aspect of Ireland, he would ask if the proposed grant could be considered in any other light than as a donation given to the people in the best form? If he were asked the mode in which he could do the greatest good at the least possible cost, he should say it would be by educating the Irish priests. It would be a contribution made in the best form for educating the Irish people. The grant was objected to on the score of religious principle. These arguments were difficult to reply to, and for the most part he could not understand them. They eluded his understanding altogether. He was told the objection was, that the teaching at Maynooth was a teaching of error, and they objected to support such teaching. He had in his hand a very remarkable report of a speech made at Liverpool. He wished to call the attention of the House to observations made upon the present question by a rev. gentleman at Liverpool (as we understood). He really felt it necessary to beg pardon of the House for bringing upon them a mode of treating the present question which was in all respects so objectionable, but yet the manner in which the rev. gentleman discussed this matter was, in its way, very striking. He said,—"Was God's word to be practically supreme, or not?" and then he went on to observe that though no part of the Bible was obscure, certainly not unintelligible, yet there were some pictures of the sacred Scriptures so characterized by extreme clearness, that to doubt their meaning was little less than to deny the use of the Bible itself. The Bible prohibited the bowing down to graven images, it prohibited adultery, it prohibited theft. Then he added that inasmuch as Parliament would not think of endowing a college for promoting adultery or theft, so they ought not to endow a college which inculcated the practice of bowing down to graven images. Now, he would appeal to hon. Members to say, if that was the manner in which such a question as the present ought to be argued? Could he or any Member be fairly called upon to meet such arguments? For his part he should not attempt to do anything of the sort. Neither should he seek to answer those who affirmed that their views of that which was the truth ought alone to be accepted as the truth. Who should say what was the truth as compared with the opinions of other men? For the reasons, then, which he had stated, he gave to the grant his most cordial support.

Lord *Northland* next rose, but owing to the confusion which prevailed in the House, the few observations which the noble Lord made were nearly inaudible. He was understood to say that he felt great regret at being thus obliged, for the first time, to differ from Her Majesty's Government.

Debate adjourned, and House adjourned at half-past twelve o'clock.

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HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, April 14, 1845.

MINUTES.] BILLS. *Public.*—1^{a}· Public Museums, &c.; Sheriffs (Wales); Actions of Debt (Limitation).

2^{a}· Customs (Export Duties); Mutiny; Marine Mutiny; Glass Duties.

Private.—1^{a}· Ellesmere, Birmingham, and Liverpool Canals Union; Kingston-upon-Hull Docks.

Reported.—Calvert's Estate.

PETITIONS PRESENTED. By Bishops of London, Rochester, Llandaff, and St. David's, Earls Powis, Lichfield, Enniskillen, Ellenborough, and St. Germains, Marquesses Anglesey, Breadalbane, and Camden, Lords Ashburton, Brougham, Hatherton, Campbell, and Denman, from Members of Scots Presbyterian Church, London, and numerous other bodies and places, against any further Grant to Maynooth College.—By Earl of Enniskillen, from Killoghter, and several other places, for Encouragement of Schools in connexion with Church Education Society (Ireland).—From Clergy and others of Congresbury, Nailsea, and Tonbridge, for the better Regulation of Beer Houses.—By Bishops of London and Lichfield, from Derby, Bethnal Green, and Sandford Orcos, for better Observance of the Sabbath.—By Duke of Buccleuch, from Presbyteries of Skye, and other places for Improving the Condition of Schoolmasters (Scotland).—From Tradesmen of Tonbridge, and several other places, for Repeal of 57th Clause of Insolvent Debtors Act.—From East Lambeth, for Redemption of Tolls on Waterloo and other Bridges.—From Land Occupiers of Huntingdon, for Protection to Agriculture.—By Bishop of Hereford, and Earl Powis, from Clergy and others of Ludlow, and Sittingbourne, against the Union of St. Asaph and Bangor; and from Louth, Frome, and several other places, against the Union of St. Asaph and Bangor, but in favour of the Appointment of a Bishop to the See of Manchester.—From Montgomery, for Establishment of Local Courts (Wales).—By Lord Campbell, from Prison Board of County of Fife, complaining of Evils of present System relating to Care and Management of Criminal Lunatics (Scotland).—From Corpustye, and several other places, for the Suppression of Intemperance, especially on the Sabbath.

MAYNOOTH.] The Marquess of *Breadalbane,* in presenting a great many petitions against any grant to Maynooth from many places in Scotland and elsewhere, said that he should not do justice to the petitioners, if he did not state to the House their sincere and anxious view of the question. However much they objected to the grant, they did not wish to interfere with the principles of civil or religious liberty, as they wished their Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen to enjoy perfect freedom of opinion. But they regarded the enjoyment of civil rights and the endowment of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland as very different things. For his own part he had always acted upon this principle, and had constantly voted for Catholic Emancipation, and for an equality of civil rights among all classes of his countrymen; but with the petitioners he drew a distinction between civil rights, and in substance making a new Church Endowment and Establishment. He thought that the course taken by Her Majesty's Government in this matter was most imprudent and censurable.

Criminal Lunatics (Scotland). Lord *Campbell* said, that he had then to present the petition of which he had given Notice, from the Prison Board of the County of Fife, on the subject of Criminal Lunatics. He hoped that the attention of Her Majesty's Government would be directed to the matter; and he could assure them that the subject-matter of the petition involved no charge against any Member of the Government, but the petition pointed out a serious defect in the law. The petitioners complained that the law made no provision for the support or maintenance of criminal lunatics in Scotland. There was a provision for the maintenance and dealing with poor lunatics, when they had been guilty of no criminal offence, but there was no provision for criminal pauper lunatics—there was no system for their treatment and cure. In consequence of this they were obliged to be kept in gaol, which was as miserable for them as for the other persons in the same prison with them. The only mode in which they could be dealt with in gaol was to keep them in solitary confinement in cells. The petitioners stated an instance of the defective state of the law. It was the case of a man who had been tried for homicide. There was no doubt as to his having committed the act, but he was a lunatic when he did so, and was consequently acquitted on that plea; but was ordered by the Court of Justiciary to be committed to the Fife county prison till further orders. The petitioners state that they were most anxious to do anything which could mitigate the state of this unhappy man; but in the gaol they had no means of doing so. When this man was first committed he was only a monomaniac; except upon one particular subject he was perfectly rational, and was a very intelligent and clever man. The only course the petitioners could adopt under the circumstances of the case was to place him in a cell in solitary confinement. They had appealed to the Court of Justiciary on the subject, but they could obtain no relief, as there was no public establishment for criminal lunatics, while no private lunatic asylum which they could select would receive him. They had appealed to that excellent and humane Gentleman, the Lord Advocate, but he could give them no redress; and they therefore were obliged to continue to keep him in a cell in solitary confinement in the prison at Cupar. He hoped that some clause to make provision for cases of this kind would be introduced into the Poor Law Bill for Scotland.

Lord *Wharncliffe* was quite satisfied that the subject called for the serious attention of the Government. There could be no doubt but that the law in Scotland was deficient in this respect; but the subject was one that required great consideration as to the best mode of dealing with it. The law of England was equally deficient on the subject until the Act the 39th George III was passed.

Petition read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

Railways (Ireland).] The Marquess of *Clanricarde* wished to ask some questions of the noble Earl the President of the Board of Trade, of which he had given notice, on the subject of Railways in Ireland. It was a subject of very considerable importance. The first question which he wished to ask the noble Earl was, whether, in the recommendations of certain railways by the Railway Committee of the Board of Trade to Parliament, those recommendations were to be considered as pointing out the line positively the best possible, or merely relatively to others the best, and that the recommendation of a line was merely founded on the comparison with other lines which might be before the Board? He was induced to ask this question in consequence of a Report which was laid on the Table only early last week, although it was dated the 3rd of April, and, by some means or other, had been printed in Irish newspapers a week before it was laid before Parliament. He wished to ask this question, because the Report to which he referred related to railways in the part of Ireland with which he was connected—namely, the west of Ireland. He saw in that Report that the Board of Trade alluded to only two lines: he did not intend to discuss the relative merits of those lines, or to find fault with the Report because it recommended one line in preference to the other, nor did it seem to him to be the right time to give any opinion on the subject; but he thought that neither of those lines would be the best possible line for effecting the object in view, namely, a railway to Galway. He asked this question because he thought the Legislature and the Executive Government stood in a very different position with regard to railways in Ireland from that in which it was placed in England, when railways were first set on foot in the latter country. No doubt it was wise and prudent, in the first instance, to leave the formation of railroads in the hands of private companies, and not to commit themselves on the subject, as the consequence of such undertakings was very doubtful; and the great results which had followed, although anticipated by some, were far from being generally expected. It had, however, been frequently the subject of regret in that House, in the course of the two last Sessions of Parliament, and from which expression of regret he had never heard a dissentient voice, that, considering the great results arrived at by these undertakings, and the importance they had obtained in this country, the Government had not more directly interfered to point out the lines which, for the advantage of the country, should be undertaken—avoiding in some cases monopoly, and bad lines in others, and interfering in many respects, by which the community would have received more benefits than had accrued to it by the course which had been adopted. But with respect to Ireland, they stood in a different position; there they had new ground and a new country, with the advantage of the experience they had derived from what had occurred in England; and, therefore, the department of the Government to which these matters were now referred, might very fairly take a much more decided line, and announce a much more positive opinion upon the proposed lines, than was called for in England. On that principle their Lordships would see the advantage of not leaving those matters, in Ireland, too much to private speculation. He made those remarks because, as he had stated, it appeared to him that neither of the lines mentioned in the Report were the best possible lines to effect the object in view. Two other lines were slightly adverted to in the Report; and they led him to the second question which he wished to ask, namely, how far the Committee of the Board of Trade examined into and inquired whether the companies that came before them, as original and incorporated companies, and who proposed to resort to Parliament as companies, had complied with the provisions, the very stringent provisions, of the Registration Act passed in the last Session of Parliament? Those provisions were, doubtless, very stringent; and if they were too stringent in the opinion of the Board of Trade or of Parliament, the law in that respect ought to be altered; but, undoubtedly, while the law remained in force which was intended for some security, as it was, to the public against gambling and fraudulent speculators, as well as for other reasons, the provisions of the Act ought to be complied with. He was induced to make those remarks, because he saw that in this Report a scheme which he thought—but he might be wrong in his opinion—would be as advantageous as those mentioned in detail in the body of this Report, was very slightly referred to as a project into which the Board of Trade did not think it right to go in detail, upon the ground that a mere outline of the plan had been laid before them. Now the projectors of that plan, although they had no company formed, and had taken no particular steps, were still entitled to as patient a hearing as any company that had not complied with the provisions of the Act; indeed, he thought that, having avowed themselves only projectors, and not represented themselves to be a company, nor violated any law, they were entitled to more protection than persons who came before the public as a company, but who had not complied with the law. He did not mean to say positively that others had not complied with the law, but he had been given to understand that they had not; and he thought that that was a subject of great importance, because it would be a great misfortune for Ireland that capitalists should be induced by untrue, if not fraudulent—he did not mean to say that these were such—representations to embark their money in schemes which were not likely to be carried out, and were not set on foot with a *boná fide* intention of being executed. He found, to his great surprise, on Saturday last, that in the last winter his name had appeared in a prospectus with which he had nothing to do, and to which he had never given his sanction. One of the regulations in the Act to which he had adverted was, that within a month of registration, a return should be made, showing the paper by which all the promoters of the scheme shall have bound themselves to take one or more shares in the company to which they lend their names. And he could conceive nothing more improper than a person to lend his name to a scheme to which he was not ready to lend his money. He (the Marquess of Clanricarde) had always refused to have anything to do with forwarding speculations of this kind unless he was prepared, at the same time, to embark some money in them. There were at present schemes in the market—and he said in the market, because he saw them advertised — headed by noble and hon. Friends of his, who, he knew, had no concern whatever with those speculations. Their Lordships were aware of the manner in which matters of this sort were managed. Prospectuses were issued by interested parties, accompanied by a notice that applications for shares were to be made by a certain day. The shares were then sent into the market at a premium, and persons not acquainted with the process were induced to buy them, supposing that the persons whose names they saw to these prospectuses were engaged in the undertakings; and loss inevitably followed to those speculators thus misled by statements which ought never, not only according to equity, but by the provisions of an Act of Parliament, to have been given to the public. For those reasons, the Board of Trade should be cautious in recognising as companies persons who might come before them as such, unless they were sure that the provisions of the Act had been strictly complied with. At the same time, he thought that, whether they were companies or no companies, it would be wise in the Board of Trade to examine into every project and every suggestion that might be made as regarded the different lines; because in the country to which he referred it was essentially necessary to keep in view great lines of communication — that none but good lines might be sanctioned, and that those lines should be really and *bonâ fide* executed.

The Earl of *Dalhousie* was anxious, before he replied to the questions put to him by the noble Marquess, to account for a fact which the noble Marquess seemed to think required some explanation; he meant the fact of the Report itself having appeared before the public in the Irish newspapers previously to its having been laid before that House. It was very true that the Report was to be seen in the columns of the newspapers before it was laid on the Table of their Lordships' House; but the reason of this was to be found in the fact of their Lordships having adjourned some time previous to the other House of Parliament, and the Board of Trade being desirous that this Report should be submitted to Parliament as early as possible, several Reports were laid on the Table of the House of Commons after their Lordships had adjourned, and, which, therefore, could not be laid on the Table of that House until after the recess. With respect to the first of the questions, the noble Marques had asked whether the recommendations of the Board of Trade were to be regarded as absolutely recommendatory of the best line for particular districts, or for any quarter of the country, more especially in Ireland, or as relatively recommending one line as compared with another line. He had no difficulty whatever in answering that the recommendations or opinions contained in the Reports of the Board of Trade were not to be taken as absolute recommendations of a line as the best of all possible lines, for a country. The terms in which the Report of the House of Commons advised the appointment of the Board, precluded them from taking that course. The matter was referred to the Board, and they were to report upon it, taking into consideration the plans and sections, and such matters, with the Bills, as might be laid before them. The Board was to consider whether there were public reasons that ought to be conclusive against the schemes, or which scheme of two ought to be preferred by Parliament. On these grounds they had acted; and when two schemes were laid before them they had given the preference to that one which appeared, upon the whole, to confer upon to the public the greatest amount of advantage. The noble Marquess had also inquired how far it was advisable for the Government not to leave these matters to private enterprise, but to lay down its authority as to what lines of railway should be adopted. Upon former occasions he (the Earl of Dalhousie) had alluded to that subject, and he should not venture to say more upon it on the present occasion than that he thought such a course of action might, in the first instance, have been followed; but that, having proceeded for so long a period upon a different line, it was impossible to have recourse to it then. But if it were unnecessary or impossible for the Board of Trade to follow such a line of conduct now, it was doubly unnecessary to do so with regard to Ireland, inasmuch as in that country, under the sanction of Government, such an inquiry had taken place, and a most elaborate, able, and admirable Report had been many years since laid upon the Table. He need not assure their Lordships that upon entering into the consideration of railways in Ireland, constant reference was made to that Report by the Railway Department as the highest authority, and they had not on any other occasion departed from the terms of that Report without great hesitation, after the most careful consideration, and only where circumstances seemed to have altered since the date of the Report, and under which, as they knew, a different course of action would have been adopted by the Commissioners. With regard to the second question of the noble Marquess—namely, whether the Board had been sufficiently cautious in recognising as companies those projectors who had come before them, and who had in many instances broken the provisions of the Registration Act passed last Session of Parliament—he was aware that those provisions were stringent; but so far as the Board of Trade was concerned they had no authority whatever in the matter to take cognizance of the observance or non-observance of them. It was referred to the Railway Department to enter upon the consideration of certain plans, sections, and Bills to be referred to them, and the particular points into which the inquiry was to be made were specified in the Report of the House of Commons; but as to whether companies had complied with the Standing Orders of Parliament, it formed no part of their consideration. A question arose very early in the inquiry of the Board with reference to the Standing Orders of the House of Commons, as to whether any Report on a Railway scheme which had notoriously failed to comply with the Standing Orders of the House of Commons should be submitted to Parliament by the Railway Board. Their Lordships were probably aware that in consequence of the enormous pressure of business during last Session of Parliament, it became almost impossible for every railway company to comply with the Standing Orders of Parliament; and it seemed to the Railway Board that, inasmuch as the question whether the Standing Orders had been complied with rested with the House of Commons itself, the Board might find themselves in this position, that having declined to report to Parliament on a scheme which had failed to comply with the Standing Orders of Parliament, if the House of Commons afterwards declared there were valid reasons why the Standing Orders should not be insisted upon, the House of Commons, finding no Report on the scheme from the Board of Trade, might turn round and ask the Board why they had taken upon themselves to decide whether these Standing Orders had been complied with or not? With respect to the Registration Act, it was no part of the duty of the Board to inquire into it; they were merely told to report upon the schemes that were laid before them. He was not prepared to deny the existence of what the noble Marquess had stated, namely—that in many instances the provisions of the Registration Act had not been complied with. The clauses of that Act required that no shares should be transferred until after the complete registration should have been had of the joint-stock companies. But a complete registration, it appeared, could not be had until the measures had proceeded somewhat further than they had gone through Parliament, and consequently there could be very little doubt that all the transfers of shares made in the meantime were contrary to the provisions of the Act of Parliament. The Department charged with the Registration Act were not negligent in this matter, and upon being made acquainted that such traffic was daily connived at, they issued notices to the Stock Exchange in London and Dublin, and put them also in the different journals of the kingdom, warning parties that they were acting illegally, and subjecting themselves to a penalty—that the transfers so made were null and void, and that by making them they placed themselves in difficulties. He should add that there was some little doubt entertained whether the clauses of the Act were strictly applicable to railway companies. It was, however, now believed that they were applicable, although in other respects railways were excluded. Having given that notice, it was impossible that the Registration Department could proceed further, inasmuch as, although they could lay hold of a company if it performed an illegal act, yet it was impossible to lay their hands upon private individuals, and more especially upon those engaged on the Stock Exchange, where all the transactions were kept secret, and where detection could not follow. He might at the same time also observe, what was well known to their Lordships, that in the ordinary operations of the Stock Exchange, transfers and modes of dealing were recognised which were often entirely at variance with the law. He merely mentioned that to show that those charged with the Registration Act were not negligent of their duty, and so far as the Board of Trade was concerned they had nothing whatever to do with it.

The Marquess of *Clanricarde* said, he thought the Clause of the Act was a little more easy of enforcement than the noble Earl seemed to consider. The 5th Clause provided,—

> "That if for a period of one month after the particulars hereby required to be registered, or any of them, shall have been ascertained or determined, the promoters of any company shall fail to register any such particulars, or any of them, then, on conviction thereof, such promoters and every of them shall be liable for such offence to forfeit a sum not exceeding 20*l.*"

The noble Marquess proceeded to read the section referring to the execution and registration of the deed of settlement of public companies, and then continued to observe that the most prominent names in the prospectuses of some companies were those who had not signed any such agreement as the Statute required; and he was aware of such being the case in some instances. He begged to observe that he did not attach any blame to the Board of Trade on the ground of their not having inquired into this subject; but he certainly thought the Government were bound to look after such matters as railway schemes in Ireland with more care than in similar cases on this side of the Channel. In the Report of the Board of Trade to which he had already alluded, he could not understand why one body of promoters, who proposed to take up the line recommended in the Second Report of the Railway Commissioners, had been so entirely passed over, because they had not made the necessary preliminary arrangements, if it happened that the promoters of the other schemes had not complied with the Standing Orders, and with the provisions of the Registration Act.

The Earl of *Dalhousie* said he did not believe it was very regular to prolong the discussion; but he wished to be permitted to observe that he considered the clause read by the noble Marquess quite compatible with the position in which he (Lord Dalhousie) had represented the Board of Trade to have been placed. He did not deny the truth of the allegations made by the noble Marquess, nor was he defending the conduct of the companies complained of; but he wished to explain, that the Board of Trade had no alternative to act differently from the course they had pursued. With respect to the remaining charge made by the noble Marquess, the line of railway alluded to had met with attention, but certainly not to an equal extent with the two companies who had deposited their money, and completed all their other arrangements. It would not have been consistent with the duty of the Board to place these companies in the same position with the promoters of a third line, who had no money deposited, and who were not before Parliament, and none of their plans completed.

Subject dropped.

LANDS CLAUSES CONSOLIDATION BILL.] The Earl of *Dalhousie*, in moving that the House go into Committee, according to Order, said, he would not detain their Lordships by entering into all the provisions of the Bill; but he would wish to observe that a supposition had gone abroad that these provisions were all new, and were now attempted to be enacted for the first time. That was a complete mistake, as the Bill was nothing more than an incorporation of the various clauses that had been inserted in Private Bills for many years past. Every Private Bill, having for its object the incorporation of a company for any particular purpose, had in it clauses that were equally applicable to every other similar scheme that could come before Parliament. The consequence was, that every such Private Bill was necessarily made extremely voluminous, and thus much labour was imposed both on the promoters and on the Legislature. It was, therefore, thought extremely desirable that all these clauses, which were common to various Bills, should be consolidated, and that a uniform system should thus be adopted. These clauses were formed into three groups; one of these, namely, that now before the House, referring to Land; another—the Companies Clauses Consolidation Bill—being applicable to the transfer of shares; and the third being confined to Railways. It was thought desirable to divide the measure into three sets of clauses, and to introduce three separate Bills. First, there were the Land Clauses Compensation Bill; the second, related to the transfer of shares, and the rights and liability of proprietors; and the third to the regulation of railways; so that any promoters of a measure getting an Act might incorporate in their Bill all or any of these Bills. For instance, if it were a Railway Bill, the company would require all three; a canal company would only require the Bill for taking the Land and the Companies Consolidation Clauses; whilst if it were only a Gas Bill, they would not require the provisions for the acquisition of land, or for the regulation of railways. Their Lordships would see that this was a great relief to the parties, and a great relief to persons interested, because now no one was secure against the introduction of some particular clause injuring them which might escape detection; whereas hereafter the Committee on a Bill would only have to examine the Bill and see whether the particular clauses were departed from, and whether any different clauses were introduced.

Lord *Beaumont* said, he had to apologize for intruding on their Lordships at that stage of the proceedings; but he wished to express his opinion that he regarded the Bill then before the House as one which would enable railway companies to ride roughshod over all small proprietors, whose land they might wish to become possessed of. He agreed fully with the noble Earl that the Bill was an improvement on the existing system of passing all those clauses in each special Act. The object of the Government was, he had no doubt, to protect the landowners, to diminish litigation, and to afford facilities to companies in carrying out their projects. The Bill would institute several new tribunals, and would make it compulsory on the companies to comply with the decision of that form of tribunal selected by the proprietor. But he doubted whether it would afford the protection which was intended; and if it passed into a law, the railway companies would have a strong ground for resisting all special clauses that might be introduced into their respective Bills having a contrary tendency to the provisions of the General Act. There were other portions of the Bill which he thought would actually enact a hardship. He alluded more particularly to the provision for the payment of costs in those tribunals. In some cases the costs were to be paid entirely by the railway companies; but in other instances; where the amount awarded by the jury or by the arbitrators was less than the sum originally offered as compensation by the company, the costs were to be equally divided between both parties; and thus, if an unfortunate man who did not wish for the railway, and who was obliged to sell his land against his will, happened to set a higher value upon his home than either the company or the jury might think proper to award him, he would be compelled to pay half the costs out of the sum of money awarded by compensation; and if that should not happen to be sufficient for the purpose, then a provision was made for recovering the balance by distress. A man might thus be left in a position to lose the entire sum awarded to him, and in addition a portion of his remaining fortune. Now, he thought a railway company should be in the same position as a borrower in a mortgage transaction, when the party getting the money had always to pay all the costs. Again, if the person selling the land had merely a life-interest in it, the money was put in the bank to the credit of the Accountant General, and though it could be drawn out on application to the court for effecting certain improvements, these were of a kind from which the tenant for life could not, in many instances, derive much benefit. The money could not, for instance, be expended in the draining of lands.

The Earl of *Devon* said, he had a clause to propose which would effect that object.

Lord *Beaumont* said, he was very glad to learn what the noble Earl had stated. There were other cases in which serious injury might be done to the drainage of lands by railways; such, for instance, as in the north of Lincolnshire, where great lines of drains were formed, and where large embankments would form a serious obstacle to the improvement of agriculture.

The Earl of *Dalhousie* was understood to observe that special clauses would afford a remedy in such cases.

Lord *Beaumont* said, another objection was, that they had put railway companies on so strong a footing since the establishment of the Railway Department of the Board of Trade, that it was very difficult for private parties to grapple with them. In many cases persons who would have petitioned against particular companies were now deterred from doing so, from a feeling that all opposition to them would be useless. In proof of this he would allude to a circumstance that had come under his own knowledge. A railway in favour of which the Board of Trade had reported, passed near a large mansion which belonged to the same family since the reign of Edward I. Before the Report of the Board of Trade was made known, the solicitor to the railway company went to the proprietor of that mansion, and begged of him to appoint an agent to treat with the company for the purchase of his land, promising to be extremely liberal, in consequence of the injury which the railway would do his residence, provided he offered no opposition to the Bill. The matter was then left to the honour of the company; but within the last few days, the company having got a strong footing in consequence of the Board of Trade having reported in their favour, and their shares having risen in the market, informed this proprietor that they did not intend to give him any compensation. He (Lord Beaumont) intended to watch that Bill when it came before the House; and he believed the proprietor to whom he alluded was resolved to petition the other House of Parliament against it. Such a hardship ought to be provided against, and there was now an opportunity of doing so in the two Bills conjointly. He could not understand why the two Bills had been divided. They should have been considered together, their principle and object being the same. The two Bills, properly conjoined, might have been a sufficient security against the injuries which were now committed. He should, in conclusion, move that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee up stairs.

The Earl of *Dalhousie* must oppose the Motion of the noble Lord. It was unnecessary for him, in reply to the noble Lord, to enter into an explanation of the measure, because he thought he had already done so to the satisfaction of the House. As to referring the Bill to a Committee up stairs, such a course would be impracticable in the present state of business. The clauses in the Bill before their Lordships were the result of the experience of years; they had been revised again and again during the progress of every Session; and the greater portion of them had been in existence during the last fifteen years, being thus contemporaneous with the existence of railways to any extent in this country. The present Bill afforded greater advantages, in the shape of protection, than had ever been given before to those whose lands were likely to be interfered with. Upon these grounds, he should object to the Bill being sent up stairs; but a still greater objection to such a course arose from a knowledge of the fact that there was now before Parliament an unprecedented accumulation of railway business, such as he hoped they should never meet with again. There were no less than 248 Railway Bills before Parliament, and they had now reached the middle of the month of April, and not a single Committee was sitting upon one of those Bills. The Committees, it was settled, were to meet on the 21st of this month, and looking at the amount of business which they would have to perform, it appeared to him that a great hardship would be inflicted out of doors by the delay which must necessarily arise from referring this Bill to a Select Committee up stairs.

House in Committee.

The Earl of *Devon* moved that an addition should be made to Clause 64 for the purpose of authorizing persons interested in reversionary inheritances to lay out certains sums of money in trust, under the authority of the Lord Chancellor, for drainage and other permanent improvements.

The *Lord Chancellor* objected to such an addition being made to the clause, on the ground that the expense which it would occasion to parties interested would be so great as to defeat the object of the noble Lord.

The Earl of *Dalhouse* also objected to add the proposed words, on account of the difficulty which they would give rise to.

Clause withdrawn. Clause 87 was omitted.

Report to be received to-morrow.

House adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, April 14, 1845.

MINUTES.] NEW WRIT.—For Kent (Western Division), *v.* Viscount Marsham, now Earl of Romney.

BILLS. *Public.*—1°· Chattel Interests (Real Property).

Private. — 2°· Boddam Harbour; Aberdeen Railway; Chester Improvement; Royal Naval School; Yarmouth and Norwich Railway; Whittle Dean Waterworks; Hartlepool Pier and Port; Sheffield and Tinsley Canal; Chelsea Improvement; Middlesex County Rates; Manchester Improvement; Quinborowe Borough; North Union and Ribble Navigation Branch Railway; Southport and Euxton Junction Railway; North British Insurance Company; Taw Vale Railway and Dock; Forth and Clyde Navigation and Union Canal Junction (No. 2); Hungerford and Lambeth Suspension Foot Bridge; Glasgow Junction Railway.

Reported.—Bradford Gas; Plymouth and Stonehouse Gas; Devonport Gas and Coke Company.

3°· and passed:—Kingston-upon-Hull Docks; Britten's Divorce; Ellesmere and Chester, and Birmingham and Liverpool Junction Canals Union; Fisher Lane (Greenwich) Improvement.

PETITIONS PRESENTED. By Mr. Shaw, from several places in Ireland, for Encouragement of Schools in connexion with the Church Education Society (Ireland).—By Viscounts Jocelyn, and Newry and Morne, Lords Ashley, Lennox, and Rendlesham, Sirs A. Brooke, W. Clay, J. Duke, J. Easthope, R. Ferguson, J. Hanmer, T. Hepburn, R. Inglis, J. Owen, G. Stanton, G. Strickland, and Sir J. Walsh, Colonels Bruen, Dashwood, Paget, Rolleston, Wood, aud Verner, Captain Vivian, Alderman Copeland, The Solicitor General, and Messrs. Bankes, Bagot, Bannerman, Barclay, Bateson, H. Berkeley, Blewitt, Bouverie, Bowes, Bright, Brocklehurst, Bruce, Buller, Burrell, Busfield, Christopher, Christie, Chute, S. Crawford, Dawnay, Deedes, Dickinson, Divett, Duncan, O. Duncombe, T. Duncombe, Duff, Egerton, Ellis, Evans, Farnham, Fellowes, Ferrand, Ffolliott, Forster, Grogan, Hamilton, Hawes, Hayter, Henley, Hindley, Holmes, Houldsworth, Hope, Kemble, Lambton, Lawson, Law, Liddell, Loch, Lockhart, Long, Macaulay, Mackenzie, Mangles, Masterman, Maxwell, Morgan, Mundy, Newdegate, O'Brien, Ord, Packe, Palmer, Pattison, Pendarves, Plumptre, Protheroe, Pusey, Repton, Ricardo, Rutherfurd, Ryder, Shaw, V. Smith, Sotheron, Spooner, O. Stanley, Stanton, Trotter, Tower, Verner, Williams, Wortley, Yorke, and Young, from an immense number of places (662 Petitions) against the Grant to Maynooth College.—By Lord J. Russell, from Worship Street Chapel, Finsbury Square, and the Congregation of the English Presbyterian Chapel, Newington Green, in favour of the Grant to Maynooth College.—By Mr. Baskerville, Mr. Deedes, Mr. Dickinson, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. O. Stanley, from several places, against Union of Sees of St. Asaph and Bangor.—By Mr. Dickinson, from the Independent Chapel, Portshead, Somersetshire, against Importation of Hill Coolies into the Colonies.—By Mr. Morgan, from several places, for Establishment of County Courts.—By Mr. T. Duncombe, from Chorley, in favour of the Ten Hours System.—By Mr. Divett, Sir G. Grey, Mr. Morgan, and Mr. Trelawny, from several places, for Repeal or Alteration of Insolvent Debtors Act.—By Lord C. Manners, and Messrs. Benbow, Broadley, P. Carew, Christopher, Dickinson, O. Duncombe, M. Gore, Herbert, Irton, Liddell, Maunsell, Packe, Pendarves, Plumptre, Trotter, and Turner, from a great number of places, against Justices' Clerks and Clerks of the Peace Bill.—By Viscount Ingestre, Lord H. Vane, Sir C. Burrell, Colonel Wyndham, and Messrs. Carew, Bramston, Holmes, and Waddington, from a great number of places, against Parochial Settlement Bill.—By Sir J. Graham, and Mr. Hastie, from Epsom and Paisley, in favour of the Physic and Surgery Bill.—By Sir J. Graham, from King's College University, Aberdeen, for placing Aberdeen Colleges on a footing with others, in relation to the Physic and Surgery Bill.—By Mr. Dickinson, from Board of Guardians of the Clutton Union for Amendment of Poor Law.—By Mr. Bright, Mr. Dickinson, Mr. Pulsford, Mr. Ricardo, and Mr. Duncan, from several other places, for Diminishing the Number of Public Houses.—By Mr. Deedes, from Chairman and Board of Guardians of the Ise of Thanet Union, for Rating Owners of Tenements in lieu of Occupiers.—By Messrs. Deedes, Dickinson, Holmes, Trotter, and Stanton, from several places, for Alteration of Law relating to the Sale of Beer.—By Mr. Pringle, from several places in Scotland, for Ameliorating the Condition of Schoolmasters (Scotland).

The Midland Railways.—Violation of the Standing Orders.] Sir *J. Y. Buller* reported from the Select Committee on Petitions for Private Bills—

"That, in the case of the Midland Railway Branches Bill, the Standing Orders had not been complied with, inasmuch as a Clause (No. 15 in the said Bill) confers power to take lands by compulsion, and to make several Branch Railways, which intention was not specified in the Notices; and such Clause gives this power to individuals whose estates contain minerals lying within five miles of the main line of the said Midland Railways, and not to the said Company."

Lord *G. Somerset* thought the Report showed a gross violation of the Standing Orders; but the House would observe that the Committee did not state the circumstances under which the Resolution was made. He was, therefore, strongly impressed with the belief that some further inquiry ought to be instituted, not with a view of inquiring further into the fact of the irregularity, but to ascertain the circumstances under which it had been fallen into. He had been privately informed that the agent was cognizant of the introduction of this Clause, and therefore the agent had been guilty of a serious error. He moved that the Clause be referred back to the Committee, with power to inquire and report specially to the House by whom and under what circumstances the Standing Orders had been violated.

Sir *J. Y. Buller* said, the reason why they did not report how this Clause got into the Bill was because the majority of the Committee thought it was only their province to ascertain if the promoters of the Bill had complied or not with the Standing Orders. He agreed with the noble Lord that the matter had better be referred back to the sub-Committee, giving them leave to report specially to the House. He thought also, that, in referring the case back to the Committee, it should be an instruction that the evidence given erroneously by Mr. Burke should be written out for the consideration of the Committee.

Mr. *Labouchere* said it was quite clear a most gross, flagrant, and dangerous breach of propriety had been committed on the part of the agent for this case, and it was equally necessary that the circumstance under which that breach of propriety was made ought to be inquired into. He, therefore, thought the House would do well to adopt the course recommended by the noble Lord.

Report referred back to the said Committee. Instruction to the Committee to ascertain by whom and under what circumstances the said violation of the Standing Orders was committed, and to report the same to the House.

Maynooth College—Adjourned Debate.] Mr. *Hawes* said, that considering the number of petitions which had been presented against the Bill, and the deep interest that had been taken in the progress of the measure out of doors, they would be warranted in the conclusion that the Bill was one of great and vital importance to the interests of the country; and yet when he (Mr. Hawes) examined it—when he came to look at its contents—he should say that he saw nothing in it to account for the strength of opposition with which it had been assailed, or the large and important consequences which it was supposed were likely to follow its enactment. Looking at this as a measure to promote education in Ireland, and as the extension of a principle already adopted, and which had been for a long time acted upon by Parliament, he could not see how all that had been said out of doors with respect to it was called for by the contents of the measure itself. He (Mr. Hawes) could not agree with the "No Popery" cry which had been raised in reference to this subject —a cry which had been raised by a party who were always opposed to education and religious freedom; and who were now joined in their opposition to this Bill, he was sorry to say, by some of those who were the best friends of civil and religious liberty. He hoped and trusted, however, that as the discussion went on, they would be enabled to show what a clear and distinct division in principle there was between those two parties. The speech which the right hon. Member for Newark had made on this subject on Friday was one worthy of much attention; for it was a speech which changed the aspect of the question altogether, and which called for observations from him which would have been wholly unnecessary if that speech had not been made. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone) belonged to a party who had always opposed all modification or alienation of Irish Church property, who were disposed to maintain the Irish Church Establishment in all its integrity, and who were altogether opposed to any measure for rendering any of that property liable to be applied to the purposes of grants for the improvement of education in Ireland, or any other purpose than that to which it was now applied. Was he to understand the speech of the right hon. Gentleman on this measure, as admitting that the religious question regarding the endowment of the College of Maynooth, had been settled? If so, then the political question was also settled; for the real question which had been raised was a question of a religious character; and when the right hon. Gentleman said that the religious question was settled, then he considered the political question in this respect settled also. The Act was merely entitled "An Act for the better education of persons professing the Roman Catholic religion, and for the better government of the College established at Maynooth for the education of such persons." He did not feel disposed to agree to a permanent endowment of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland out of British money, until the whole question of the Irish Church had been previously brought under the consideration of the House, and means taken by the Legislature to reduce it within proportions more in accordance with the spiritual wants of its members than at present. He could not, for his part, consent to have two religious establishments supported in Ireland, one deriving its maintenance from the landed property of the Irish Church Establishment, and the other deriving its support from the Consolidated Fund. The Irish Church Establishment, as it at present existed, was not defensible: it was not the Church of the majority, and it could not for a moment pretend that it instructed the people of Ireland. In fact, every ground on which an establishment could be defended failed with regard to the Irish Church; and therefore those were justified who supported the proposition that the Irish Church property was the true source from which an endowment of the Roman Catholic Church ought to be obtained, if they were to agree to any endowment for that purpose. Connecting this proposal to increase the grant to the College of Maynooth with the speech of the right hon. Baronet opposite last year—on the Irish policy of the Government — he was disposed to look upon the present measure as the precursor of ulterior measures; and looking upon it as such, he could not consent to those ulterior measures, unless they looked at the Protestant Church Establishment in Ireland as the source from which a provision for the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland was to come. Those were the opinions which he held with regard to such an ulterior measure as that which he had alluded to, and, holding those opinions, he would not vote against the second reading of this Bill. He would vote for going into Committee upon it; and in addition to supporting the Motion of his hon. Friend the Member for Sheffield, he would himself bring forward two propositions—one to the effect that a grant to the College of Maynooth, if made at all, ought to be an annual grant, subject to the control of Parliament, and that, accompanying such a grant, they ought to omit the mockery of a visitation.—[Sir *Robert Peel*: We propose to make that alteration]. It would be a great deal better to give up such a system of visitation, and to let the Parliament annually grant the funds which were to be appropriated to the College, and have at the same time a proper control over the College. The principle of making the grant an annual one had been acted upon for forty-five years, and the discussions which had from time to time taken place in the House of Commons on that subject were calculated rather to benefit the cause of religious liberty in Ireland. If he should fail to make the grant an annual one, he should feel himself at perfect liberty to take any course he pleased on the third reading of the Bill, and to consider the whole question with reference to what would be its effects upon Irish as well as English policy; because if he voted for the Bill in its present shape, he should consider that he was sanctioning indirectly the future policy of the Government with reference to Ireland and with reference to the Catholic Church. It would in fact be neither more nor less than a vote of confidence in the future policy of the Government, and that policy was so darkly and so suspiciously shadowed out, that he could not repose confidence in it. He did not join with those who opposed this measure as calculated to encourage the Catholic religion, nor did he think that if the grant were refused it would discourage that religion. He held the proposition to be perfectly harmless in that point of view; and he knew that a large body of Dissenters concurred in the opinion expressed by the Scotch Dissenters in a resolution adopted by them in Edinburgh to that effect; but he should, as he had stated, vote for the second reading, with the intention of proposing his Amendments in Committee, and reserving to himself the right to take an unfettered course on the third reading.

Sir *T. Fremantle,* in offering a few observations to the House, could not pass over the speech of the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down, without saying that it appeared to him that he had acted rather hastily in judging what the policy of Her Majesty's Government was to be with reference to the future in Ireland. He had stated that with reference to the Bill itself he did not entertain any great objection, but he considered, from the speech of the hon. Member for Newark, that it was the precursor of more important measures, and on that ground he looked at it with jealousy. His right hon. Friend the Member for Newark had quitted the Government on this very question, and therefore he was the last person who ought to be taken as an exponent of the views of Government. The hon. Gentleman had stated also that the policy of the Government was darkly shadowed out, and that, therefore, unless he could modify the Bill, he should vote against the third reading. On looking generally at this question, he felt that after the very able exposition which had been given of the measure and views of the Government by his right hon. Friend at the head of the Administration, he could do nothing to add to or explain it. He wished, however, in reference to his position and feeling, to state the grounds on which he concurred entirely in this measure. The opposition to this measure came from two sources; from those who opposed it entirely on religious grounds, and those who opposed it upon what was called the voluntary principle, who objected to any grant of public money in aid of the Church. With regard to the first, he confessed he could not concur with them in thinking that this ought to be viewed as a religious question. Undoubtedly, it had been stated, truly, that every act of a man's life ought to be subject to moral and religious responsibility, and so ought every act of a legislator; but he could not see in what way religious principles were violated by voting for a measure of this kind. The hon. Gentleman opposite had stated, and he concurred with him, that whether this vote were passed over or refused, it would not encourage or discourage, in the slightest degree, the Catholic religion in Ireland. We were dealing with a population of between 6,000,000 and 7,000,000; and was it to be supposed, that whether we gave a better or a worse education to the priests, that the extension of the priesthood or of the Catholic religion would be affected one way or another by the education or the non-education of these individuals? because he did not understand in what way the religious question itself, or proselytising, could arise, unless we presumed that there was to be some effect produced on those who were not now Roman Catholics by the operation of this grant. He conceived, therefore, that he was justified, without reference to religious considerations, in voting, as a matter of charity and public expediency, in favour of this measure. His hon. Friend the Member for the University of Oxford had brought this question home in a much more intelligible way, because he had put it very strongly, that for his part he would not consent to pay a person who taught that which was erroneous in doctrine. That was a very intelligible principle; the question was whether we could act on that principle. He thought that his hon. Friend himself could not altogether refuse, under certain circumstances, to act on the contrary principle. It was a very good principle to lay down; but he conceived that his hon. Friend himself might be placed in a situation as landlord, guardian, or parent, or in any other relation in private life, in which he might be called on to act, and act willingly, on the contrary principle. His right hon. Friend had stated, the other night, the case of a landlord in Ireland. What case could be stronger than that? Was the right hon. Baronet prepared to state that he would leave a large population in Ireland without religious instruction—without the opportunity of providing for themselves, because he would not assist in building a chapel or paying a minister? If his right hon. Friend would act on that principle, the Legislature could not. We had lately violated that principle; the Statute Book had several enactments in which that principle had been violated—in which we not only sanctioned but directed and enforced the payment of persons to teach what were considered erroneous doctrines. There was also the case of chaplains in gaols and workhouses; Government having directed those who had authority in those institutions to appoint and pay chaplains for performing the Roman Catholic service. So every military hospital was furnished with Roman Catholic chaplains, if there were a sufficient number of Roman Catholic soldiers in the hospital to require their attendance. That practice had been sanctioned for years, and he thought his hon. Friend was not the person to object to payment in those cases. He could not see that any religious principle was violated, or that the interests of the Established Church or of Protestantism were violated in providing religious instruction under such circumstances. That part of the question had been advocated over and over again in the House; and in the speech of a Member distinguished in former days, it was stated in language so much better than any he could now use, that he would take the liberty of citing it. In 1808, when the subject was very much agitated on the occasion of the Vote to Maynooth, Mr. Elliott said,—

> "As to the statement of the right hon. Genleman that it was unprecedented to provide for the education of the ministers of a religion not that of the State, he observed that the state of the Irish Catholics was an extraordinary anomaly. They might wish the case to be otherwise; but they were to take the country as it was, and to give as much moral and political improvement as it was capable of. Gentlemen might talk of restraint, but that had been the principle of the penal code, and had failed. They might degrade the Catholics, they might make them bad subjects, bad Catholics, bad Christians; but they could not by such means make them Protestants. There was no effectual mode of improving the condition of Ireland but by instructing and enlightening the clergy and the people of the Catholic persuasion."

There was one other extract to which he would call the attention of the House. Mr. Grattan, in 1808, said,—

> "By reducing the grant the House would be securing the ignorance and inveterate prejudices of a great portion of the Catholics. Proselytism was not to be expected under such circumstances. Religious conformity was impracticable, and political conformity, which was in their power, they would destroy by the course proposed."

In these observations he very much concurred, and setting aside altogether religious instruction, he would proceed to other points which he thought were much more to the purpose. His right hon. Friend (Sir R. Peel) in a former debate went through the whole history of the subject; it was, therefore, wholly unnecessary for him to go over the same ground. Considering that the college had been wholly supported since 1795 by grants from Parliament, he thought it would be inconsistent with good faith and with honour to discontinue it now. Even Mr. Perceval himself spoke of this grant as a legacy left them by the Irish Parliament, and he thought that the Imperial Parliament had no right to refuse the grant. His words were these,—

> "On every question for an increase of grant, it was fit to consider what was the amount of what was enjoyed before. It was particularly desirable after the establishment of the connexion of this country with the Irish Catholics since the Union, that the grant of the Irish Parliament should not be diminished. The fact was, that by the Vote then under consideration the grant was to be extended to a provision for one-fourth more than were educated heretofore. It appeared, besides, that 111 others were educated for the Catholic priesthood in different parts of Ireland. On the whole, he thought that the supply of 361 would be sufficient to meet the demand of the

Catholic clergy, and therefore he should vote for the proposition of his right hon. Friend."

Some hon. Members held that the question was settled by the Act of Union, and that the House had no right now to increase the grant. Let him ask how often alterations and augmentations had taken place in the grant since that time. It appeared to him that the Bill would establish no new principle. New wants had arisen before, and they had been supplied. New wants had again arisen; where could be the violation of principle in now doing what had been done before? Every one would admit—nay, it could not be denied—that since 1795 the Roman Catholic population of Ireland had nearly doubled; then it was under 4,000,000, now it was nearly 7,000,000. He would not set up any question of compact, for, in his opinion, only those who shrunk from a great moral obligation would rely upon that argument; but did any one for a moment suppose that had the Irish Parliament existed up to the present period, the grant would ever have been withdrawn? On the contrary, it was notorious that the Catholics of Ireland were led to expect, and did expect, that they would be dealt with even more liberally by the Imperial Parliament than by the local Legislature. He would not set up a compact, but he thought it was a perfectly good argument to use in order to show that the grant could not consistently be now refused. The position of the Roman Catholics in Ireland could not be placed upon a level with that of the Dissenters in England—they were steeped in poverty—he spoke of them in the mass, and if they had no college until they established one themselves they would be without it for ever. It was true, no doubt, that large sums were collected from them, under circumstances of great excitement; but it did not at all follow that the sums necessary for the support of such an establishment could be raised. Indeed, the wretched state in which the College had been suffered to remain for years past, showed their inability to contribute sufficiently for such a purpose. In his opinion, upon such a question, they ought not to legislate for Ireland under an English feeling. It was only a few years ago since an hon. Member of that House proposed that the Parliament should be ambulatory—that it should one year sit in London, then in Edinburgh, and again in Dublin. Just let them realize that idea in their own minds for a moment—let them convey themselves in imagination to Dublin—let them see the Catholic population in all its squalid misery, and they would view the question in a very different light from that with which many hon. Members appeared to look at it. It did not affect any interest in England; it affected no imperial question; why not then look at it as an Irish question, and deal with it as if they were Irish Members. In support of that argument, he might appeal to the contrast exhibited in the conduct of Ireland and of England in regard to petitions. Their Table was covered with petitions from all places in England, while the number against the measure from Ireland is very small indeed. Some portions of the Protestants in that country are even in favour of the measure. It was well known that there was a great and important part of the population of Ireland who were most determined enemies of the Catholic faith; but they, looking at the question in an Irish view, forbore to petition against a measure which they conceived a healing one. The state of the College had been often described as a disgrace to the country, and he had never heard it denied. The Report of the Trustees of the Establishment said,—

> "To conclude, we have stated but a small part of the wants of the College, nor have we attempted to describe to your Excellency the evils which must follow from the neglect of so important an institution as a College destined to supply the spiritual wants of 7,000,000 of British subjects in Ireland. If it is doomed to go on without an increased support, the alternative will be that one-half of the Catholic population must be left without pastors, or priests insufficiently educated must be sent out to preside over their respective congregations as they may. The evil consequences of either, in a civil and religious view, are too glaring to require description. If, however, the present Government should patronise a proposal for an increase of the Parliamentary grant on the same terms as the former grant, sufficient to provide for the better education of at least 500 students, to improve their accommodation by the erection of new buildings, or the reparation of the old, the Trustees will be enabled to carry out fully the benevolent intentions of the Government in the original establishment of the College, a great occasion of national discontent will be removed, and the whole Catholic population will acknowledge a deep debt of gratitude for the concession."

Many hon. Gentlemen opposed the proposition of Her Majesty's Government on the ground that the College had failed in the object proposed by it. The present state of the College was a sufficient answer to that argument. His right hon. Friend had well said in his statement, "You give enough to prevent voluntary contributions, but not enough to support the College." This was a fair reason for increasing the grant. At present the professors were anxious to leave the College and take cures, because the allowance was inadequate for their remuneration; the students could not quit it without the remembrance of many things that caused something of a feeling of degradation; he thought it well worth the expenditure of a few pounds to introduce a better state of feeling. The students would feel grateful for the advantages they had enjoyed, and would be less disposed to adopt a line of hostility to the Government, and engage in political agitation. He approved of the measure, because it held out to the Roman Catholics of Ireland an earnest of the good intentions of the present Government towards them, of its intentions to conduct the affairs of that country in a spirit of kindness and confidence; without that confidence of the people which he anticipated from this measure, no Government could be carried on. It was their first duty impartially to administer the laws for the benefit of all: in a country where free principles did not prevail, it was easy to appeal to the military force, but under free institutions they had not such means at their disposal; the fair administration of the laws would secure to the Government the aid and support of the people themselves. The whole of the machinery of the law, the police, the constabulary, the witnesses, the jurors, were taken from among the people themselves, and if they did not give their support to the administration of the law, the Government could not be carried on. The increased confidence of the people would diminish agitation, and favour the domestic improvement of the country. He was happy there was a prospect of such a state of things arising in Ireland; railways were being introduced, and there was a disposition to promote improvements in agriculture, and he hoped that a better period had arisen for the Irish people. He rejoiced the Government had taken this step; he believed they had done it in a spirit of conciliation, and that it had been so received in Ireland, which he trusted would derive all the benefit he anticipated from it.

Mr. *F. Maule* was perfectly aware that it would be hopeless for him to command the attention of the House at a period of the evening when they would naturally be looking to some more distinguished Member to address them, and he trusted therefore they would permit him now to offer a few observations, and explain his reasons why he should give his vote against the second reading. Before, however, he did so, he could not pass over the address which the House had heard from the right hon. Gentleman who preceded him, and he really ventured to congratulate him that, upon assuming the office he now held, he had the good fortune to inherit the mantle of his noble Friend (Lord Morpeth); for the better part of his speech contained opinions in which he (Mr. Maule) entirely concurred, and which he had frequently heard when on the opposite benches proceed from the lips of his noble Friend. He thought the speech which the right hon. Baronet had directed immediately to the question, was not one which supported the proposition of the Government with any great strength of argument. The right hon. Gentleman, first of all, stated, in reply to his hon. Friend the Member for Lambeth, who viewed the question as one having ulterior objects, that to those ulterior objects he had no right in this debate to point. He granted to the right hon. Gentleman that the right of contradiction lay with him, provided he stated to the House that the anticipations of his hon. Friend were at all unfounded. But the right hon. Gentleman, as the representative of the Irish policy of the Government in that House, had not ventured, or had not chosen rather, to give, either to his Friends or to the House generally, the smallest hint to guide them in their judgment; and, therefore, he had a right, and he meant to assume it, and to make it the ground of his opposition to the Bill, that it was not a final measure, but must lead to ulterior results, of which he could not approve. With reference to the opinions entertained on the subject, he believed no one could doubt—unless the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government — no one else could doubt that a strong feeling existed in the public mind, and that the petitions relating to it did not emanate from a central association got up in London. He was glad to find that the right hon. Baronet had become enlightened on this subject; but with reference to the few petitions which had been presented in favour of the measure, and particularly that one which the right hon.

Gentleman had himself presented a few nights ago, with much form and great impressiveness, he would say that he was not surprised at that petition having been presented. It would have been the height of ingratitude if such a petition had not been forwarded in favour of the measure; for from whom did it emanate? From very respectable persons, no doubt; but they were parties who had had a Bill of their own before the House last year. They were the parties who benefited by the Dissenters Chapels Bill, for which the Catholics of Ireland very numerously petitioned. It would, therefore, have been the height of ingratitude if they had not come forward on the present occasion to support the Catholics in their claim. There were other petitions, but so few in number that he should not trouble the House with referring to them. With respect to the question itself, he was sure the House would acquit him, and sure also that his hon. and right hon. Friends around him would acquit him, of all wish to discuss the matter in any spirit of hostility to the Roman Catholic population of Ireland. In discussing the question before the House, he had no wish to enter into any religious disputes whatever. He thought that he might claim for himself the right of discussing it simply as a political measure brought forward by the Government; but in doing so, it was impossible not to allude, more or less, to the tendency which it had to rouse the religious feelings and the opposition of the people of this country. In reference to this Vote—however he might be taunted for saying it—he maintained it was not a matter of compact. No compact existed in the case, and he believed that no compact was ever intended to exist. If they looked to the history of the institution, they found that it originated in 1795; and that the paltry grant then attached to the measure was nothing more than a subscription given on the part of the Government in order to set up and establish the institution, which they had consented and resolved to see established. The great boon which was at that time given to the Irish people did not consist of this paltry grant, but of the power which was then given them to erect places in which they might be able themselves to educate their own priests. That was the boon which was proffered, and was worth accepting. But as for the paltry sum by which it was then accompanied, and which has since been annually given, it was meant merely as an act of benevolence on the part of the Government, to meet the private benevolence of individuals in support of this institution. That was the light in which he viewed the original grant. He was not at all prepared to discontinue that grant; and in voting for its continuance on the same terms on which it now existed, he held that he should vote on an entirely different question from that which was then before the House. That question seemed to be—and it was a question which he felt he should meet on the second reading of the Bill—not whether they should continue the old system of an annual grant by Parliament, but whether they were to change the grant, which was now under the annual control of Parliament, to a fixed and permanent endowment of a Roman Catholic institution. With regard to the increase of the grant, as it was not to remain an annual one, he would lay the question of increase out of sight, and put his opposition at present to the Bill on the ground that it made that which was annual, permanent; and that grant also recognised an establishment for the education of the Roman Catholic priesthood of Ireland as an establishment in connexion with the State. He should like to know whether that was the principle on which the Government had acted in other matters? But before he went to that point, he would add also, that another principle of the Bill—and to which he objected—was, that they took this Roman Catholic establishment into connexion with the State, without, at the same time, reserving to the State any control whatsoever over it. Was that—he would ask again—the principle which had been pursued in other matters? Was that the doctrine which had been laid down with great emphasis on the opposite side of the House; and which had been supported with equal emphasis and strength on that side with which he had the honour generally to cooperate? He would say that it was not so; and he stood there before them a living example, as it were, that their doctrines on this point, which on a former occasion were one thing, were on the present occasion exactly the reverse. When he came forward to them about two years ago with a petition and claim of rights from the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, setting forth and claiming certain privileges to which he then believed, and still believed, the Church of Scotland was entitled from Statutes of very ancient date—from the

Articles of Union—and by the Treaty by which England bound itself to watch over the welfare of Scotland—when he came to them with that claim and petition in his hand—when he claimed on behalf of the Scottish people, that they should have the management of their own spiritual concerns, independently of the State, and without its interference, he was then told by those now bringing forward and supporting the present measure in relation to Maynooth—it was uttered from that (the Ministerial) side of the House, and echoed from that of the Opposition, that the idea of an establishment existing in connexion with the State, and over which the State had no control, was monstrous and unconstitutional. If that were so in the case of the Protestant Church of Scotland—if, holding to that principle, they brought forth from within the pale of that Church upwards of four hundred of her most active and zealous ministers, and very nearly a million of her most faithful people—if they had refused them permission to carry on the spiritual government of their Church without the interference of the State—upon such grounds how could they come forward now and ask them, the members of the Free Church of Scotland, to support them on public grounds in a measure which had for its object the creation of another establishment in the sister country, over which there was to be no State control? The conduct of the Government in the one case was the very reverse of what it had been in the other. If they were right, on the one hand, on the principle which they now held, what monstrous injustice had they committed on the people of Scotland; if, on the other hand, they were right in dealing with the Church and people of that country as they had dealt with them, how were they now to turn round on themselves, and take a course towards the Church and people of Ireland of the very opposite character? He confessed that he understood such a course of procedure on the part of the Government as little as he understood the advice given by the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir R. Peel) to the Irish country gentlemen. The right hon. Gentleman the other night gave to the Irish Protestant landlords a word of advice, in which he cordially and entirely concurred. But while the right hon. Gentleman was giving that advice to the Irish landlords in the House of Commons, he hoped that it was the intention of the right hon. Gentleman to extend it, as far as his authority gave him power, to other matters; and that whilst he recommended the landlords of Ireland to deal kindly with their Roman Catholic tenants—to give them sites for their chapels, and to contribute to the maintenance of their priests—he would also recommend his own Cabinet to look at home in Scotland, and to cease from persecuting the members of the Free Church there, who lived on the estates of some of the Members of that Cabinet—to cease from persecuting the men who worked for them, and were their tenants, but to whom the right hon. Gentleman's noble Colleague, at that very moment, refused not only a site, which they were ready to buy, in order to erect upon it a church, but refused them even permission to use a corner of a cold moor; and sent them, from want of other and better accommodation, to hold their meetings at a spot where three cross-roads met, where they were unsheltered, during their devotions, from the beating rain, and from the winds of Heaven. When the right hon. Baronet gave such advice as he tendered the other night to the Irish landlords, let him give his Colleague also advice as to how a Protestant and Episcopal landlord should act towards those who, for conscience' sake, had sacrificed so much in Scotland. The name of Canoby was not strange to the Secretary of State for the Home Department. But it had been said that the present measure was, in part, prompted from compassion towards the poverty of Ireland. They were told that the Irish were altogether too poor to throw themselves upon the voluntary principle—too poor to undertake, unaided, the maintenance of establishments, for the education of their priesthood. There were seven or eight millions of Catholics in Ireland. He did not know why they should be behind hand with seven or eight or nine hundred thousand, who, without State assistance, supported the Free Church of Scotland. The latter had been entirely thrown upon their own resources, and abandoned to the operation of the voluntary principle—and what had been the result? Within two years they had built about 600 churches, and had raised a sum not far below 700,000*l.* for various ecclesiastical purposes. No one would tell him that that portion of the population of Scotland which had done all this was by any means the wealthy portion of it. On the contrary, it consisted of the poorer classes, who in this matter had made exertions, prompted by their zeal for the cause which they had at heart, of an extraordinary and praiseworthy character. He was ready to admit that there was no one who had his religion more warmly at heart than the Irish Roman Catholic, and he would urge upon the Catholics of all classes in Ireland, instead of coming to that House for this endowment, to go and follow the example set them by the Scottish Presbyterians. If it were necessary, he would enable them by a still further repeal of the Statute of Mortmain to hold more property than they can at present; but if they followed the example to which he had alluded, they would be far more respected than by coming as Roman Catholics to a Protestant Government and country, and accepting at their hands an endowment for the education of their priesthood, and subsequently a pecuniary and permanent maintenance for those priests themselves. But they had had very extraordinary statements with regard to the condition of the College of Maynooth. The right hon. Baronet the other night had read a statement which certainly struck every body with the greatest horror. It was questionable, however, if that statement was correct. Last year a countryman of his visited that establishment, and gave the result of his inspection to the public—he meant Mr. James Grant. He said that he first of all visited the College, the situation and natural beauties of which he described. He then went on to say,—

> "My two friends and myself went through the whole College. The arrangements appeared to be precisely those most suited to the nature of the institution, and to the purposes for which it was intended. Everything was plain and comfortable. Each of the students had his own sleeping apartment. They are well fed, and comfortably, though plainly clothed."

[Mr. *Sheil*: That is a Scotchman's account.] It was certainly a Scotchman's account. The author was a Scotchman, who seemed to have been received with the readiest hospitality, and who experienced, at the hands of those who had charge of Maynooth, every attention and kindness. Such were the opinions of a Scotchman in reference to the College, although these opinions might not be in unison with those of his right hon. Friend (Mr. Sheil); and the author had given these opinions, not in an ill-natured spirit, but candidly, in reference to what he had seen. It was said that this was an act of conciliation towards Ireland, and a boon which would satisfy the Irish people. Now, he for one, did not believe that it was anything of the kind. In the first place, with reference to its being an act of conciliation, it was somewhat extraordinary to put it in that light, because he well recollected the Secretary of State for the Home Department telling them, as he thought, not more than two years ago, that conciliation had reached its highest limit. Had the right hon. Gentleman changed his mind upon that subject, as so many others seemed to have done, in relation to the policy of the Government towards Ireland? It was no act of conciliation. He would say more—it was not received as such. If it were so received, it was no further than in the light of a tribute to Conciliation Hall. It was an act of concession to agitation, and an act of concession coming from the present Government would not be much valued. It always came too late. Why, what was the language held by the leader of the masses in Ireland? Mr. O'Connell totally denied all that they said about its being an act of conciliation. He did not thank them for it farther than for the mere passing of an Act, conceding but a small proportion of what he demanded, but said, that the Irish got that from the Government by the force of agitation, and advised them that perseverance in that course would eventually ensure them all they desired. And yet this, they were told, was to be a final and conciliatory measure. He regarded it as impossible that it could be so; but if they were to conciliate at all, it would be much better to have attempted to conciliate Ireland by adopting some other course than this—a course which would not have roused up the religious feelings of the people of England. The right hon. Gentleman (Sir Robert Peel) said, that he was disposed to do justice to Ireland in the fullest sense of the word. Was there no opportunity afforded him to carry out his laudable purpose, by touching other matters on which the English public might have looked impartially as to their political character, and without rousing those feelings of religious strife which were so obnoxious to all parties? Were there no franchises which might have been extended by the right hon. Gentleman? What had lately become of his zeal, and of the zeal of his noble Friend (Lord Stanley) in another place, touching the Irish Registration? Were there no franchises in Ireland to be accommodated to the English and Scottish franchises. They had eluded that question, which they might have approached with the happiest effects, and which he should have been happy to see them touch with a fair and liberal hand. Were there no other differences between the people of England and Ireland which might have been settled with more ease and with better results? Were there no other measures on which the Government might have laid their hands with safety to themselves, and without raising up in the country feelings of religious warfare and hatred? They might have done something beneficial to the Irish peasantry—exposed at present to the tyranny of their landlords. Instead of doing that, they had the misfortune to lay their hands on a question which must lead eventually to the endowment of the Roman Catholics in Ireland. It was in vain for them, like the right hon. Gentleman, to flinch from that as the result of the measure they were now contemplating. He had looked to the right hon. Gentleman for a denial of that as his ultimate intention. He remained perfectly silent, however, upon the point; he knew that the anticipations of the country were but too well founded, and he did not feel himself justified in giving them a contradiction. But from the right hon. Gentlemen opposite—either from the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Home Department, or the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government—they must have some clear and distinct annunciation on this subject, before the present debate was brought to a close. He must say this—that if they were in the one country to follow the course which he had stated, of driving forth a large portion of the community out of the pale of the Establishment, because they insisted there on having no State supervision in spiritual matters, he could not by any possibility see how they were to sanction even in the smallest degree the establishment of another system of religion in a neighbouring country, from which they voluntarily excluded all State interference whatsoever. His opinions as to the establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland differed, he was sorry to say, from that of many of his hon. and right hon. Friends about him. But he held that this would be a measure, if carried out at the expense of the British public, which would be unjust in the highest degree to the great Dissenting bodies in this country. If they took from the taxation of England and Scotland to endow, he did not care whether it was Roman Catholicism or any other phase of Christianity in Ireland, they would meet with his unqualified opposition. To such a measure he had given his opposition out of the House ten years ago, and would give his opposition to any such measure now. In 1835 it was strongly suspected that the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Robert Peel) had a leaning to grant to Dr. Chalmers, at that time following out his scheme of church extension, a sum of money to further that object. The public opinion of Scotland was excited on the question, and he told him then, and he repeated it now, that out of the public funds of the country he would not consent, for such purposes, to take any grant whatever. On the same principle he would now oppose any grant, such as that proposed by the present measure, as a permanent endowment. He did hope, that whether from the accidental union of parties opposed to this Bill—accidental he called it, for he felt convinced that there was no organized system of co-action amongst them — whether from that circumstance, or from any other, that the attempts made in the House to stop the farther progress of this Bill would be successful. The proposal which Her Majesty's Government had made would not tend at all to allay the agitation in Ireland, but had raised up an agitation in England, which, he was sorry to think, had given rise to feelings of bitterness which no small time would be required to allay.

Viscount *Castlereagh* was happy in having the opportunity of rising after his right hon. Friend who had just sat down. He was extremely sorry that they found themselves on different sides of the question. The speech delivered the other night by the right hon. Member for Newark seemed to have affected his right hon. Friend, and it must have caused considerable change in the opinions of those opposed to this Bill. He would endeavour, in the few words which he had to address to the House, to touch on certain points alluded to by his right hon. Friend, and he would assure him that he did so with the very kindest feeling. And with reference to the question itself, he thought that neither the House nor the country had any right to complain about being taken by surprise. He himself, and many friends of his, had been fully prepared for some great alterations being proposed with reference to Ireland. He was astonished, therefore, to find this, the first, of so exceedingly trifling a character. They had discussed this grant for fifty years. For fifty years it had been to them an unceasing cause of squabbling. They had come down to it with various feelings, and had treated it too often as a party question; but the great feature connected with it was this, that the Irish people had never thanked them for their parsimonious grant. They had given to the Irish Catholics an annual appropriation of 9,000*l.*; but had not this pittance been grudgingly given on the one hand, and thanklessly received on the other. They had done little or no good by their grant, although great things were intended by it. They had now once more given an intimation of their intention to do what good they could — to soften the feelings of six or seven millions of Irish Roman Catholics, and his hope was, that the Government would be successful in its attempt. He would pass by the question of compact. He was glad that the first thing attempted by the measure was the setting at rest a constant source of wrangling and discussion, by rendering the grant a permanent, instead of an annual one. He had voted against the grant, and did so, not because he desired to do anything adverse to the Roman Catholics of Ireland; for the first time that he had opened his mouth in that House was on an occasion when he felt himself called upon to advocate the cause of his Roman Catholic fellow-subjects. There were some who could not, or would not, see what good Catholic emancipation had done for the country. They had not, perhaps it was true, pacified by that measure the Roman Catholics in Ireland. The question to which so many of the Catholic population in that country had now wedded themselves—the repeal question—was not, in his opinion, a religious question. But as to the benefit which they had derived from emancipation, they had united to them the Catholics of England, and could they consider that a small gain? They might depend upon it, that if they had not yet reaped the mature fruits of that measure, the boon which they had thereby conferred upon the Catholics would not be easily forgotten by them, and that sooner or later they would feel all the benefit of a just and generous policy. The people of this country, it was very well known, are peculiarly susceptible and jealous on the subject of what they might designate the "No Popery" cry. The schism which had taken place, lamentable as it was to see in their own Church, was sufficient proof of this, without recurring to the petitions which were now pouring into the House; and the numerous meetings which were being held everywhere throughout the country, as evidence of the feeling of the English people against the measure now before the House. But he would maintain, that it was the duty of a wise Government to hold the balance between conflicting opinions—to temper the vehemence of popular feeling, to take their own line, and to lay a broad foundation of justice on which to build a superstructure of good government. They must not yield to the pressure from without. Had that been their course, they would have yielded long ago to the Anti-Corn Law League. Had they yielded to the pressure from without, they would not have resisted the Repeal agitation, to which the people of Ireland had given too much of their time and their attention. It was, he would repeat, the duty of a good and a wise Government to hold a just balance between conflicting opinions. Without disregarding the opinions delivered out of doors, they should carry their measures through the House by the independent and honest support of those who would back them if they deemed them right. There were many honest and conscientious men, pursuing a consistent course, who had always opposed everything in the shape of concession to the Roman Catholics. He believed there was something inherent in the very nature of these men, which made them constitutionally afraid of Popery. He suspected that no experience—not even the experience of twenty years — not even the evidence of Irishmen who had as large a stake in the country as others had, and who were ready to give their opinion on the subject as conscientiously as they would in a court of justice—would have any weight with such men. He had received, about three days ago, a requisition signed by nearly every gentleman of property, influence, and standing in the great and influential county—the county of Down — which he had the honour to represent in Parliament. That requisition was signed by many who ranked amongst his earliest and best friends, and by many of his own relatives. They entreated him to give his decided and vigorous opposition to the Bill of the right hon. Gentleman; and in a letter which he had just received from a relative of his, that measure was characterized as one likely to bring down a national judgment upon us. To these he had returned no answer, preferring that his answer to them should be given from his place in that House. He had a duty to perform in that House, irrespective of all considerations but what his own sense of duty prompted him to. If his constituents should think that he had done wrong in the course he had taken, it was for them to visit the consequences upon him; but, whatever might be the result, he should, at all events, have the satisfaction of knowing that he had done his duty and acted up to his convictions. He deeply regretted the agitation which had sprung up on this question. There were some great names at the head of that agitation. Exeter Hall was once again in the throes of childbirth. From that place were ready again to issue forth those great and redoubtable champions of Protestantism, who, with their old armour furbished up, and shouldering their unwieldy swords, were prepared to go in procession about the streets, with glittering banners and biblical inscriptions, provoking polemical contest, and crying on the Protestantism of England to come to the rescue—and for what? Because they were about to give a small donation, a few pounds he might call it—because they were simply about to grant a small sum, honourable to those whose feelings prompted it, to the Roman Catholic College at Maynooth. It was not his intention to enter into a theological discussion as to the doctrines entertained and inculcated at that institution. He would not attempt on the floor of that House to grope his way through class-books, and criticise Peter Dens. The right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government had been the recipient of no small quantity of abuse for the measure which he had had the manliness to bring forward. He had heard of, and was sorry to hear it, indeed he had himself witnessed the first alliance and flirtation between the hon. Baronet the Member for Oxford (Sir R. H. Inglis), and the Representative of the chivalry of his party and the beauty of Young England. He was doubly sorry to find that the marriage was since consummated. Of that union he did not think there would be any fruit; the best they could look for would be spawn. Such an alliance had caused him the deepest regret, because he had hoped that the young chivalry of England would not have arrayed itself against his own green isle on a question of so momentous a character as was this. He had hoped, at all events, that the talents, the energy, the caustic and sarcastic remarks, and the brilliant oratory of the hon. Member for Shrewsbury (Mr. Disraeli), who, he regretted, was not then in his place, would not have been arrayed on the wrong side on such an occasion as the present. He wished that that hon. Gentleman had been with them instead of against them. He could not help thinking the hon. Member very far wrong in talking of the bleak shade which had been cast across Catholic Emancipation by the right hon. Baronet. He could tell the hon. Gentleman that, without that shade, Catholic Emancipation would never have been carried. They owed that great measure to the right hon. Baronet, and to his great coadjutor, then, as now, in the House of Lords. He, as an Irishman, regretted to hear such epithets heaped upon, and such insinuations charged against, the right hon. Baronet. He could not help thinking that there must have been some fatal remembrance, some deep sorrow, which came across the mind of the hon. Gentleman when he used those words. He did not see the hon. Member for Cork in his place. But there always was an opinion—whether well or ill founded, the opinion always existed—that Lord Melbourne's Government was more or less under the dictation of, and more or less subservient to Mr. O'Connell. He did not say that this was so. He did not think this could have carried the Dissenters' Chapel Bill, had Mr. O'Connell been in the House. Hon. Members on the opposite side might say, as they had said, that they looked with distrust upon measures coming from this (the Ministerial) side of the House. Then the hon. Members who said so could not wonder when he told them that he, and others like him, looked with suspicion upon measures that came from those sitting on the opposite side of the House; because they believed that such measures were not proposed for the purposes of concession or conciliation, but under the dictation of Mr. O'Connell. He had troubled the House at great length; he thanked hon. Members for the patience with which they had heard him; but he felt on this matter as an Irish Member, and he had so desired to speak his sentiments. He must conclude by saying that he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would go on in the career that he had now adopted, that he would do so indifferent as to the attacks that might be made on him, careless of the vituperation that might be pronounced against him, and regardless of the defection of parties that might abandon him; and even supposing the right hon. Gentleman might be left in a minority, he said still to him "persevere," for he was convinced that the country would sustain him in his fall, and that there were in that House Members, like him who now addressed them, ready to support the right hon. Gentleman in his measures whether he was sitting on this or the other side of the House. There had recently been published a pamphlet, written by one who was well known in that House. He would conclude by reading a passage from it, because he thought it extremely well written, and because it expressed his sentiments in language much better than he could command. The words were these,—

> "It would be over sanguine to expect that Ireland should be at once and completely incorporated in feeling, as well as in law, with the rest of the Empire. All that we can do, is to lay the foundation—foundations broad and deep—on which a superstructure of conciliation and union may gradually be built. It is not to be doubted that he would have innumerable difficulties to encounter—that he would be assailed by obloquy and calumny and clamour, and that he would risk the disruption of political connexions, and probably shake the security of his Ministerial power. But what are all these, compared with the consciousness of a great duty, ably and honestly performed, the consummation of which would engage the sympathy of all that is wise and good in the whole civilized world, and be attended with that enduring fame which crowns the benefactors of mankind."

The *O'Conor Don* concurred so cordially in the truth, the justice, and the appropriateness of the sentiments quoted by the noble Lord, that he had taken down the same pamphlet to which he referred, with the intention of quoting exactly the same passage from it. If this were a mere Irish question, and to be decided by the votes and wishes of the Irish people, he believed that a great majority of them would give their approval to the measure now proposed by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Tamworth. He was, he must own, extremely anxious to rise, and answer the question that had been put to the Irish Members upon this subject by the hon. Member for Shrewsbury (Mr. Disraeli). That hon. Gentleman had called upon them to repudiate the measures of the right hon. Baronet, as unworthy of their acceptance. Now, as a Roman Cthol ic, and as an Irish Member, so far was he from concurring in the opinion or the views of the hon. Member for Shrewsbury, that he said he was prepared cordially and gratefully to accept the proposition of the right hon. Baronet, as one that was valuable in itself, but that was still more valuable from the manner in which it had been tendered to the House. When the right hon. Gentleman proposed this measure to the House, he said that it was to be met and disposed of in one of three ways. The proposition so put, the hon. Member for Shrewsbury had encountered with a ridicule and sarcasm, in which in his judgment, the hon. Member was too conversant, whilst at the same time the hon. Member did not in the remotest manner venture to grapple with it. Two or three times in the course of his speech the hon. Gentleman said, "This is the question;" but the real question was totally evaded by him. Now, he said, "The question is this—what is to be done with Maynooth? Was the grant to be discontinued? Was the grant to be continued as it is now given, or was it to be increased?" Thus it was that the question had been fairly put by the right hon. Gentleman, and that question ought to be fairly answered. Was the grant to be discontinued? Under the present circumstances and in the present state of Ireland, where there existed a certain amount at least of dissatisfaction, were they prepared—was any Government prepared to add to the elements of discontent another motive, and a new cause for dissatisfaction? As to the continuance of the grant, there could be no doubt that if the right hon. Gentleman came down with the usual annual vote, that with the exception of the small minority who were found to raise their voices against it, that it would be carried. As to any serious opposition to it, every one who knew the constitution of the House must be perfectly aware that it was not to be thought of. Then as to an increase of the grant. It was said that there was a principle involved in it. What was the principle involved against the grant? In what did it consist? It appeared to him to be a principle against a grant that would give an adequate education; but there was no principle affected if they only gave 8,000*l.* a year. Surely, the principle was the same, whatever was the sum granted, whether it was 8,000*l.* or 25,000*l.* Then it was said there was a principle involved in not increasing the grant; why the grant had been increased in 1808. The House at that time proposed an increase; and no one could accuse the Government of that day, nor the Parliament that supported them, with not being peculiarly Protestant. If the principle were bad when applied to Ireland, how came it to be recognised in all the British Colonies? He could, from the pamphlet that had been already referred to, cite all the Colonies, and show the amount that was paid to the Roman Catholic clergy throughout the whole extent of Her Majesty's dominions. Was, then, the principle to be objected to only when Ireland was concerned? As to the grant itself, there could not be a single shadow of doubt, that the grant hitherto given was not adequate to the purposes for which it was intended. The right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government had shown its utter inadequacy. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Perth had read an extract from the work of a gentleman who had visited Maynooth, and, who having been treated there hospitably, fancied that the gentlemen he met must be in the enjoyment of every comfort. Look, he said, in reply to such a description as that, to the amount paid for the support of the College: let them then calculate the number of students in the College, and then see whether the professors could receive an adequate remuneration —whether such a remuneration could be given to men to induce them to devote their lives to the instruction of youth— whether such a sum as 93*l.* a year was that which ought to be conferred on men of profound learning, of extensive knowledge, of great abilities, and of high standing? Amongst those most clamorous against the present grant were Dissenters, who professed an objection to all establishments—who declared themselves opposed to the State paying for the support of any religion. This was very proper; but how did it happen that their indignation was only shown when money was proposed for the education of a Catholic priesthood? Why, if they felt so strongly on this subject, did they not carry out their principle year after year? Why let it rest? Why pause upon it? Why was it only to be excited when the principle to which they were opposed was to be applied in the case of Ireland? He regretted this exhibition of hostility, for he would like to see feelings of amity prevail amongst all classes of Her Majesty's subjects. It was not a subject of consideration—a junction between the Roman Catholic Church and the State. He believed the Roman Catholics themselves would object to it; but then they had no objection to the establishment of a College which would enable their clergy to prepare themselves for the duties they had to perform, and the proper performance of which must be of advantage to the country. The hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. Colquhoun) had made a speech on this subject. He seemed to object to the granting anything to Maynooth. He said that persons were not educated there; that the professors were incompetent to teach; and that one of these, the professor of mathematics, had, in answer to a question, said, he had never heard of the Sixth Book of Euclid. Now, he (the O'Conor Don) said that any more monstrous misrepresentation than that had never been ventured upon in that House; for if the hon. Member had looked to the next question, he would have found Dr. Callan stating that his pupils might not know what were the propositions in the Sixth Book, because the system of mathematics taught was that of the Abbé Daré, founded on the principles of French mathematicians of the highest eminence. So far too was the gentleman who was thus assailed from being the ignorant person that the hon. Member had described him, that he was one of the most distinguished contributors to the *Philosophical Journal.* This man, so vilified, was most eminent by his knowledge, and by the valuable discoveries he had made in galvanism and electricity. This gentleman, described as ignorant, was one whose home was known to every mathematical instrument maker in London, and even instruments were to be found in every shop that dealt in such articles bearing his name. This gentleman, who had been spoken of in so depreciating a manner by the hon. Member for Newcastle, was the author of a system of geometry which had gone through more than one edition. The books that were used in Maynooth had been commented upon by the hon. Member for Dublin (Mr. Grogan), and he had also occupied much of their time in reading decrees and bulls of the Popes. His answer to this was, that no matter as to those bulls, or what was contained in them, they were of no validity in temporal or civil matters. He said this not merely in reference to the present, but to the time of Queen Elizabeth; and when the Armada was preparing to invade the shores of England, and, notwithstanding the bull of the Pope prohibiting any aid being given to her, still the Roman Catholics offered to take their place in the foremost ranks, and to oppose the enemies of their "beloved Queen," as they called her. If such then was the case, why was the time of the House to be wasted in reading decrees and bulls, which had not the slightest reference to temporal matters? It had been said, that Her Majesty was going this year to Ireland. He hoped that it might be the case. In England Her Majesty had her usual residence. Scotland had had the advantage of seeing the Sovereign within its precincts; and if Her Majesty's visit to Ireland had been postponed, he said this confidently, that no matter how warmly or how glowing might have been the display of loyalty yet exhibited, it would be far exceeded by the enthusiasm and the devoted loyalty of the Irish in beholding Her Majesty. That was his firm conviction. The Irish were, and ever had been, truly, generously loyal. With them loyalty to the Queen was a passion. That loyalty could be cemented by acts of grace; and it was well that such acts should come from Ministers; not that they should wait until they were pressed upon them. But, hon. Members who now opposed this measure, said to the right hon. Baronet that he had postponed the concession of the Catholic question so long that it was not regarded as a boon, but as a thing granted from necessity; whilst others said, why did he not wait—why not postpone, until a measure like this was forced upon him? It was impossible to answer such arguments; for each furnished a reply to the other. He did hope the right hon. Baronet would pursue his present course. He was, he must say, happy to see the noble Lord the Member for London, above all party feeling, on the one hand, and the right hon. Baronet on the other, both concurring in carrying out a measure of justice towards that country, which never yet was forgetful of a benefit conferred. To both sides of the House he felt grateful for supporting such a measure.

Mr. *Lefroy*, after the mild and temperate language in which the hon. Member who had just sat down had conveyed his views to the House, felt that he rose under some disadvantage to express an opposite opinion. He trusted that in what he said he should give no offence to the hon. Member, or to any one else, either in or out of that House; but he felt the more anxious to explain the motives which influenced his conduct on this measure, because it was proposed on the responsibility of a Government, to the measures of which he generally gave his cordial support, and because the right hon. Baronet had stated his intention of carrying it through Parliament in opposition to the sentiments of the country, which had been so clearly expressed. It would be a waste of time to consider the plans which had been adverted to by the right hon. Baronet on introducing this measure, but which he had not called upon them to adopt: they had now simply to consider whether they were prepared to support the grant which had been proposed for the education of Roman Catholic priests at Maynooth; and the supporters of that proposal rested upon two grounds—contract and expediency. As to the former, it seemed to be generally allowed that it had no great weight; and he agreed with the right hon. Gentleman the late President of the Board of Trade, that if that argument applied to the case of the old grant, it could not be applied to a new case, of a large permanent endowment connecting the College with the State, instead of a small annual grant. Then as to the ground of expediency, if ever there was a case in which that ground ought to be confined within the narrowest limits it was the present—an occasion in which there was much to wound the feelings and hurt the prejudices of those who objected to the measure on religious grounds. The argument of the right hon. Baronet on this subject was rather strange; he said, "A certain small grant has hitherto been made, and the system has confessedly worked badly; but the system having worked badly, I propose, without at all interfering with the management of the institution, so as to secure its good working in future, a large additional grant, and I think the effect will be to produce good-will and order in the priesthood." Now he entirely differed from the right hon. Baronet as to the probable effects of the measure; but, setting his own opinion apart, and regarding only the argument of the right hon. Baronet, he could not help saying, when he recollected the convincing force of argument which the ability of the right hon. Baronet applied on almost all other questions, that the absence of that force proved the weakness of his cause. The objections which had already been urged to this proposal seemed to him small, compared to those which he entertained. He objected to it on two grounds: but also on the ground that it was an interference with the theory and practice of the present Constitution of this country. As to the first ground, he would not introduce in that House any discussion on religious subjects; and he thought that hon. Members who took that view of the subject had been unfairly taunted with not bringing that ground of objection distinctly before the House. He had no doubt that many hon. Members, as well as himself, would avoid that ground of discussion on account of the painful feelings which it was calculated to excite; but on the other ground, so long as the Sovereign of these realms was obliged to take the coronation oath on ascending the Throne, so long as a similar oath was administered to Members of Parliament, was it, he would ask, consistent with the principles of our Constitution, that they should endow a Church, for it was idle to talk of educating a priesthood and then turning them adrift—as the natural consequence of the measure now propose the endowment of the Church must follow—was it consistent, he would ask, whilst the Constitution of this country remained on its present footing, that they should be called upon to educate a priesthood in doctrines which, to use the mildest language, were by that very Constitution declared to be altogether erroneous? He had certainly been much surprised by the arguments of the right hon. Gentleman the late President of the Board of Trade; that right hon. Gentleman had thrown overboard the arguments of the right hon. Baronet; had commented upon those of the noble Lord the Member for Liverpool in terms which seemed even to him harsh; and had expressed his prepossessions against the measure; but to what conclusion had the right hon. Gentleman come? Notwithstanding his prepossessions and convictions, formerly expressed in no measured terms, the right hon. Gentleman had come to the conclusion of supporting the present proposal; and that, although his deliberate opinion had been formerly declared in these words—"In principle this system is wholly vicious (speaking of Maynooth), and it will be a thorn in the side of the State of this country as long as it continues." But the right hon. Gentleman appeared to have come to his new conclusion on the ground of expediency; it was for the sake of unity that he supported the measure; but the right hon. Gentleman should recollect that unity might frequenly produce indifference to religion; and, at all events, he could not consider it an object of very great value and importance. He trusted that he had not expressed any sentiments which could give offence to any one; he had only stated his conscientious opinions. He rested his opposition to the Bill not only upon religious grounds, but upon its interference with the practice of the constitution. That practice might be changed; the Government might propose to alter it; and then, but not till then, they might consistently come forward and ask Parliament to endow the College of Maynooth, and make the Roman Catholic Church a part of the establishments of the land. It had been said that they ought not to ally themselves with the Dissenters on this subject; but he could not understand the force of that objection: they had only to answer the question whether they could support the proposal of the Government. He felt the full force of the objections which had been stated by the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Fox Maule) with respect to the case of the Scotch Church; it certainly was very hard that the members of that Church should, on the present occasion, be called upon to vote for the education of Roman Catholic priests in Ireland a much larger sum than they had ever, though always unsuccessfully, asked for their own Church. Upon those grounds, and under those circumstances, he should feel it his duty to oppose the Motion.

Colonel *T. Wood* did not justify the vote which he intended to give, either upon the ground of contract or of expediency. As to the religious grounds upon which this measure was opposed, he could only say that he had no religious scruples on the subject; he saw nothing in the articles of the Christian faith, nothing in the Holy Scriptures, nothing in the Liturgy of the Church of England, which forbade his considering the question, and voting even an ample grant for the education of the spiritual instruction of his Roman Catholic fellow countrymen. The argument, founded upon our Protestant Constitution, might have had some application previously to the passing of the Emancipation Act; but since that time every subject of this country stood upon an equal footing as to all civil rights; it was true that the possession of the Throne was limited to the Protestant successors of Her Majesty; but, whilst the Queen upheld the Protestant Church, she ruled over 7,000,000 of Roman Catholic subjects. Not only should he most anxiously support the present proposal, but he hoped that the feelings of that country and the circumstances of Ireland would enable them to follow it with other measures, which he considered the natural consequences of the present—and which, he trusted, would tend to the permanent union of the two countries. He grounded his support of the measure on its general justice: it was, in his judgment, abstractly just that they should provide for the education of the Irish priesthood, if they considered merely that they were the spiritual instructors of 7,000,000 of their fellow subjects; but when they considered further the circumstances of that country—the absentee proprietors—the rent charges wholly devoted to the payment of a clergy, who, however eminent, were not the pastors of the people of that country—it certainly was most just that the whole country generally should provide for the education of the Roman Catholic priesthood; nor was the condition of the Roman Catholic population unworthy of consideration. They were, perhaps, the poorest of the human race; Reports on the Table of the House stated that 2,000,000 were in a state of pauperism, whilst the middle classes scarcely possessed the most ordinary comforts of life; and if the country did not make this provision, a small pittance for the education of their priests would be wrung from the hands of that miserable population. He grounded his vote, therefore, not only upon the justice but the paramount necessity of such a measure. It was only the natural consequence of the Act of last Session, the Charitable Bequests Act; and even if it led to the consequence of the permanent endowment of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, such a measure should have his cordial support; because he believed that it would promote the peace and welfare of the country. What had been the state of Ireland, even since the present Administration came into office? The state of Ireland in 1842 and 1843 was unparalleled in the history of this country; great bodies of men assembled in numbers, unknown before to anything but military organization, and he regretted to say attended and encouraged by many of the priests. It was not the violence of the speeches delivered upon those occasions which caused his apprehensions; it was the impression produced on the public mind in Ireland that a repeal of the Union was at hand; and he should endeavour, so far as he could, by his vote to avert so frightful a calamity. They, however, met with opposition from various parts of that House; and he would beg to ask those hon. Members, what was their alternative? What was their expedient? How did they propose to meet agitation in Ireland? By a coercion Bill and martial law? That was the only alternative; and he shrunk from the consequences of any such measures. They might succeed for a day; but when they had succeeded, no greater advance would have been made than when they began; they would at last be obliged to resort to conciliatory measures, and they might have inflicted a wound beyond their power to heal. It was painful to him to differ from many of his most influential supporters; but if that difference should lead to the pacification of Ireland, he should esteem it, and whatever consequences it might entail upon him, as light indeed. It was not, however, unimportant to inquire whether, in the course he pursued, he was departing from the path of public honour and political consistency? The only obligations which he had incurred to his constituents at the elections of 1835 and 1838, turned upon the maintenance of the Church property; and if he thought that the present proposal invaded that integrity, or deprived him of any argument in favour of its maintenance, he should at once place in the hands of his constituents the trust they had reposed in him; but he could not see how this measure, even in its most remote consequences, could invalidate the title of the Irish Church to her property, or weaken him in the defence of it—he could not see how the increase of this grant could whet the cupidity of the Roman Catholics in assailing that property—he could not see why, to place the Roman Catholic clergy on a better footing—or even on a footing of equality with the Protestant clergy, could be the means of increasing their hostility to the Protestant Church. Was Ireland to be the only country in which the two churches could not exist in harmony? Was everything given to the Roman Catholics for ever to be regarded as a subtraction and derogation from the Protestants? In other countries of Europe the two churches existed together in harmony; and was it not the duty of the Legislature to bring about the same desirable result in Ireland? One hon. Member had said that they were arming the Roman Catholic Church with another weapon to assail the Protestant Church; but surely there was another enemy against whom it might direct its assault; let the Roman Catholic Church war against crime and vice, and the benefits of this measure could not be exaggerated. Upon these grounds of justice and necessity, and not thinking that he was invalidating the title by which the Protestant Church was established, he gave his hearty concurrence to the Motion.

Sir C. *Napier* would not have taken any part in the debate, but that he was anxious to explain to his constituents the grounds upon which he intended, under all the circumstances of the case, to vote in favour of the increased grant, as proposed by the right hon. Baronet. He regretted that his hon. Friend the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Ward) had not had an opportunity of taking a clear vote on his proposition on the second reading of the Bill, for he understood that, had he done so, the hon. Baronet the Member for Oxford, and his Friends, intended to have supported him in a measure much more obnoxious in their eyes than that of the Government, with the view of throwing out the latter altogether. Under the circumstances, however, he thought his hon. Friend the Member for Sheffield had taken a wise and discreet course in disappointing the hon. Baronet and his Friends in that intention; and he hoped his hon. Friend, when he brought forward his Motion, would do it in such a way as not to enable hon. Gentlemen opposite to make it the means of throwing over altogether the Government measure. He (Sir C. Napier) had purposed bringing forward a more moderate form of amendment should his hon. Friend fail in carrying his; but he was sorry to find that the forms of the House would not permit him to do so. The Amendment he wished to propose was,—

> "That it be an instruction to the Committee on the Bill to prepare a Clause or Clauses to provide that in any Protestant parishes where there were less than four or five communicants, the ecclesiastical revenues of that parish should be applied, in case of the charge on the Consolidated Fund, for the better support of the College of Maynooth, which it was intended to make by the present Bill."

He regretted that he should not have the opportunity of putting this Amendment; as it was, he should, supposing his hon. Friend's Amendment should fail, give his support to the Government measure. He was aware that in so doing he should give offence to many of his constituents who felt strongly on this question; but though his interest should be compromised, he should feel it to be his duty to support the Government in what he felt to be a fair, a just, and an honourable course. He did not mean to say that there was any probability of a war with America or any other Power; but looking at the present state of Ireland, and at the bare possibility of a war with America, was this, he would ask, a proper time to throw a firebrand into Ireland by rejecting the measure? Every Irish Member—every hon. Member—must be aware that the measure having been once brought forward by the right hon. Baronet—he would not say whether wisely or not—if it were now to be rejected by the House, it would place Ireland in a worse position than ever she was in before. This was no time for furnishing the Repealers with weapons —this was no time to excite discontent and disaffection in the minds of the Irish people. The true policy was to do all we could to bind Ireland to this country in the bonds of interest and affection, in order that we might be able to depend upon her supporting us and herself whenever the occasion for that support should arise. He was not the man to encourage —by anything he said—continental and

Catholic nations to throw a large force into Catholic Ireland—should a war unfortunately take place—to fight against England. But the hon. Baronet and his Friends ought to beware of what they did at this moment—they ought not to push things to extremities. The hon. Baronet ought to deliberate well upon what he was doing; for if the Irish people were not conciliated in time of peace, they would not be likely to remain quiet, and, in the event of a war, he would find that he had raised a storm in that country most dangerous to us. The hon. Gentleman must not forget what had been done in former times; he must not forget that French fleets had been sent to all parts of the world; that during the last war France had succeeded—notwithstanding the vigilance of a Nelson—in throwing a large force into Egypt, and that all we could do was to endeavour to protect our own shores. They all knew that Bonaparte intended, and made every preparation, to invade England in 1805, and would have succeeded in his object in all probability had it not been for the disobedience of orders of one of his admirals [*Cries of* " Oh."] Hon. Gentlemen must allow him to argue his case in his own way, and this was the way in which the matter pressed itself most forcibly upon his mind. They had seen the danger we had incurred in former times, and it was his wish, by enlisting the sympathies and affections of all parts of the Empire, as well as by providing efficient means of defence, to guard against the recurrence of those dangers. If Ireland remained disaffected, and a war were to break out with France, see the means she had of throwing a large force into that country. Look at the immense steam navy France now possessed. It was only to-day that he had read in a French newspaper the announcement that the large steam ships built for the French transatlantic navigation were found to be unfit for that service, and were at once to be converted into vessels of war. The fact was, they were never intended for the transatlantic navigation; the whole affair was a blind from the beginning. Those vessels were capable of containing 2,000 men each, and might be equipped and made efficient at any moment. As he had said, he did not apprehend a war; but could anything be more likely to induce foreign nations to go to war with us than the knowledge that one-third of the Empire was severed from this country in feelings and wishes, and generally opposed to us. But if he could not excite the fears of hon. Gentlemen who opposed this Bill, he would appeal to them on the grounds of justice. The Catholic population of Ireland were now compelled to support a Church with which they were not in connexion, and to that Church, notwithstanding that it was the Church of a very small minority of the whole people, the whole of the ecclesiastical revenues of the country were devoted. But it was contended that the principle ought not to be admitted of supporting the Catholic religion; but already there was a vote passed annually of 8,000*l.* for this College of Maynooth. Therefore, so far as the point of principle was concerned, they had already established the principle of voting money to educate the Roman Catholic priesthood. That principle had existed for many years, certainly protested against on every possible opportunity by the hon. Baronet the Member for Oxford; but it had nevertheless existed, consequently there could be no deviation from principle in increasing the grant, with the view of affording the persons educated at this College a good instead of a bad education. He was somewhat surprised at the opposition of the hon. Member for Oxford and others, whose object it was to extend what they considered the true religion, to the proposal for affording to the Maynooth students a better education than they could now obtain there, because it was much more easy for men who were liberally and properly educated to see the true light of the Gospel and embrace it, than for those whose education was neglected and whose prejudices remained. He knew that there were some people who took a different view, and said if you give the Roman Catholic priesthood a better education, you will make them more strong in their own faith. But suppose it was so, did they suppose that the priest would be a more useful member of society, or possess a more beneficial influence over the people—or did they suppose the feelings of the people would be less Catholic if they continued to give them instead of an education only a part of an education? They had tried for 300 years to make Ireland Protestant—had they succeeded? And if not, why go on doggedly with the same system? He was happy to see the Government was at length adopting the principles of that (the Opposition) side of the House; he wished not to taunt them on that account; on the contrary, he thought they were entitled to credit and praise for so doing, and while they continued in that course he should give them his best and strongest support.

Mr. *Stafford O'Brien* thought the hon. and gallant Member who last spoke had in one part of his speech contradicted the other. First, he said the extension of the grant was not the assertion of a new principle; and then he said, "You have tried for 300 years to Protestantise Ireland, and failed — why then continue doggedly to follow out the same system?" If the principle were not a new one, there would have been no occasion for that appeal. The hon. Member for Lambeth had asked the Government whether this measure would be followed out by others of a similar character; but his right hon. Friend the Secretary for Ireland—who he could not say replied to, but followed, the hon. Member in the debate — had given them no information upon that point, especially in reference to the great question of the endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy. Now, he ventured again to press that question distinctly on the attention of the Government, and should be compelled to conclude, especially after the speech of the right hon. Member for Newark (Mr. Gladstone), that if they avoided or eluded it—and he believed the House and the country would conclude also in the case—that they did intend to follow up the present measure with an Act for the endowment of Roman Catholics. If such was the intention of the right hon. Baronet, seeing that he had taken credit for not taking the House by surprise in regard to the present Bill, he trusted that he would earn for himself the same credit at the end of this and the beginning of next Session of Parliament, or whenever he should bring forward such a measure by declaring at once not only that he did intend to pay the Roman Catholic clergy, but also out of what fund, and subject to what conditions that payment was to be made. That question being, however, up to this time unanswered, he would proceed to consider the grant now proposed in two points of view. First, as an isolated measure; and, secondly, as one of a series. If it were to be looked upon as an isolated measure, he must say, that in his opinion it would confer anything but a boon on the Roman Catholic clergy; for if in the University they were accustomed to and fitted for the luxuries of life, which they could not hope afterwards to enjoy, it would be anything but a benefit to them. It was no disgrace to a young Irishman if, going to Maynooth with the habits of a peasant, he left it afterwards with those habits but slightly modified. Those habits were compatible with the highest piety—the most exalted attainments, and the soundest wisdom; but the worst education was that which was attended with the damning evil of rendering its pupils unfit for the situation they must afterwards hold in society. Then as to the second view of the question—and after what they had heard, they might, he thought, take this as essentially the one in which it should be discussed—viz., taking the measure as the first of not only a series of other similar, but of larger measures in reference to the same subject, he would proceed to state the reasons why he felt it his duty to negative the proposition. It had been said by an hon. Gentleman, in the course of the debate, that practically this was a measure for the endowment of the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth. The main reason why he (Mr. S. O'Brien) felt compelled to vote against the Bill was, that he saw he must take it in connexion with the endowment of the Roman Catholic religion; and he did not conscientiously consider that the party, to support which he was returned to Parliament, had any right to enter into that question. ["Oh, oh."] He was aware that his right hon. Friend the Member for Newark and his hon. Friend the Member for Devon differed with him; but he said this not as judging them, but as defending himself. He attributed to them none but the highest motives as influencing them in the course they had adopted; and he hoped they would do the same justice to him. If they took the principle of representation as he took it to be—that of sending a man to do for him in the complex task of legislation and government, that which either his habits or business did not make it convenient for him to do for himself—if that theory was good, he had a right, in discussing this or any other question, to consider what might have passed between him and his constituents in reference to his election. But that theory must be largely modified by a recollection of the two great parties into which this political community had very wisely, as he thought, on the whole, divided itself. He said wisely, though he was aware, at the same time, it was an arrangement which must be attended with many difficulties. And he also maintained that, at his election, he had a right, nay, was compelled, to look so far into the historical annals of his party, and the course that party had taken in former years, as to enable him to consider fairly the main political principles by which it had been guided during the experience of the mass of those by whom he was sent to Parliament. It was true the party, to support which he had been returned, had changed its name. They had taken the name of Conservatives in lieu of Tories, and he did not see that they had derived any advantage from that change. But whatever the reason—whatever the advantage of the change, it was accompanied by one inconvenience at least. They could not but remember that now the whole history of the Conservative or Tory party was to be found in pamphlets, and not in books to be read in the reading room rather than in the library; and therefore he said they had a right to look to the records of the past. And when he looked to the course of that party for the last ten years, beginning with the Appropriation Clause, and called to his mind all the battles that had been fought about municipal corporations in Ireland—a subject which for so long a time was chosen as the battle ground of that party — when he remembered the terms in which it had spoken, and justly spoken, of what was called the Lichfield-house compact and alliance, when he looked back upon all this, he must say that the proposition for the extension of ecclesiastical Romanism in Ireland, brought forward by that party, was, after every allowance was made for individual violence, individual caution, individual palliatives, and individual explanations, a most extraordinary one. He had always considered that a resistance to the extension of the endowment of ecclesiastical Romanism was one of the main instruments and the main engines with which that party had worked in Opposition for the last ten years. In pursuing that course they might have been right, or they might have been wrong, but he was here not to consider that question, but to look to the particular position in which that course of opposition had placed the party to which he belonged. More than one hon. Gentleman had stated that so far as regarded the question before the House, he must oppose his constituents, that he would do so with regret, but that he must act conscientiously and sincerely. There was no one more anxious to do so than himself. But as the hon. Member for Newark had said England was against the measure, Scotland was against it, and he might add that the province of Ulster was against it. If this, then, were a House of Representatives—if they retained any recollection of the past—of the principles to which they had pledged themselves—he asked whether he might not be excused for refusing to lend his consent to such a measure? He would ask whether any Member of the Government—whether any hon. Gentleman sitting on the Ministerial side of the House—would get up and assure him, that had the noble Lord the Member for the City of London brought forward this same proposition, this very Bill, word for word, when they were upon the Opposition side of the House, and he was in office, could any hon. Members on the Ministerial side to-night say that, under these circumstances, they would have supported the measure? Had they, too, gone to the hustings with this Bill, or the slightest inkling of this Bill, and the course they would take upon it known to the country, did any one believe that they would have come back the great majority they had? He repudiated the idea of any hostility to Ireland in the opposition he would offer to the Bill. Were it passed, and were they to return to their constituents, and be by them again sent back to serve under the same Government, the position of the party would indeed be morally and politically changed; and whatever other arguments he might have to oppose to the measure, he would certainly not be able to urge the dissent of his constituents. But the principles generally advocated, and the course generally adopted by the party to which he was attached, were quite at variance with those principles they were now invited to profess, and the course they were now invited to pursue. There were recollections of the party on his side of the House, such as rendered the support of the grant by hon. Members who occupied it a course of which he could not approve. Nothing could have been more varied than the arguments adduced in favour of the proposition; but as there appeared, therefore, many reasons for supporting the Bill, he hoped that it would be allowed that there were as many for opposing it. This he did say, that he had a right to claim from those to whom he might be opposed in Ireland credit for just as much anxiety for their welfare as if he found himself upon their side. For this was a time at which, in his opinion, they could not safely approach the consideration of such a question as the present. They must look, let it be observed, not merely to the question itself, but to the time at which, and to the circumstances under which it was brought forward. He did not wish to underrate the great difficulties under which they laboured; and he admitted that the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Cabinet was personally the least liable to a charge of inconsistency. But when he looked to the measure as brought forward by the head of a great party—when he remembered how that party had acted—under what colours it had fought and ultimately triumphed, he must say that he could not give it his support without lending himself to the support of a system which tended to shake public confidence in public men. And the diminution of this confidence was one of the most serious evils which could befall a State. At present a feeling of distrust of public men was springing up, which was extending itself to distrust of the House, and he would not be a party to any course likely to increase it. The voice of the Protestantism of England was against the grant—that voice which, in Opposition, they had never attempted to regulate or subdue. Protestantism they ought to treat as an essential part of a great people, and they ought to recognise their danger as a party in tampering with it, and the danger, too, which such a course would bring upon all the best Institutions of the State. If this Protestantism be ignorant or bigoted, their aim should be to educate and to free it. But, with all its faults, its stern truths and rigid integrity were undeniable; and no mistake could be more miserable than that of imagining that its convictions could be shaken or its affections won by a seeming dereliction of all claims to those attributes of which it was so justly proud.

Mr. *C. W. Wynn* expressed his surprise at the view of the present question taken by the hon. Member who last addressed the House. The hon. Member seemed to consider the matter now under discussion not as one which regarded the great interests of justice and humanity, but as one in which he and those who thought with him ought to take the course most consonant with the interests of party, and what he supposed to be their character for consistency. The hon. Member also surprised him by the regret which he seemed to feel for the loss of the old names of Whig and Tory; and at the same time to complain of the adoption of such an appellation as that of Conservative. He (Mr. Wynn) never had been a Tory; and the experience of fifty years of public life had convinced him that the designations of Whig and Tory were not only extinct, but could not be revived. But, assuming that there was in that House a party answering to the description usually given of the old Whig and Tory parties, he would ask why might they not support such a measure as the present? There was scarcely a principle which each of them had not at one time supported, and at another opposed. The Whigs latterly supported the repeal of the Septennial Bill; and on the Regency Bill the Tories contended that the House of Commons possessed, and of right ought to possess, the full power of making provision for the care of the Government—while, on the other hand, the Whigs insisted that the heir-apparent ought to take upon himself the office of Regent. Did any man in that House who gravely, impartially, and intelligently considered the question, persevere in saying that the Conservative party were called upon by consistency to resist the present Motion? Hon. Members had said the conduct of the leader of the Conservative party had during the last years imposed upon him a necessity which ought to have prevented his bringing forward such a measure as the present. Surely no one could for a moment affirm such a proposition as that who remembered the conduct of the leader of their party in the year 1829, or who had the least recollection of the conduct pursued by his right hon. Friend at the head of the Government in the years immediately following that period. Nay, it could scarcely be thought by any one who had the least knowledge of the whole political course of the right hon. Gentleman sitting near him (Sir James Graham), even before the year 1829. In perfect consonance with the course pursued by the right hon. Baronet was that which had been adopted by a noble Lord recently a Member of that House, but now transferred to the other branch of the Legislature. He (Mr. C. W. Wynn) had, together with a large portion of the Conservative party, during forty of the fifty years that he had been in Parliament, supported measures of the kind now before the House. In the years 1807 and 1808, he, and those with whom he had been in the habit of acting, had thought that an enlarged support to the College of Maynooth had become necessary. They felt the necessity of drawing closer the bonds of connexion between Great Britain and Ireland. Mr. Pitt knew, and he himself knew, as far as any one could be said to know who held the subordinate post of Under Secretary of the Home Department, that Bonaparte had made to those who were intended for the Irish priesthood the most splendid offers. He offered to endow for them the most splendid colleges, and to confer upon them all the advantages which the highest ambition could desire; but, with a noble spirit of loyalty, they resisted all his propositions. Upon that topic it was hardly necessary for him to say more. The force and application of such a fact could be scarcely questioned. He should now come to another part of the reasonings and authorities used in the present discussion. The authority of Mr. Burke was quoted in opposition to the Bill; but how was that authority presented to the House? In the shape of two lines only from the works of that distinguished writer. But if those who had so quoted him had done justice to the sentiments of the eminent individual on whose authority they relied, they would have quoted not two lines, but they would have referred to the whole bulk and body of his works, and to the whole course of his political reasonings, from which it could not fail to be obvious to the most hasty reader, that Mr. Burke most strongly recommended the efficient support of the College of Maynooth. The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland who preceded Lord Camden, had strongly recommended the establishment and support of the College of Maynooth. He proceeded with wisdom and foresight, by means of that institution, to make provision for the education of the Irish priesthood. Lord Camden laid the first stone of the College of Maynooth, but he did not lay its foundation alone with mortar or with rock, but with the whole influence and power of Government he laid the foundation of a sound system of instruction for those who were to be the spiritual guides to the people of Ireland. Those were the principles upon which Maynooth had been founded, and on which it ought to be supported. They were principally supported by the ablest and wisest statesmen who had ever conducted the affairs of this country. They were sanctioned by the authority of Mr. Pitt, of Lord Castlereagh, and of Lord Cornwallis. But in making these grants, to what did Mr. Pitt look? He looked not only to the education of the Romish clergy, but also to the security of the Protestant Church, and to the stability of the King's Government. That Church, which was the Church of 7,000,000 of Her Majesty's subjects, should not be disregarded by the Executive or the Legislative Powers of the State. The priesthood in such a country as Ireland should not be left wholly dependent upon the population of the parishes; and, above all other things, should not be left during their years of education in circumstances of penury, or even of insufficient provision. On these several grounds he should support the grant; but he might add that he supported it because it was an infringement of the voluntary principle. Every one must see that Romanism existed in Ireland upon the voluntary principle; and that this connexion of it with Government had a tendency to infringe the voluntary principle. He strongly supported the measure, and he thought that his right hon. Friend who sat near him was entitled to the thanks of the country for the manner in which he had brought forward the Motion at the risk of great personal sacrifice, and he hoped that he would be able to carry it to a successful issue.

Mr. *Cowper* said the hon. Member for Northamptonshire had frankly declared with a scrupulousness that did him credit, that he did not feel himself at liberty to support this Bill, after being elected on the understanding that he was to form part of that great Tory party which was then opposing all concessions to Romanism; and the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. Wynn) had answered, that he never was a Tory, and that certain other Members of the Government were not Tories; but where were they to look for a representative of Toryism, if they were not to find it in the present head of the Government; and whatever might have been that right hon. Gentleman's course upon particular occasions, no one could deny that he owed his present position, mainly to that opposition of which he was the acknowledged leader, against Whig measures of concession towards Irish Roman Catholics. He felt the force of the hon. Member for Northamptonshire's remarks upon the evils arising from distrust in public men; but he rejoiced at the triumph afforded to the truth of Whig principles, when the right hon. Baronet was compelled by his sense of duty, and by his view of the necessities of the times, to adopt them. He felt that the only arguments which had been urged with any effect against the present measure, were those which rested upon religious grounds, and to those he should address himself. The new and varying combinations of men on this question, had been alluded to, and he agreed with many of the premises of the hon. Members for the University of Oxford and for Kent; but he totally disagreed with their conclusions. He had the highest value for Protestantism, and viewed it as the chief blessing of this nation; but among the principles for which he valued it were, the right of private judgment, the supremacy of individual conscience, and toleration of erroneous opinions; and he could not join in an attempt to promote it at the expense of any of these. The rule which the hon. Baronet the Member for Oxford had laid down was, that no Member of the Legislature should consent to grant money for the maintenance of opinions which, he individually believed, to be erroneous. Now that rule, if applicable at all, must be applied universally; but to do so was impracticable, or if practicable, must lead to the dismemberment of the Empire. The Almighty Ruler of the universe had given us dominions in every part of the globe, and comprising every variety of creed; could it be intended that we should govern these upon a maxim which they would everywhere feel to be unjust and unequal? No, we never thought of putting it in force in Asia, Africa, or America; we kept it for Ireland. He traced this mistake in the maxim to overlooking the distinction between the individual and the representative character. By the theory of the Constitution, he and also the Member for Oxford represented the Irish Roman Catholics as well as those constituents who had elected them. In his individual capacity he might take his own personal convictions as the rule of conduct; but in his representative character he ought also to take into consideration the wants and feelings and convictions of those on whose behalf he was acting. As an individual, he had a right to protest against the error of the doctrines taught at Maynooth; but as a Representative, he was obliged to listen to the claims of those who formed so large a portion of the United Kingdom. Then there was another distinction he drew between Acts treating of religious belief, and Acts like the present, only granting money and civil privileges. There were Statutes of Edward VI. and Elizabeth, stating who were the professors of the truth of Christ's religion, and specifying the true faith. In such instances Parliament was expressing its own belief. And if it were proposed to pass such an Act as that of the 1st and 2nd of Mary, which recited that "false doctrine hath been taught and preached, we seeing our own errors, make a declaration of our repentance;" rather than vote for it he would be among those twelve members who had promised to die upon the floor of that House, and, seriously, he would rather abandon life than give his assent. But he could not see that this Bill for which he was going to vote expressed any opinion as to truth or falsehood. Its enactments would be consistent even with a preamble declaring the falsity of the doctrines to be taught at Maynooth. Suppose such a preamble as this—"Whereas certain doctrines are not true, but are believed to be true by the majority of the people of Ireland, and the said people are determined to be taught no other, it is expedient to endow the teachers," &c.; such a preamble would not be inconsistent with the Bill as they were going to pass it. It appeared to him, after giving the most careful attention to the subject, that the matters dealt with in this Bill were among those to which they were to apply the precept of Scripture, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's." They were conferring civil advantages, endowment, and incorporation, but were making no profession of belief. It was a secular matter. He desired the spread of his religion in Ireland, as no doubt Roman Catholic Gentlemen near him desired the extension of theirs in England. Those who shared his feeling ought to see that to extend Protestantism in Ireland a very different system must be adopted from that which had been in force since the Reformation. He did not agree that "restitution" was required, at least in the sense in which the noble Lord the Member for Liverpool had been understood to use it; but that noble Lord's meaning would probably be better conveyed by saying that England owes compensation to Ireland for past errors. One of those faults was refusing to place the doctrines of the Reformation before the Irish in a suitable manner. During the latter portion of the reign of Henry VIII., the whole of Edward VI., and the first eleven years of Queen Elizabeth, the whole of the Irish people renounced the Pope, acknowledged the supremacy of the Sovereign over the Church, and conformed to the Anglican Liturgy in their parish churches. In 1540 and the following years, the principal Irish chieftains bound themselves by indentures to maintain the ecclesiastical supremacy of the King. But, though the Irish were thus ready to receive the Reformation, no steps were taken to explain it; they were the only people who were not addressed by the Reformers in their native tongue. Their former creed was proscribed, but no means were taken to impart another. Archbishop King protested against the proceedings of the Parliament and Convocation of his day, "because they did not assign the true cause for the Irish continuing in their errors, which was, that no care was taken to preach to them in their native tongue," and then came to this remarkable conclusion:—"It is plain to me, by the methods that have been taken since the Reformation, and which are yet pursued, both by the civil and ecclesiastical rulers, that there never was, nor is, any design that all should be Protestants." The Protestant religion had been made a mere adjunct of Protestant ascendancy: instead of being promulgated for its own sake and for the good of the people, it had been seized upon by politicians, used as an instrument for party ends, and became the distinctive mark of antagonist races. It was time they should adopt a different course; that they should give to Roman Catholics all the advantages to which they were fairly entitled, and remove all proscription; they should furnish all necessary help which might be required from the State; they had already provided general education—what remained was the education of their teachers. To that they had a fair claim. It was doing no good service to Protestantism to make it a bar to granting civil advantages to Roman Catholics. The friends of Protestantism should leave it to work in its proper sphere—the sphere of conscience and of the unfettered will, and in a spirit of love; and should not force it into politics, or seek to uphold it by restrictive legislation. They should leave Protestantism to be inculcated by persuasion and argument, and not carry it into matters to which it did not apply; and above all, they should not place it in the invidious position of interfering with justice towards Ireland, or prevent them from doing their duty towards that neglected country.

Mr. *Gregory* said, that the question had hitherto been very partially discussed, both in the present and the past debate; that hon. Members who had spoken on both sides of the House, as well as the introducer of the Bill, had taken this as a plain substantive proposition, as if the only question for discussion were the fact that the money hitherto voted for Maynooth had been proved to be insufficient, and that several thousands more per annum should be added to that institution to increase its efficiency. He wished that hon. Members would dismiss from their minds the arithmetical view of the case, and would regard this not as an absolute but as a relative question, and consider the results likely to arise from it. In politics, as well as in physics, there were consequences at which they might arrive with almost the same degree of certainty. From Catholic Emancipation, the consequence of relaxations—relaxations called for imperatively by humanity and justice, every debate and measure connected with Ireland tended to the same end. It was not the person most deeply engaged in the battle that could give the best account of the disposition of the field, or form the most accurate judgment as to its result; but the person who beheld from afar each evolution during the eventful day. The comparison held good in politics; and intelligent and contemplative spectators of Parliamentary proceedings since 1828 were able to form a better judgment as to the issue of the protracted struggle than those who were engaged in the affray. That struggle was the existence of the Protestant Church in Ireland; and the opinion of intelligent and thoughtful persons out of doors was against the stability of that establishment, not so much from the fierce attacks of assailants as from the irresoluteness and false position occupied by her friends. The Irish Church Temporalities Act, the Municipal Corporation Bill, the Dissenters Chapels Bill, tended to the same end. He wished to pass no opinion on these enactments. He took them as he found them, without praise or blame, for he sake of argument. The House was called on to vote an increase to Maynooth, which was to be the harbinger of tranquillity to Ireland; by it the attention, it was said, of the Roman Catholic priest would be directed from political dinners and monster-meetings to the contemplation of his duties. Were that the case, the right hon. Baronet would insure the gratitude of posterity. But he could not imagine that diminished ambition would walk hand in hand with increased education, or that in proportion as the mind became instructed and refined that it became more bounded in its aspirations; or that the ministers of that religion called by the hon. Member for Dungarvon (Mr. Sheil) " the true, the immutable, the eternal," would from increased nstruction be the more induced to acquiesce in the existence of a Church whose teaching they considered erroneous. By the Bequests Act they obtained rank; by this measure they were to obtain power, for was not knowledge power? Wealth alone remained unconceded; that must be granted. That proposition was laid down by the noble Lord the Member for London, who denied that the pacification of Ireland would be complete without a stipend to the Catholic clergy. But where was the money to come from? Every little parish had protested against this grant, and every constituency called on their Member to oppose it; and would the people of England consent to pay the minister of a religion who would grant to the State no concession, and be bound by no tie, and who were to be seen ever aiding those who endeavoured to disjoin the two countries? The hon. Member for Sheffield provided a solution for these difficulties by taking the sum required out of the Irish Church; and the people of England and Scotland, glad to escape themselves, would leave the Irish Church to do battle for herself. And here he (Mr. Gregory) might be allowed, parenthetically, to remark with what amusing gravity an hon. Member said the Roman Catholic priesthood would refuse any such payment. He had no doubt that if the offer were seriously made, the *noli episcopari* would soon, by an easy transposition, become the *volumus episcopari* of the Roman Catholic priesthood. The endowment of that priesthood must, as a necessary consequence, follow the present measure. And where then was the money to come from? The hon. Member for Sheffield proposed an easy solution of this difficulty. He would have the money abstracted from the revenues of the Established Church. But if, in 1837, Lord Stanley resisted the Municipal Corporation Bill, on the ground that it tended to the instability of the Protestant Church, were not Her Majesty's Ministers still more bound to resist an act of spoliation more offensive to the minds of Protestants than any purely secular question could possibly be? He (Mr. Gregory) had listened with great attention to the speech made by the late President of the Board of Trade—whom he did not want to charge with inconsistency, for great exigencies justified great changes, and the man who remained perfectly unchanged was a subject more of wonder than of admiration—and that right hon. Gentleman admitted that the measure was contrary to the prevailing sentiments of the country. It was an important admission that if the aggregate opinions of the country were faithfully represented in that House, this Bill would be thrown out. The right hon. Gentleman argued, and the argument was repeated by the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Cowper), that there was no inconsistency in the proposed grant, inasmuch as the money was to be taken from the Consolidated Fund; but this argument would involve him (Mr. Gladstone) in inextricable difficulties, for it would with equal force support the claims of Anabaptists, Socinians, Mormonites, and all denominations of Dissenters, on public support. And if the proposed grant were given on such grounds, how could any such claim, if set up, be consistently refused? Could such a claim be refused on the ground of principle? No; for principle had been swept away. Could it be refused on the ground of truth? No; for who was the arbiter of what was true? [*Cheers from the Opposition Benches.*] Hon. Gentlemen opposite cheered that sentiment. Did they recollect that he was arguing on their own hypothesis? The Reformation had given a standard of truth; but the House of Commons had swept away that standard. He thought the House should be now informed whether this measure was to stand alone, or to be the prelude to something else; and if were to be the prelude of something else, and that that something should include the payment of the Roman

Catholic priesthood, the House should know whether that payment was to be provided at the expense of the Established Church of Ireland. The organ of the Roman Catholic party in Ireland said this measure was extorted by agitation, and that so long as the Established Church remained, there would be no cessation of that agitation. That was a reason why the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Ward) should pause before he called upon the House to apply the revenues of the Established Church to Roman Catholic purposes. He (Mr. Gregory) was aware that it was useless to address Gentlemen opposite with arguments founded on the rights of the Established Church and the justice of her claims. He was perfectly sure that arguments of that sort would have no weight with them. They were influenced by arguments derived from political considerations alone. Hon. Gentlemen opposite should then consider that hitherto the Protestants of Ireland were kept from the agitation for Repeal solely by their veneration for the Established Church, which they believed would be swept away if they consented to that measure. He would read, in support of this opinion, an extract from a contemporary Conservative writer, who, with reference to this matter, observes:—

> "Mark the local consequences of the distinction of the Protestant Establishment. By its abolition you would unfix a vast amount of that most dangerous and explosive of all political elements — mind. Those only who know the true state of Ireland can be aware of the number of minds quietly muzzled by the Protestant Establishment; three-fourths of the intellect and acquirements of Trinity College, with all its auxiliary classes, are completely unprejudiced, merely in consequence of the Church Establishment. The mind of Ireland has never yet fairly influenced the brute force of the country. All the movements hitherto against England have, for the most part, been directed by mere agitators. What the masses of Ireland require, to enable them to rock the British power to its very basis, is a well-trained corps of noble, gallant, and ambitious minds, filled with exalted ideas, gathered from a generous view of things, and disciplined by intellectual pursuits, by philosophical studies, and by scientific habits. And there could be counted dozens of men of that stamp who are at this moment imperialized by the force and power of the Church Establishment alone."

He (Mr. Gregory) would oppose the Motion before the House.

Mr. *Macaulay*: Sir, I have no intention of following the hon. Gentleman who last sat down into a discussion on an Amendment which has not been moved. When my hon. Friend the Member for Sheffield shall think it expedient to propose to us a Motion upon the subject which he has repeatedly introduced to the notice of the House, I may, perhaps, request your indulgence while I offer a few remarks on the question. At present it is sufficient that I should explain why I think it my duty to vote for the second reading of this Bill, which I think I cannot do better than by passing in review, as rapidly as I can, the principal objections which have been made in this House, and out of the House, to the measure now before us. It seems to me, Sir, that these objections, or at least by far the greater part of them, may be readily arranged under three heads. There is, in the first place, a large class of persons who, it seems, do not object to the grant to Maynooth already made; but object to the proposed increase of the existing grant. There is, again, a large and respectable body of persons who object to any grant whatever—to the old grant as well as to the increase for religious purposes. They conceive that they are not justified, either as private individuals or as Members of a State, in contributing to the propagation of what they deem to be error. There are others who take a still wider ground—those who say that, without inquiry whether the Catholic Church teaches truth or error, they on either supposition object to any and every endowment for its clergy, or the principle of opposing all State endowments. They are advocates of the voluntary system; and if consistent to the opinions they profess, they ought equally to disapprove of the maintenance by the State of the endowments of the Established Church of Ireland as well as the grant to the Presbyterian clergy. Now, as to the first of these parties, I must confess I am exceedingly surprised that there should be found in this country any person not objecting to the old grant, who yet takes the very fallacious and untenable ground of objecting to its increase. I am forced, however, to believe that there are many such persons. When I remember how quietly this grant has passed in former years, and with what violent excitement the proposed increase is opposed; what small minorities have voted against this grant in former years, and how large a body of persons come down to vote against the increase, I must think there is a very considerable number of persons who, if the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government had merely proposed the original vote of 9,000*l.* would have voted for it without the smallest scruple, and yet whose minds are greatly troubled by his proposal. I cannot but wonder that it should be so, for this is a question which I cannot conceive that any human ingenuity can convert into one of principle. Of all the strange contrarieties which ever entered into the human mind, this is the strangest, for the question is purely and solely one between 9,000*l.* and 26,000*l.* a year. [" No, No."] I cannot tell how hon. Gentlemen opposite understand the objection I am considering, but thus it appears to me. I am speaking not of those who object to any grant to Maynooth; I am speaking of those who say that if a vote of 9,000*l.* had been proposed, as last year, they would have voted for it, and yet who do object to the increase to which we are asked to consent. I understand the advocate of the voluntary system, who says, " Whether the Roman Catholic Church teaches truth or error, I on principle will grant it no support." I understand the zealous Protestant, who says, " On account of the errors of the Roman Catholic Church, I think it wrong to give her clergy any support from the public purse, and, therefore, I refuse my consent;" and I understand the Protestant, equally zealous, but in my opinion more enlightened, who says, " In spite of the errors of the Roman Catholic Church, I do think myself at liberty to grant some aid." But I cannot understand the man who admits the propriety of the former grant, and resists the increase; who says, " In spite of the errors of the Roman Catholic Church, I am at liberty to grant her aid; but on accountof her errors that aid shall bea pittance it is disgraceful for me to give, and her to receive; her rites are so superstitious that I will give her a squalid, dilapidated chapel wherein to perform them; her doctrines are so absurd, that I will find a professor to teach them, to whom I will give wages I would not offer to my groom." I cannot understand those Gentlemen who say they have no objection to a Catholic establishment, provided it be shabby; they have no objection to support those persons who are to teach the doctrines of religion, and administer the sacraments to the next generation of the Irish people, provided only those persons shall cost something less than the pay of a common infantry soldier; they have no objection to board them, provided only the allowance for their board be made so scanty that they are compelled, as we have been told, to break up their studies before the proper time, merely for want of provisions; they have no objections to lodge them, if only they are packed like pigs in a sty, exposed to wind and rain. Is it possible to conceive anything more frivolous or absurd? Can any principle of action be clearer or better founded than this—whatever it is lawful to do, you ought to do it well? Can anything be more evident than that, if it be right to keep up a college, it is right to keep it up respectably? Whatever this institution be, whether good or bad, it is clearly an important institution; it is established to form the opinions and moral character of those who are themselves to form the moral character of a nation. It may be right to withhold patronage from it altogether; that is a very grave question; but what I say is, if you do give patronage at all, it should be patronage worthy of the greatness of the object and the dignity of the donor. It is with a peculiarly bad grace, I must say, that the Member for the University to which I have the honour to belong—a Gentleman who never voted, or thought it necessary on any occasion whatever, to oppose the grant of 9,000*l.*—now opposes strenuously the grant of 26,000*l.*: I say, that objections of that sort come with a very bad grace from one who is the Representative of an English University. When I consider with what magnificence religion and science are endowed in our Universities; when I call to mind their long streets of palaces, their venerable cloisters, their trim gardens—their chapels with organs, altar-pieces, and stained windows; when I remember their schools, libraries, museums, and galleries of art; when I remember, too, all the solid comforts provided in those places both for instructors and pupils, the stately dwellings of the principals, the commodious apartments of the fellows and scholars; when I remember that the very sizars and servitors are lodged far better than you propose to lodge those priests who are to teach the whole people of Ireland; when I think of the halls, the common-rooms, the bowling-greens, even the stabling of Oxford and Cambridge — the display of old plate on the tables, the good cheer of the kitchen, the oceans of excellent ale in the buttery, and when I remember from whom all this splendour and plenty are derived; when I remember the faith of Edward III. and Henry VI., of Margaret of Anjou and Margaret of Richmond, of William of Wykeham, of Archbishop Chicheley and Cardinal Wolsey; when I remember what we have taken from the Roman Catholic religion—King's College, New College, my own Trinity College, and Christ's Church—and when I look at the miserable Do-the-boys-Hall we have given them in return—I ask myself if we, and if the Protestant religion, are not disgraced by the comparison? If the advocates of this opinion have convinced themselves that there is a clear distinction of principle between 9,000*l.* and 26,000*l.*—if they can show us it is a question of principle—if some of them would rise and do that — I, for one, shall be ready to give way. I believe I may safely defy any of them; and I must remain unconverted by them. There are some who say that a contract was made at the time of the Union with the Irish Parliament; and this, it is suggested, binds us to the maintenance, but not to the increase of the grant. Now, I must freely say, with those petitioners who have laid so much paper and parchment on your Table, that I do not admit the existence of this contract. Even if there be any contract with the old Irish Parliament and people, still this would not absolve us from the business of legislating for this College. If the measure of endowment be in itself pernicious, we have a right to deal with the grant on the ground of its own merits. I do not think there is likely to be much dispute between Gentlemen in this House on that head. I conceive I am as much at liberty to deal with this as with any other subject concerning Ireland—to vote for the abolition or reduction of the grant, as I should be to vote on a grant for the artillery or the marines. Suppose you admit a contract; that will not get you out of the difficulty. How would that prove the radical difference between 9,000*l.* and 26,000*l.*? Construe it as you would, you would not be able to establish the distinction you aim at. What is the contract? Are you bound to do for Maynooth what the Irish Parliament did for it? Or are you bound to maintain it efficiently and respectably? If you are only bound to do for it what the Irish Parliament did, 9,000*l.* is too much; but if you are bound to maintain it efficiently and respectably, then I defy any person to argue that the 26,000*l.* now proposed is too much. I say, therefore, it seems to me impossible that any such distinction as hon. Gentlemen opposite suppose can be established. If the grant of 26,000*l.* be innocent, vote it; but I think it cannot be contended that if 26,000*l.* would be wrong, because it is contrary to our moral obligations to encourage error, a grant of 9,000*l.* would not be wrong also. I come now to an objection which I should be sorry to treat lightly—I mean, the religious objection. That is, simply stated, "The Church of Rome teaches error; and you are not justified, either as individuals or a State, in contributing to its propagation." I must say, I cannot admit the soundness of that proposition: I think it wholly impossible to deny that there are occasions on which the State is bound to contribute from its resources to objects, on the promotion of which the propagation of some amount of error may be consequent. Let me be clearly understood. It is undoubtedly a very plausible proposition, that you ought always to do your best to spread truth, and never to propagate error; but if the constitution of the human mind and the state of the world be such that it is impossible, on any large and extensive scale, to propagate truth at all without some intermixture of error; if no machinery has yet been devised by which error could be absolutely excluded; if even those rays of moral light which come down to us from on high, pure and perfect as they are in themselves, necessarily become in some degree refracted, distorted, and obscure, when they enter that dark and gross atmosphere in which we breathe—what then? I presume that no Christian, no Protestant Christian, will deny that if it be possible to propagate pure truth, it must be by the circulation of the Scriptures; and yet, when that is tried—when you circulate the Scriptures, what difficulties are experienced! I remember being in the East, where a translation into the Oriental languages was proceeding with great vigour, munificently assisted by societies in this country, assiduously attended by men whose object was to enlighten the natives of India. The translation was very well executed, but every skilful Orientalist knew that there were errors in it; and every one must acknowledge how impossible it would be to take any particular version of Sacred Truth and say, human infirmity has left no error here—human transcribers are to be detected in no fault. If that be the case even with the Scriptures themselves, how much more will it be the case with the institutes of men!—

how much more with all the machinery they employ with schools and books; for you may send forth teachers and circulate tracts, but neither the one nor the other are inspired. Are your teachers infallible, are your tracts perfect? Look at your own Church! Many persons advocate an addition to the means of religious instruction already existing in this country; will they say that the Church teaches truth without admixture of error? Does both the Church of England and the Church of Scotland teach truth without any admixture of error? or that, though the same in principle, their doctrines and government do in many respects differ. Then, when you endow and protect both these institutions, must you not in one case or the other be disseminating a certain amount of error? Go into either of them which is perfect? Take the Church of Scotland before the late unhappy separation. Will anybody say that there was not a large amount of error within its communion? There were, at one time, Dr. Robertson and Dr. Erskine preaching under the same roof, one in the morning, the other in the afternoon, upon two different systems of doctrine; so different that the admirers of the one thought those of the other fanatics, while they in their turn regarded the former as Arians. Again, is the Church of England one in which no error is to be found? Is not the whole country convulsed with the different doctrines which are taught by its ministers? My hon. Friend the Member for Oxford wants Church extension; he demands a large addition to the Establishment; is it because he thinks no error is taught within the Church? Is it not absolutely certain, that whether those who are called Tractarians or the Evangelical party be in the right, some people get into the pulpits who are very much in the wrong? My hon. Friend himself will say that one or other of these propagates opinions which he holds to be erroneous. It is quite clear, then, that in the Church of England a great deal of error is taught; and if we were to vote one or two millions to increase the endowments of the Church of England, a great proportion must go to the propagation of error. What is the result? My hon. Friend defends his plan of Church extension. The missionary at Serampore defends his translation of the Scriptures, many copies of which he gives away among the native population. But do we propagate error for the sake of propagating error? Far from it. But some alloy must necessarily be mixed with the truth. It is the effect of human infirmity. Therefore the principle which we follow is this: where truth is of such importance and value that it is in the highest degree desirable it should be known, we will not refrain from circulating it in spite of an alloy of error in it by any means in our power. We think it better, in the first place, that the people should be taught some portion of truth than not be taught at all; and, secondly, we do not stand in the way of those who would teach more truth. It is much better that the people of Ireland should be Roman Catholics than have no religion at all. The argument that we might as well contribute to teach the people the worship of Juggernaut and Kalee, is of no force. It is not logically necessary that we should go to the extreme of supporting Juggernaut and Kalee. That which is good and valuable in the Roman Catholic religion is so much out of proportion to that which has nothing at all good and valuable, that it is infinitely better that the Irish peasantry should live and die Roman Catholics, than indulge their passions without any religious restraints, bear the calamities of life without the consolations of religion, and die at last without religious hope. In the course, therefore, which it is now proposed to pursue, we are, I conceive, conducing to their instruction and advantage. Then the question is, Do I stand in the way of anything better? Do I offer an obstacle to the advancement of pure religion? Will that be impeded by giving better instruction to those who are to teach the people? If there is any Gentleman in this House who, after the experience of generations, believes that by withholding this grant to Maynooth College he gives an impulse whereby to bear down the Roman Catholic religion, I think he ought on that ground to vote against the grant; but I find it difficult to imagine, after the experience we have had, that any Gentleman can seriously be of that opinion. These, then, are the considerations that satisfy my mind. I do not aim at propagating error. To do so is not only wrong, but diabolical; but I say that it is of the greatest importance that Christianity, even in a form which I think greatly tainted with error, should prevail in Ireland, and have influence on the peasantry; and seeing not the slightest probability that it would have that influence except in the form of Roman Catholicism, I think we are at liberty to confer this boon in spite of the error which I believe to be mixed up with the Roman Catholic religion. Nay, I think we are bound to provide competent instruction for those who are to teach that religion. Then as to the objection founded on the voluntary principle. I admit that there is great force in that objection; but I say, even if we were to admit the general argument to be in favour of the voluntary principle, that this case forms an exception. Is there any case like it? Here you see Ireland with a population of some eight millions, and with an Established Church the members of which amount only to about 800,000, richly endowed. I recollect that it was stated in the debates of 1833, that among the twelve prelates retained there was divided the sum of 70,000*l.* There is an archbishop with 10,000*l.*, and there are bishops with large emoluments. You have, at the same time, the Protestant Dissenters in the north of Ireland receiving in another form an endowment from the State; and then you have four-fifths of the population—the poorest of all—those who stand the most in need of assistance from the State (if any have a right to it), and who are the very people for whom these endowments were intended by the donors, receiving no aid from the Government in the way of payment of their spiritual teachers. Even if you deny the validity of endowments generally, can you say that this is not a case which stands by itself? and can you apply to it, even if you are opposed to State endowments generally, an argument founded on such an objection? I was quite astonished to hear the hon. Member for Shrewsbury tell us that, if we made this grant, it would be utterly impossible for us to resist the claim of the Wesleyan Methodists and other Dissenters. Are the cases analogous? Is there the slightest resemblance between them? There are 16,000,000 of people in England. Show me that the Wesleyan Methodists number 13,000,000; that there is an Established Church here with 1,500,000 only of persons belonging to it; that the other Dissenters are receiving a *Regium Donum*—add to this that large endowments bequeathed to John Wesley and his followers have been taken away by Parliament and given to the Church, and that the Wesleyan Methodists ask for 26,000*l.* a year to educate their clergy. Give me that case, and I will be prepared to take it into consideration. But you will bring me no such case either from England or the whole world. It is impossible to give it anywhere but Ireland. How could it be? It could not be in England; it could not be in France; nor in Prussia. It could be only in a country in one particular situation; and what I am going to mention is a consideration which reconciles me much to laying on the nation this burden. It could be only in the case of a weak country connected with a more powerful country which had abused its power, and enabled the minority to triumph over the majority. Never but in Ireland, and under the circumstances I have mentioned, did such a case exist; and while these great endowments exist, and are appropriated in a different way from their original intentions, I do not conceive that it is open to me, however strong my general feeling might be on the voluntary principle, to meet the Irish, who ask for 17,000*l.* more for the education of their priests, and say to them, I am on principle opposed to such a grant. Where the grant is to come from remains for an after discussion; the question now is whether it shall be made or not. It appears, therefore, perfectly clear to me, in the first place, that if we have no scruple about granting 9,000*l.*, we can have no conscientious scruple about granting 26,000*l.* In the second place, it seems to me to be impossible to maintain to the full extent that we ought never to contribute to propagate error, without making it impossible for the State or individuals to make exertions to propagate truth; and lastly, it appears to me that the particular circumstances in which the Catholic population of Ireland is placed in reference to the Established Church of that country, do, even supposing the voluntary principle to be generally the sounder principle, take the case of Ireland out of the operation of that sound principle, and constitute it an exception. They make it one of a morbid character, and as it were a *lusus naturæ.* Under such circumstances, I feel convinced that if we were to oppose this grant from any notion of asserting the principles of religious equality, we should only be giving a victory not to the friends of religious liberty, but to those who are the most opposed to religious liberty. These are the chief observations which I have to offer with respect to the measure itself; but another class of considerations has been forced upon our notice. We were called on, upon the first night of this debate, to oppose this measure, whatever its merits might be, because it was brought forward by men who could not justly or honourably bring it forward. A similar argument has been repeated to-night; and I conceive, that on this occasion we may, and ought not from party spirit or vindictive feeling, but from a just regard for the public interest, and for the character of public men, to go into some of the circumstances connected with this matter. Undoubtedly it is of the highest importance that we should pass good laws, but it is also of the highest importance that public men should have some great fixed principles, and that they should be guided by those fixed principles in office and in opposition. It is most important that it should not appear to the world that a mere change of situation produces a complete change of opinion. I think I need not attempt to prove that a particular measure may be exceedingly good, and may yet, when viewed in connexion with the former conduct and opinions of those who bring it forward, be lowered in public estimation. When such is the case, our course is clear. We ought to distinguish between the measure and its authors. The measure we are bound, on account of its intrinsic merits, to support; while with regard to its authors it may be our duty to speak of their conduct in terms of censure. In such terms of censure I feel it my duty to speak of the conduct of Her Majesty's present advisers. I have no feeling of personal hostility; and I trust that the political hostility I shall avow by no means precludes me from admitting that the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government is a man of considerable capabilities as a legislator: he possesses great talents for debate, for the management of this House, and for the transaction of official business. He has great knowledge, and I doubt not is actuated by a sincere desire to promote the interests of the country; but it is impossible for me with truth to deny that there is too much ground for the reproaches of those who having, in spite of bitter experience, a second time trusted him and raised him to power, have found themselves a second time deluded. It is impossible for me not to say that it has been too much the habit of the right hon. Baronet to make use of, when in opposition (as he has done in reference to the present question), passions with which he has not the slightest sympathy, and prejudices which he regards with profound contempt. As soon as he reaches power, a change—a salutary change for the country—takes place. The instruments are flung aside—the ladder by which he climbed is kicked down. This is not a solitary instance, and I am forced to say that this sort of conduct is pursued by the right hon. Baronet on something like a system. I shall not attempt to go over the events of years ago. I shall say nothing more of 1827 and 1829 than this—that one such change is quite enough for one man. Again the right hon. Baronet was in opposition, and again he and those with whom he acted returned to their old tactics. I will not go through the history of all those manœuvres by which the Whig Government was overthrown; I will only ask this question, whether there be one single class of men which rallied round the right hon. Baronet at that time which does not now declare bitterly against him? One part of this subject I will leave to the management of the landed Gentlemen, and I shall confine myself to the matter before us. I defy any man to deny that the cry which most injured the Melbourne Government was the No Popery cry. This was admitted by the hon. Member for Northamptonshire (Mr. O'Brien). Is there a single person in this House who believes that, if four years ago my noble Friend (Lord J. Russell) had brought in this Bill, it would not have been opposed by the whole party then in opposition? Indeed, four years ago we were discussing a very different Bill. At that time the party in opposition brought in a Bill which, though under another name, was neither more nor less than a Bill to disfranchise the people of Ireland by tens of thousands. They brought it in and pressed it on, representing it to be necessary for the good government of Ireland; and all their followers declared that it was necessary it should pass in order to purge the House of Commons of the minions of Popery. It was argued, on the other hand, that that Bill would destroy the Irish constituency, and the right hon. Gentlemen opposite have since shown by their conduct that they knew it would have that effect. We pleaded for delay—we asked the party in opposition to wait till we instituted inquiries as to the effect of the measure—we called on them to wait at least till the next Session. No notice was taken of our appeals; the Irish Registration Bill was stated to be of the utmost urgency, and it was pressed on the House. At length a change took place—a change from opposition to power. The right hon. Baronet's instruments were needed no more. The right hon. Baronet has been in power for four years, and has had a Parliament which would have passed the Irish Registration Bill. Where is the Irish Registration Bill? Flung away, positively pronounced by its authors to be so oppressive and destructive of the representative system that no Minister of the Crown could venture to propose it. That Bill having been thrown away, what has been substituted for it? Why, the present Bill for the endowment of Maynooth College. Did ever person witness such legerdemain? You offer to the eager, honest, hotheaded Protestant, a Bill to take privileges away from the Roman Catholics of Ireland, if he will only assist you to power. He lends you his aid; and then, when you are in power, you turn round on him and give him a Bill for the religious endowment of the Roman Catholic College in Ireland. Is it strange that such proceedings as these should excite indignation? Can we wonder at the clamour which has been raised in the country, or be surprised at the petitions which have been showered, thick as a snow-storm, on the Table of the House? Is it possible that the people out of doors should not feel indignation at seeing that the very parties who, when we were in office, voted against the Maynooth grant, are now being whipped into the House in order to vote for an increased Maynooth grant? The natural consequences follow. Can you wonder that all those fierce spirits whom you have taught to harass us, now turn round and begin to worry you? The Orangeman raises his howl, and Exeter-hall sets up its bray, and Mr. M'Neile is horror-stricken to think that a still larger grant is intended for "the priests of Baal" at the table of "Jezebel;" and your Protestant operatives of Dublin call for the impeachment of the Minister in exceedingly bad English. But what did you expect? Did you think, when you called up for your own purposes the devil of religious animosities, that you could lay him as easily as you raised him? Did you think, when, Session after Session, you went on attacking those whom you knew to be in the right, and flattering the prejudices of those whom you knew to be in the wrong, that the day of reckoning would never come? That day has come; and now, on that day, you are doing penance for the disingenuousness of years. If it be not so, clear your fame as public men, manfully before this House and this country. Show us some clear principle, with respect to Irish affairs, which has guided you, both in office and in opposition. Show us how, if you are honest in 1845, you could have been honest in 1841. Explain to us why, after having, when out of place, goaded Ireland into madness, in order to ingratiate yourselves with England, you are now throwing England into a flame in order to ingratiate yourselves with Ireland. Let us hear some argument that, as Ministers, you are entitled to support, which shall not equally show that you were the most factious and unprincipled Opposition this country ever saw. Sir, these are my opinions respecting the conduct of the Ministry; but am I, therefore, to take the counsel of the hon. Member for Shrewsbury (Mr. Disraeli), and vote against this Bill? Not so. I believe the fate of the Bill, and the fate of the Ministry, to be in our hands; but I believe the spectacle of inconsistency which is exhibited on that Bench will do mischief enough. That mischief will not be lessened, but infinitely increased, if an answering display of inconsistency be made on this side of the House. Admit that the circumstance of this Bill being brought in by Tories or Conservatives, whichever they term themselves, may of itself produce evils, they would be doubled, if it were rejected by means of the Whigs. It seems to me, that then we should have nothing before us but one vast shipwreck of all the public character in the kingdom. And, therefore it is, that though at the cost of sacrifices which it is not agreeable to any man to make, and restraining many feelings that I own stir strongly within me, I have determined to give to this Bill through all its stages my most steady support. To this Bill, and to every Bill emanating from the Government, which shall appear to me calculated to make Great Britain and Ireland one united kingdom, I will give my support, regardless of obloquy—regardless of the risk which I know I run, of losing my seat in Parliament. Obloquy so earned, I shall readily meet. As to my seat in Parliament I will never hold it by an ignominious tenure; and I am sure, that I can never lose it in a more honourable cause.

Mr. *Shaw* said, he felt all the inconvenience and personal disadvantage of offering himself to the attention of the House to answer the able and eloquent speech of the right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down; but regarding rather the strength of the cause, which he earnestly felt, than the feebleness of the advocate, of which he was very conscious, he would not shrink from the encounter. The observations contained in the latter part of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, he did not so far differ from as to consider himself bound to attempt a reply to them. Still it was with extreme regret that he was obliged upon a question of that importance relating to Ireland, to separate himself from those political leaders with whom he had so long and cordially co-operated in public life. He had, however, only the alternative to do that, or to act against his own conscientious convictions; and he was therefore constrained to oppose that measure of Her Majesty's Ministers. He had been in Ireland when a copy of the Bill moved by his right hon. Friend the First Minister of the Crown, and a report of his right hon. Friend's speech on introducing it, had arrived there; and he never recollected an event which had caused such painful disappointment and deep depression amongst the Protestants of Ireland. He was not alluding only to such bodies as those from which the petition emanated, which had been presented on Friday night by the hon Member for Knaresborough (Mr. Ferrand). He believed there were many honest and respectable men in the Association to which he alluded; still he disapproved of their language and their conduct, and in no way professed to represent their sentiments; but he spoke of calm, dispassionate, and reasonable men, many of whom had been the friends of the removal of the disabilities of the Roman Catholics, and all the habitual supporters of his right hon. Friend. They regarded the measure as—what indeed it had been candidly admitted by his right hon. Friend the Member for Newark (Mr. Gladstone) and others, in that debate to be—the first endowment since the Reformation of a Roman Catholic Establishment, in connexion with the State, as a clear indication that thenceforth Ireland was not to be treated as an integral portion of the United Kingdom, and as the heaviest blow that had as yet been struck by foe or friend against the Established Church in Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Macaulay) had challenged an opposition to the measure, on the ground either of a distinction in principle between the former grant to Maynooth, and the present endowment, or upon the religious ground of the difference between truth and error. He would endeavour to meet the right hon. Gentleman on both grounds. He had always considered the comparatively small and uncertain annual grant to the College of Maynooth as a very questionable policy, and principally acquiesced in and let pass, because its discontinuance would have caused individual suffering and pecuniary embarrassment to those whose main support it was. But surely such a chance grant, by way of benevolence as that, was in principle very different from a permanent charge by Act of Parliament upon the Consolidated Fund of a large annual sum of money for supporting, as one of the cherished institutions of the country, a College for the sole and exclusive purpose of teaching the Roman Catholic religion. But he need not argue either that question, or the one of compact. The language of his right hon. Friend (Mr. Gladstone), which he had taken down at the time while his right hon. Friend was advocating the measure, much better expressed what he would desire to say. His right hon. Friend's words were,—

> "The measure is in substance a new measure—the Government, in proposing it, has not only changed the basis of the grant, from an annual grant into a permanent endowment by Act of Parliament, but, by placing the buildings under the immediate care of the Government, thereby certainly established as close a relation as it was possible to establish between that institution and the State by any legislative measure."

In the observations he should make on the subject, he would avoid any approach to what could be properly called theological controversy—and, above all, he trusted he should not utter a word which could give offence to the feelings of any Gentleman in that House, or any person out of it, who differed in religion from him. But, upon a question of such vast constitutional importance as the present—one so vitally affecting the best and highest interests of the public—he felt that every independent man had a right and was bound to speak his sentiments freely and fearlessly. To come then to the religious ground, he utterly repudiated the doctrine — the mawkish fallacy—as it appeared to him, of the hon. Member for Bath (Mr. Roebuck), that in matters of religion States or Parliaments could make no distinction between truth and error; he did not, as had been put by the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Macaulay) claim any infallibility; all human judgment must no doubt be fallible, and, whether States or individuals, they could only act upon what they believed to be truth or error—but upon that they were bound practically to act, else religion would be but an empty sound; and false philosophy, latitudinariasm, and infidelity must usurp its place in all the relations of public, social, and domestic life. The hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Roebuck) professed contempt for arguments drawn from that source, he (Mr. Roebuck) said, they eluded the grasp of his understanding. It might be so—it always had been with the worldly wise; and upon the highest authority they learned that it was not to "the scribe, or the disputer of this world," that these simple matters were made the plainest; but depend upon it, the common sense and religious feeling of the community had no difficulty in comprehending them. Was it for Englishmen at that day to deny that laws or constitutions could take distinctions in religion? If so, why was it an essential condition of the reigning dynasty that the Sovereign of these realms must be a Protestant? Why was the Prostestant religion by law established in every portion of the United Kingdom? He had been truly grieved to hear his right hon. Friend (Mr. Gladstone) make use of the expression "that undefined thing indicated by the term Protestantism." True—lamentably true, it was that recently some of those whom they considered should have been the foremost to defend it, had disowned and tried to depreciate the term. He would attempt no nice or logical definition of it, with so subtle a casuist as his right hon. Friend (Mr. Gladstone); but he thanked God that the name of Protestant was still intelligible in its plain and natural sense to the understandings, and dear to the hearts of the people of England; and sure he was, that if the day should arrive, when from any cause, be it the Romanism of their ecclesiastics, or the want of fixed principles in their political rulers—the feelings and affections of the people should be so estranged from the Church, and their confidence so shaken in all Governments, that they should forget the true meaning and forsake the cause of Protestantism; then did he believe in his soul, that their days, as a great nation, would be numbered, and the glory of England have departed for ever. He held the true principle, the most consistent with sound Christianity, and the free spirit of the British constitution to be, that you should not, for conscience sake, persecute what you believe to be error; but that, on the other hand, you should not encourage it. Upon that principle he should not have objected to any relaxation of the Mortmain Acts for the purpose of permitting a sufficient endowment by such individuals, Roman Catholics or others, who might think right to make it for a Roman Catholic college; and that was what had really been done by the Irish Parliament in 1795. But he thought to establish the College of Maynooth as one of the institutions of that essentially Protestant nation, was a national inconsistency—indeed he might say, a national sin. Reference had been made to the analogy of landlords and their tenants; he considered the same principle applicable to them, and that a landed proprietor should give to his Roman Catholic tenantry every facility for the free exercise of their religion; but that he should not encourage, by grant or gift, what they knew he considered erroneous So, in the case of individuals, he would take as a simple illustration of his meaning the feeling that should subsist between two friends who were of different religious persuasions; for example, he would say, his hon. Friend opposite the Member for Roscommon (the O'Conor Don) who had spoken that night, and himself—his hon. Friend differed from him as well in politics as in religion, still he could feel respect for the motives which influenced his hon. Friend in his public life; he could appreciate his private and domestic virtues; he knew no man in whose hands he would more willingly place his honour or his life; he would not deprive him of a single civil right to which he himself (Mr. Shaw) was entitled. His right hon. Friend (Mr. Gladstone) had said, "Act by the Roman Catholic as you would have the Roman Catholic act by you." He (Mr. Shaw) would do so. Differing as he and his hon. Friend (the O'Conor Don) did in religion, both must necessarily believe the other to be in error; and he did not think they would be the better friends, or the more respect one another, if they either, or mutually, were to take active measures for teaching or encouraging the religion which they thought erroneous. On the contrary, in such a case he should consider his Friend, or expect his Friend to consider him, as the case might be, either insincere in his faith, or inconsistent in his conduct. But the reverse of that principle was what was now acted upon in Ireland. The Established Religion was discouraged, while in the same proportion the antagonist religion of Rome was encouraged. At the time that the incomes of their own clergy were so reduced from composition with the landlords, the transfer to them, the clergy, of the whole burden of the church rates, the increase of poor law and other local burdens, that the great majority of them found it impossible to give an university education to their sons; and while they would most have desired to bring them up to the ministry, were driven to seek for them the humblest situations consistent with the birth of a gentleman, they are now to see the clergy of the rival church, educated at the national expense. The same preference was evinced on the subject of education of the lower orders. He was not about to enter then upon any discussion of the system of the National Board of Education in Ireland. The facts of the subject were sufficient for his present purpose; and it was notoriously the fact, that the clergy of the Church in Ireland were, as a body, opposed to that system—that the vast majority of them were prevented by conscientious scruples—whether hon. Gentlemen thought them right or wrong was not the question—they were, in fact, prevented from connecting their schools with the Board. They considered the Roman Catholic doctrine as to the exclusion of the Scriptures sanctioned, and the Protestant principle of their sufficiency and freedom, repudiated; and they knew that virtually the 70,000*l.* a year granted by Parliament for the support of education in Ireland, or the great proportion of it, was expended on Roman Catholic education. There was, moreover, another characteristic common to both measures to that then before the House and to the course of the Government on national education in Ireland — namely, they dealt with Ireland not as an essential portion of the United Kingdom, but separately and differently, and that was the more remarkable in the case of the Established Church, which was identical in both. The Government refused to grant to the Church in Ireland the very moderate request, that leaving the National Board in existence, they should have allowed the Irish branch of the Church to be united with the English, in participation of the bounty of Parliament, for education in the principles of the Church; and respecting the scruples, or principles, or prejudices—call them what you will—of all the religious sects in Ireland dissenting from the Church, they utterly disregarded those of the members of the Church Establishment; and nearly 20,000 schools, and above 100,000 scholars, under the superintendence of the clergy of the Established Church, were left totally without public support, and an additional burden on the already overtaxed incomes of the clergy. Further, while a provision was to be made by that Bill for the building and repairs of the College of Maynooth, by a public board and at the public cost, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners were every day refusing applications for the building and repairs of the Churches of the Establishment, from the inadequacy of funds to comply with them. These things were not unobserved, and could not be unfelt. All persons inquired what had been the motive, where the inducement to the Government for such a departure from sound principle, so great a violation of the religious feelings of the great Protestant community of the Empire—and that it was the latter had been admitted by his right hon. Friend (Mr. Gladstone), and was attested by the almost unprecedented number of petitions that nightly crowded the Table of the House against it, while, he believed, none, or scarcely any, had been presented in its favour. There had, indeed, been one from the Unitarian Dissenters of Ireland, sent as a token of gratitude to his right hon. Friend (Sir R. Peel) for the Dissenters Chapels Bill of last year. Nothing that could be called in answer to that inquiry had been attempted, unless it was, and he feared it was the nearest the truth, what had been quoted in derision by his right hon. Friend (Mr. Gladstone) from one of the last speeches of Mr. O'Connell, where, in his own peculiar and colloquial style, he had exclaimed, "I thank you, agitation; Conciliation Hall, I am obliged to you; Repeal, Maynooth ought to pray for you." His right hon. Friend (Mr. Gladstone) must forgive him for saying, that while he entertained the most unfeigned respect for the perfect purity of his right hon. Friend's motives, yet, that having listened attentively to his two speeches on the subject, it was to him utterly imcomprehensible why his right hon. Friend had separated from his former Colleagues. But considering his relation to them, his right hon. Friend had made one very ominous remark in supporting the measure, namely, that he thought it chiefly "important on account of the principle it involved." He was of the same opinion. It had been fairly and boldly asserted at the other side of the House to what that principle would naturally lead. It had been but very faintly shadowed forth on the part of the Government where thsy intended it to end. They went too far, or not far enough. They would excite fears and distrust amongst the Protestants of Ireland, which it would be very difficult to allay, and hopes amongst the Roman Catholics which he did not believe the Government meant to realize. He had observed with regret the arguments used in favour of the measure by a reference to our Colonies—that was a dangerous topic. There were few thinking-men, well acquainted with Ireland, without out distinction of politics or party, to whose mind it had not occurred, and never more than within the last few years, that Ireland had been treated more as a Colonial dependency than as an integral portion of the United Kingdom—too long had one party in that country been played against the other—had "*Divide et impera*" been the Anglo-Irish motto—and though, theretofore, it had been the party of the Government against their opponents, he could not see that in principle the matter was much mended by the present Government playing the party of their opponents against their own. Alas! political feuds, religious and personal animosities, had separated the interests and distracted the minds of Irishmen of all parties; they had not, however, so entirely blinded the more moderate and clear-sighted of both, but that they began to perceive the ill consequences of such a system. The national character had been injured—an independent public spirit was well nigh extinguished from amongst them—their unpolitical business—their material interests—their natural resources—their Poor Laws, for example—their local burdens, their public institutions were really neglected. Their professions were lowered—their honour, and the public interests of Ireland sacrificed to considerations of imperial policy—their highest offices filled by strangers, unacquainted with the habits, the wants, or the feelings of the country. The office of Lord Lieutenant had ceased as a mere pageant to dazzle them—and they began to look upon upon the so-called Irish Government as a mockery—the Castle of Dublin as little better than a registration court for the behests of the Home Office at Whitehall. At such a crisis, if the Irish were to lose the pride of their nationality, and not gain the advantage of identification with British interests—if, while the masses of the Irish people were struggling for a separate Parliament, the majority in wealth, education, and influence were made at the same time to tremble for their branch of the United Church—then let the British Government and the Imperial Legislature beware, lest they should find the Irish nation for the first time united—but united in a spirit of general discontent. For those reasons, and many others which time would not then admit that he should even touch upon—and he thanked the House for the kindness and attention with which they had listened to him so long—he would support the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle (Mr. Colquhoun), for the entire rejection of the Bill.

Mr. *Sidney Herbert* hoped, after the two speeches which had just been addressed to the House, it would not be thought presumptuous in him to endeavour to offer a few observations not only in answer to some portions of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Edinburgh, in which he diverged from the question before the House, but also in answer to the speech of the right hon. and learned Gentleman who had just resumed his seat; in which he had come to some conclusions both with respect to the measures of the Government generally, and more particularly with respect to the provisions of the measure now before the House. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Macaulay) in a speech, like all his speeches, distinguished for its splendid eloquence and powerful argument, had adduced many reasons, while he had passed over and rejected many other reasons, which to his (Mr. S. Herbert's) mind were very cogent ones for passing the measure before the House. He had proved to demonstration that in this question no principle was involved. Nothing could be more clear than the exposition which the right hon. Gentleman made of a grant to a country having a certain established religion; and that if, for the last fifty years, you had annually expended a grant for the support of that religion, the mere arithmetical operation of multiplying that sum by three was no alteration of the principle whatever. Agreeing with the right hon. Gentleman that this was no new principle, he wished to know by what right he subsequently assumed that this Bill was a great violation of principle, and involved the character of the Government —if it were true, as he believed it to be—as the hon. Member for Edinburgh had stated it to be—that it was only carrying out an implied contract at the time of the Union. He did not assert that there existed any legal instrument constituting that contract. All he argued was, that this measure originated in a Parliament of Ireland exclusively Protestant; that it was suggested by Mr. Burke, adopted by Mr. Pitt, and sanctioned by George III.; that it did become a condition, whether written or implied, upon the settlement of the Union taking place; that, recognised by the Imperial Parliament, voted, modified, and increased by Mr. Perceval, it is still binding on those who would maintain that Union. If, then, this be no question of principle, he wished to know upon what ground it was that the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Macaulay) arraigned Her Majesty's Government for having deserted the principles they had before expressed upon this question. When he saw a measure, of which the right hon. Gentleman himself approved, giving rise to so fierce an attack upon the motives of the Government bringing it forward, he could not help thinking that there was some under current which carried the right hon. Gentleman in that direction; some feeling of chagrin in his mind, probably at being outdone in well-doing by that Government whom the right hon. Gentleman had so boldly charged with a dereliction of principle for the course they had taken. If the right hon. Gentleman only took the trouble to look back, he would see that he had no ground to accuse the Ministers of a dereliction of their duty. He would see that they had voted every year, when in Opposition, for the grant in question. From whom did the main opposition come? It came, not from the constituencies who had elected them as their Representatives, but from the great Dissenting interest. ["No, no."] The right hon. Gentleman was very much mistaken if he believed that the change in opinion respecting the eligibility of the Roman Catholics to a better position than they had enjoyed was confined solely to himself. On the contrary, the conduct of the present Government might contrast most favourably with that Government to which the right hon. Gentleman belonged, which in the ten years it had governed had confined itself to small peddling spoliation of the Appropriation Clause. When they looked to the state in which they found the Roman Catholics placed by means of their legislation, they saw that of all their penal laws the one which had been most successful was also that which had been most injurious to the interests of those who enacted them; that by destroying the old Catholic families they had deprived the people of Ireland of their natural leaders and protectors, and the result had been that they had thrown the Catholic population upon a body of men for leaders who had no direct stake in the country; that there was no class of men with whom the Government could treat free from the prejudices of the people; and that those people were necessarily, for their temporal as well as their spiritual guidance, cast upon the priesthood of the country. If that was the case, and if it existed in no other country as it did in Ireland, he would ask them whether it was not the duty of the State to see that these teachers of the people should themselves receive a liberal and enlightened education, through which alone they might reach the hearts of the people? Hon. Gentlemen had taken a course against this measure which he could not understand. The hon. Member for Newcastle had made what to his mind was the strongest speech that had been delivered in favour of the grant. All his arguments tended to show that it was to education they were to look for the improvement of the Irish people. All the instances he quoted in favour of his views were from countries where they had liberally and munificently endowed Roman Catholic colleges. All the objection he made to the scheme was, that it did not go far enough. No Gentleman had proposed that the grant should be at once given up, and that the Roman Catholic students should, as formerly, be forced to go, a spectacle to Europe, and a disgrace to this country, to seek in foreign lands for that education which was denied them at home. The hon. Baronet the Member for the University of Oxford took up arguments the reverse of the hon. Member for Newcastle. He was afraid that the land would be covered with priests educated according to the principles of Bellarmine. That was an alarm in which he confessed he did not share. He protested against going back to the sixteenth century for the principles of any modern creed. The doctrines the hon. Baronet objected to were not peculiar to Bellarmine; they were held also by many Protestants at the same period. But if they were to have Bellarmines and Bossuets, why should they not also have Pascals and Fenelons? What was there in Ireland to prevent that which took place in other countries—that which took place in this country—their laws and institutions were the same; there was nothing to divide them but the geographical misfortune of the Irish Channel: and the bearing and liberality of the English Roman Catholic clergy were known to all? What was there to prevent the same improvement taking place in Ireland, and to prevent the Irish Roman Catholic clergy becoming as liberal as those of any other country? They had been told that night, as an ominous warning, that the measure would not be efficient to the extent it was supposed: he was, indeed, fully prepared next year, or in years to come, to be taunted with the non-success of this measure. He was not one who would expect peace and civilization at once to spring up as under the wand of an enchanter to cure all the evils of pursuing a policy in Ireland which he thought ought long ago to have been changed. A new generation must first spring up with new sentiments and opinions. All bad laws long leave their effects behind them—good laws do not immediately produce their fruits. He did, however, anticipate much good from this measure, though it might be in the distance of time; and he had been anxious to address the House because the measure was in strict accordance with what he always thought should be the policy adopted in Ireland, and he had done the utmost of his power to give his humble support to it. However this great cause might suffer from his inefficiency as an advocate, he was anxious to partake of any unpopularity that might attend its introduction; and of the responsibility, whether for good or for evil, he was ready to take his full share. He was not one who thought with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Shaw), that the independent spirit of the Irish had been destroyed by the present Government. He did not know what the right hon. Gentleman meant, unless it were the vigorous and independent spirit by which each party lived in perpetual hostility to the other; and if that feeling had been sacrificed, as the right hon. Gentleman said it had, to an imperial policy, he asked no more flattering admission, he asked for the Government no greater merit than that they had sacrificed, to an imperial policy, this vigorous and independent mode of displaying national antipathies and religious hatred. But he hoped that there were better signs. No one could have heard the discussion of the past two nights without being struck with the altered tone in that House. Hon. Gentlemen who represented constituencies amongst whom there was much excitement, and whose opinions on this subject they advocated, had to their great honour, as far as language was concerned, represented them most unfaithfully. He had seen in the course of that debate signs of enlarged and comprehensive views: differences were not placed prominently forward; and men thought themselves better employed in dwelling on those points of agreement in the doctrines on which their common salvation depended, than in insisting on and condemning every point of difference. He respected the Roman Catholics, not because they were Roman Catholics, but because they were fellow-Christians. If he were right in thinking that this feeling had gained ground in England and in Ireland, he trusted that Her Majesty's Government would receive from the Irish gentry—even from those who were opposed to this measure—that co-operation without which no legislation could have effect in inducing a spirit of harmony. There were the seeds of danger in all countries from religious differences, and there was danger in the differences between wealth and poverty; but there was still greater danger where the same classes who differed in religion differed also in social position. In Ireland there was one broad line dividing at once races, classes, and religion. This is no case of "let well alone," for there was no "well" in the case. There was here no question whether the prosperity and happiness of the people existed in consequence or in spite of particular circumstances. They all agreed that Ireland was in a state in which something must be done; and he called upon all Irish gentlemen to place themselves in their true position—as the natural leaders of the people, from which religion, and religion alone, had severed them. He had witnessed, last year, and he was greatly gratified with the result of the Charitable Bequests Bill brought in by the Government. He believed that it was one of the best measures that could have been devised for the purpose of bringing endowments to the Roman Catholic Church. Having always held it to be his duty as a landlord to assist in the maintenance of chapels and schools for the Roman Catholic population; so, on the same principle, he had thought it his duty, however it might expose him to calumny, to have advances made for the purpose of endowment in each parish of his estates. He had offered his opinions to the House, because he felt a deep interest in this measure, than which he did not know any the loss of which he should more regret. There was no measure the loss of which would cause more disappointment, and therefore hostility to the Government in Ireland than the loss of this. But he did not, therefore, ask Gentlemen to support it if they thought it wrong. He had only desired to express his firm conviction that the danger of refusing to pass it would be great, in proportion as it was a measure sound in policy, and acceptable to the priesthood, upon the success of which so much depended the education and enlightenment of the people of Ireland.

Debate again adjourned.

House adjourned at half-past twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, April 15, 1845.

Minutes.] *Took the Oaths.*—The Earl of Waldegrave.

Bills *Public.* — *Reported.* — Mutiny; Marine Mutiny; Customs (Export Duties); Glass Duties.

Private.—1ª· Fisher Lane (Greenwich) Improvement.

2ª· Thames Navigation Debt.

Reported.—Sparrow's Herne Road.

3ª· and passed:—Boileau's Divorce; Calvert's Estate.

Petitions Presented. By Bishops of Winchester and Salisbury, Earls of Enniskillen, Rosebery, and Wicklow, Marquess of Normanby, and Lords Kenyon, Campbell, and Redesdale, from Incumbent and others of Shirley, and several other places, against Increase of Grant to Maynooth College.—By Bishop of Salisbury, and Earl Powis, from Clergy and others of Wilts, Clun, Wells, and Flint, against Union of St. Asaph and Bangor.—From Clergy and others of Frome, and 4 other places, against Union of St. Asaph and Bangor, but in favour of the Appointment of a Bishop to the See of Manchester,—By Bishop of Winchester, from Shrewsbury, and 4 other places, for the better Observance of the Sabbath.—From Free North Church, Stirling, for the Abolition of Religious Tests in Scotch Universities.—By Earl of Rosebery, from Caithness, against any Alteration in the present Laws relating to Banking (Scotland); and from Members of the Presbytery of Stirling and Tain, for Improving the Condition of Schoolmasters (Scotland).—From Clergy and others of Ludlow, for Alteration of Law relating to the Rating of Tithes.—From Armagh, and several other places, for the Encouragement of Schools in connexion with Church Education Society (Ireland).—From Shirley, and 3 other places, for the better Regulation of Beer Houses.

Railways.] Lord *Brougham* rose to call the attention of the House to the Standing Orders with respect to Railways. He was anxious, in the first place, to remind the House of the two main points to which he called its attention when the subject was last before the House. He meant the vast and unprecedented, and almost incalculable extent of projects for railroads and other similar undertakings by means of private speculation. These undertakings led to constant interference with the private property of individuals not less than they promoted that hurtful spirit of speculation, which he would call a gambling frenzy, which had seized the people of this country. This was not unexampled, for a similar state of things occured twenty years ago, and also about a century ago in this country, as well as previously in a neighbouring country; and he need hardly allude to the disastrous results and wide spread ruin that followed on each of these occasions. Before, however, he proceeded further he would present a petition which had been entrusted to him, praying for protection at the hands of that House. It was the petition of a noble lady, who was the proprietor of a family estate in the county of Somerset, which had descended to her by inheritance. This lady was the daughter of a noble Earl who was well known to that House, and who for a great number of years held some of the highest offices of the State. The Petition was from the right hon. Lady Cecily Jane Georgiana Fane, daughter of the late Earl of Westmoreland, and sister of the present Earl. The statement of the facts of the case, which were before him, were not drawn up by a man of business, but by the lady herself, and he believed that the statement was perfectly accurate. The Petitioner stated that under the will of her father she had become possessed of an ancient mansion in Somersetshire, of great beauty, built by Inigo Jones, with pleasure grounds to correspond, and in the midst of her estate, and to the possession of which she succeeded her father and grandfather. About the middle of last December she was informed that it was intended to carry a railway through her estate; but she could not learn until the 4th of January in what direction, when she heard that the plan and map of the line were deposited with the parish clerk. She then found that this railway would go through the heart of her estate, and would make a new arrangement of the farms on it necessary. In addition to this, the line ran within a quarter of a mile of the front of her mansion, and cut through an avenue of old oaks. She also stated that on the 25th or 26th of January, the agent of the company called upon her, and showed her the plan and map of the railway, and stated that there could be no deviation from the line laid down on it for more than 100 yards. The petitioner expressed her dislike to the vicinity of the railroad to her residence, and said that she should oppose the line if it was not removed to a greater distance from her house, and she then referred the party to her solicitor. On leaving her, the agent called upon one of her tenants, and asked him to sign a paper in favour of it; but the tenant objected, on the ground, he believed, that the petitioner was opposed to it; but the agent assured him that so far from her ladyship being averse to it, she had declared in favour of it, and thus he induced this party to sign the paper. The agent then went to other tenants of the petitioner, and stated that it was her wish that they should sign the paper; they, however, were dissentients to the proposed line, and declined to do so. Now, he asked, after this whether any one could be said to have secure possession of his property? When this agent also went to the petitioner's solicitor, and when he was told of her objection to the vicinity of such a nuisance as a railroad to her residence, the agent replied—"Oh, we are accustomed to this kind of observation; but she, like other persons, will soon get used to it." In addition to this, on being asked what compensation was intended to be made, the reply was, that the company did not intend to enter into any arrangement for compensation until the Bill had passed. The agent also stated that if she did not give her assent she would see whether it would not tell against her; and it would be found that those who opposed the railroad would be the worst treated. Such was the treatment on the part of these railway companies, as if the possessors of property were to be regularly ousted from it. Under such a state of circumstances, the petitioner flung herself on the protection of their Lordships, as well on her own part as on that of several of her neighbours, many of whose residences were considerably within a quarter of a mile of the proposed railway. He had also before him the petition of one who did not happen to be rich, but whose case most strongly called for the protection of that House. It was the petition of John Hartnell, market gardener and nurseryman, near Yeovil, Somersetshire. This person gave 500*l.* for a piece of land, which he cultivated as nursery grounds, and the railway was proposed to be cut right through the centre of it. This man had no means to oppose the Bill; he could not afford to employ an agent or solicitor before the Committee on the Bill, as he had no money to contest with a company with half a million of capital. The result, therefore, to him must be entire ruin. This petitioner also stated that when his attention was called to the subject, he asked what remuneration he was to receive, and he was told in reply that the company would not listen to any application of that kind until they had got their Bill. These two petitions would fitly preface the few remarks he (Lord Brougham) intended to make. Of course, he was not so extravagant as to advocate a general, absolute, and unqualified negation of all applications by undertakers desirous to carry on public works, which, useful in the first instance to themselves, might nevertheless be most beneficial to the community, not perhaps when proceeding to the extent at present proposed, but still to a considerable extent. He could not help thinking, however, that this had become a subject no longer of local and limited, but altogether of public, general, and national importance. He blamed no Government, neither the present nor the last, nor its predecessor, for not having betimes become awake to this view, because the evil had gradually arisen from small beginnings, and no Government could be expected, by the spirit of prophecy, to have foreseen the great and national aspect it was to wear; but now that it was so, it became the bounden duty of the Government (meaning thereby not the Railway Board, but Parliament, the body in which the Government of the country practically resided) to treat it as of general and national concern, as it had been treated in France. Besides the 130 or 140 railways already existing, all having their origin within the last few years (and he found the prices of the shares of that number quoted in the public lists), there were now to be 244 more, and the whole communication of the country was to be carried on by these bodies, and the land cut up into roads by them. This was all very proper, provided it was done with due caution, fit circumspection, and under proper checks; nor was he any enemy to a railway bill, any more than a bill for a canal, a dock, a road, or an inclosure, all of which more or less interfered with the rights of private property; but in legislating, not in the case of one or two bills now and then, but passing between 200 and 300 in one Session, there must be imminent risk, without meaning it, *per incuriam*, of doing the most grievous injury to individuals. The law of England would not allow one square foot of a man's ground to be touched by any one without the owner's leave; and so delicate was our law, that a person standing in the public road became a trespasser if he but put his hand across the fence, so that it should be above the neighbouring close. When "the grand alliance" in the north, the coal-owners, wanted a way-leave, they had to bargain with the owner of the soil, and could not compel him to part with it, though the effect of their having it might be to enable them to sell coals cheaper in London; and when Sir Hugh Myddelton brought the New River to London—a project nearly as useful as a railway (he supposed he must not say quite so, for fear of being thought disrespectful to these companies), he was not armed with those extreme and tyrannical powers which the railway companies had for asking, making in effect whatever compensation they chose, for juries would not now give more than the company's offer; and accordingly Sir Hugh had to take a meandering course, just as he could buy the land. It made water dearer; but of the two evils it was by far the least that a company should be put to inconvenience, and have to pay double or treble what they ought (though it was the occurrence of such cases that had made a reaction in favour of the companies), than that violence should be done to the rights of private property, and men be compelled to sell their land at a price fixed without their consent. It was the first instance in the history of civilization in which persons were not permitted to assent to, or dissent from, the sale of their property as they chose, or in which the Parliament interfered to enable others, who were their customers in the market, to take property against the consent of the owners. He believed the interests of the community would be best preserved by providing that such powers of interfering with the rights of property should, so far from being the rule, as was the case at present, be made only the exception. A period had arrived when it was absolutely necessary, for the protection of the public, that Parliament should interfere in this matter. The rule at present was, that when a sufficient number of persons, with a long purse between them, petitioned Parliament for a Railway Bill in their favour, all these exorbitant powers were included as a matter of course in their demand. The application for the Bill implied that they expected that all men whose land they wished to purchase should be compelled to look to the decision of a jury alone as their only resource, and should be obliged to accept of any award that might thus be offered to them. He wished to see such an arbitrary power given as the exception, and not as the general rule. If his view were adopted, the worst that could happen in nine cases out of ten would be that the company would have to wait for a year, or perhaps for two years, until they could make terms with the parties; but he thought even that delay would be preferable to a violent and oppressive compulsory seizure of any man's property at a valuation. They were told that there were guards for the rights of private property in the two Houses of Parliament, and in the Standing Orders, with which all companies were obliged to comply. He would warn their Lordships, however, not to place too much faith in the efficiency of the Standing Orders Committees of the other House. He would, with great respect, warn their Lordships against thinking that those Committees were invaluable bodies, or that they were by possibility enabled, with such a vast number of Railway Bills before them, to report whether the Standing Orders had been complied with in each case or not; and if they were not complied with, they were in reality a mere nullity. He would warn their Lordships against thinking that these Standing Orders Committees were of infinite industry. He would warn them against thinking rashly that these Committees were of incalculable and extraordinary diligence in transacting business. He would warn their Lordships not to think for a moment that these Committees were of any considerable diligence whatever. He would warn their Lordships not to believe that in every instance the Committees took any trouble at all about the matters that were submitted for their consideration. They were told that in cases where parties were too poor to come before Parliament to oppose railway companies, they might safely trust to the Standing Orders; but here was an occurrence that had recently taken place elsewhere, and that was avowed with an immensity of courage, and he would add, with an immensity of honesty on the part of one of the Standing Orders Committees. They admitted that they were not in the habit of looking to the clauses of the Bills submitted to them; but that they merely read the marginal note and the index. But the margin was no part of an Act of Parliament, it was no part of a Bill, and if any railway company chose to insert a clause in their Bill, which they might be certain would not pass through the Committee, they had only to take care not to allude to it in the margin, and they might then rest assured that it would pass without observation. It was not denied that in the case of one Railway Bill, lately alluded to in the other House of Parliament, this very course had been adopted. A clause was inserted in the Bill that all the owners of soil or land, or of gravel pits, or of coal pits, or of mines, or of chalk pits, within five miles of the railway, might have leave to go through any man's property lying between such pits or mines and the railway, on paying for the actual damage done by them, without any allowance being made for the right of way. That clause passed with the Bill through the Standing Orders Committee, and it came out afterwards in the House that the Committee had never looked at the clauses, but had merely glanced over the margin and the index. The consequence of this discovery was, that the second reading of the Bill was postponed, and the Bill was referred back to the Committee, where he did not know what fate awaited it. That was a case that had actually occurred. There were two very great grievances in connexion with these Railway Bills, to which he wished more particularly to allude. One of these was the power of deviation that was allowed for 100 yards on either side of the proposed line. That left the company 200 yards, or nearly the one-eighth of a mile, in which they might diverge; it was no wonder that with such a power persons circumstanced like the noble lady, whose petition he had that evening presented, should be told by the company that they had better be quiet and make no attempt at opposition, or else they would be treated so much the worse. It was the Legislature gave power to the company to make such a threat. If that noble lady petitioned against the company, the threat was ready—to go 100 yards nearer to her residence; whereas if she remained quiet they might remove the line 200 yards farther from her. There were many other minor grievances which he would not delay their Lordships by referring to; but he would beg to ask the most zealous defender of railways, what possible ground could be assigned for these companies not being prepared to state exactly what line they wished to take? Those jobbers or speculators, should be made to tell exactly what it was they wanted; and he for one certainly would not give them liberty of altering their lines more than twenty yards either way from their proposed course. Another power to which he totally objected was that conferred upon them of taking materials wherever they wished without the consent of the owner, on paying the amount of the damage actually done, and not the value of the commodity, as settled between the two parties in the market, as would be the case in all other instances. But, he would ask, was his property to be taken under such circumstances without his consent? Was he to have a man come to him and offer him some 5*l.* 3*s.* 6½*d.* for digging a gravel pit in the centre of his lawn? Such a transaction should be settled by the voluntary will of the seller, instead of being the act of the buyer alone. Another hardship of which he complained was, that unless the railway passed over a man's property, he could be entitled to no compensation whatever, no matter what loss he might be subjected to by having it near his residence. He would mention a case of this kind that came under his own knowledge. Certain parties were in treaty for the possession of a handsome villa. The situation was approved of, and the apartments admired, but on accidentally opening a window it was discovered that a railway passed as near the house as he was to his noble Friend opposite. It was at once said that the villa would not do, and that there was an end to the arrangements about the purchase of it. The reply was: "That is what every one says who has come to take the house for the last year; nobody will become the tenant of a house so near a railway." "But," said they, "you must have been very handsomely remunerated by the railway company for the injury done your property." "On the contrary," said the owner, "we have got nothing, as the bound of our property lies just along the railway." Thus was a villa, which produced some 300*l.* or 400*l.* a year, utterly ruined, because nobody would pay that rent for a house close to a railway; though it appeared that the companies thought, as in the case of the noble lady whose petition he had read to the House, that it was the common lot of humanity to live close to railways, and that all should, therefore, learn to accustom themselves to it. After observing that a remark which he had made, in allusion to an individual whose name he had not mentioned, when he had on a former day introduced this subject before the House, had been erroneously supposed by a respectable gentleman in Yorkshire to have applied to himself, the noble Lord continued to say, that he had devised two Standing Orders, which he would take the liberty, with the permission of the House, of laying on their Lordships' Table, with the intention of moving their adoption on a future day. One of these would require a statement to be laid before the House of the number of furlongs and rods over which the projected railway would pass, for which the consent of the owners or proprietors had not been obtained. He was aware that under the existing rules they might, out of the mass of evidence laid before them, collect the Return which he required; but what he required was, that they should have, within a very small compass, and under their immediate view, the extent of the property required to be taken by the company belonging to persons who were opposed to the construction of the railway. He would also require that the height of the railway works above the surface of the ground should be specified in each case. This also, he was aware, could be collected out of the general mass of documents; but he wished to have it distinctly shown in a collected shape, and in a narrow compass, within what distance of A. B.'s house, and to what height above the surface of the ground, was to be erected that greatest of all nuisances—a railway. The other Standing Order which he had prepared, would require information that could not be all collected under the existing Orders. It would apply to the last grievance to which he had alluded—namely, that of the injury done by railways in passing, not over property, but near property. He would have a compendium, showing the number of houses within 300 yards of the intended line of railway, or any other distance that might be thought advisable. He was not one of those who would regret any difficulties which these Orders would place in the way of the railway schemes that would be brought before the House. He need not again repeat the reasons which induced him to feel firmly persuaded that railway speculations were going a vast deal too far—that the frenzy of speculation—for he could call it by no other name—was spreading far and wide, and that he much feared a reaction, more or less extended in its ravages, would take place in the internal commerce and in the money market of the country. He held t to be a duty due to their Lordships, and o the other House of Parliament, to bring this subject under their notice; and through them to address his fellow-subjects generally on the dangers to which they exposed themselves by engaging in these speculations. He held it to be equally the duty of all good citizens to use similar words of caution; and, in particular, he thought it to be the duty of those in whose hands rested the management of the press of the country—he meant the newspaper and periodical press—to give timely and sufficient warning to the community; and, above all, to those individuals whom the frenzy of speculation was now betraying to ruin. With these views, he would beg leave to read to their Lordships some facts that he had extracted from the Report of the Committee of the other House of Parliament that sat in 1843 or 1844. If in the years 1837 or 1838, and still more, ten years earlier, when railways were in their infancy, the promoters of the lines thus commenced were told they would get only 5 per cent., or even 6 or 7 per cent. profit on the capital expended in their construction, they would laugh at the assertion as an absurdity, as they satisfied themselves that they would never make less than 15 or 20 per cent. on the capital invested. But were these anticipations realized? He had now before him, from the Report of the Committee to which he had alluded, the per centage paid on 32,000,000*l.* sterling worth of shares. He spoke of the original prices of the shares, without making any account for the premiums at which, no doubt, many of the shares were purchased—the rule being to get the shares up to a premium in the first instance, if possible—and, therefore, it was likely that the capital paid on the shares to which he was about drawing attention, instead of being 32,000,000*l.*, approached, most probably, nearer to 42,000,000*l.* sterling. Taking, then, the amount at 32,000,000*l.*, and excluding all the schemes which were not successful and paid no dividends, he found that the average interest paid on that capital, so far from being 20 per cent., as was hoped by some, or 15 per cent., which with the utmost difficulty others thought might be the lowest amount of the dividends coming to them, or even 10 per cent., was actually as low as 5¾ per cent. on the average of the entire 32,000,000*l.* But if that was the rate on the average of the entire amount, what was the result in the case of the possessors of shares to the extent of 16,000,000*l.*, or half the gross sum? These, instead of getting 5¾ per cent., got less than 5 per cent.—as much as they would have received from lending their money to a good bill broker, or on a mortgage on a small property. But taking 6,500,000*l.* of the amount—a very large sum, and enough in itself to ruin whole counties, if lost—the average interest was but 3 per cent., or less than would have been obtained by embarking the amount in the Three-and-a-Half per Cent. Consolidated Annuities. But there was a still lower scale of profit—a degree of ruin still greater. If any of these speculators had been told their profits would be less than 2 per cent. on the capital embarked, they would, he believed, have gone into fits. The assertion would have been met by the silent contempt of the males, and by hysterics among the female speculators; but yet 2,000,000*l.* of the capital embarked in these speculations paid less than 2 per cent. But take the matter in another view. There were, in the list of shares, some eighty or ninety of these speculations; out of which no less than twelve paid no dividend at all, while twelve more paid only 1*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* per cent. When the railway jobber came to a maiden lady or a widow lady having some 5,000*l.* or 6,000*l.*, or to a poor clergyman who had a small sum, saved, perhaps, to prevent his daughters being thrown upon the parish after his death, he said, "Oh, you will never be called upon to pay more than 5 per cent., or, at the outside, 10 per cent. on the number of shares taken; and then the shares will be sure to rise to an enormous premium in the market, and you will be sure to sell at an immense profit." They were thus induced to purchase, not with the intention of remaining holders of the stock, but under the hope that they would be able to sell out again at a profit; but, instead of the promises of the speculator being realized, the fact was, that on the whole of the 42,000,000*l.* of shares, the entire 100*l.* per cent. had been paid up; while of these 25,500,000*l.* were selling at an actual loss; 9,000,000*l.* out of the 42,000,000*l.* being selling at half the amount originally subscribed; that was to say, if a poor gentlewoman embarked 5,000*l.* in one of those speculations, she would now on selling out find herself possessed of but 2,500*l.*; and thus her hopes of being possessed of a coach and six, and all the luxuries of life, would terminate in her actual ruin. 2,000,000 of these shares sold at one-fourth of what had been paid for them; so that 1,000*l.* paid in them would now produce only 250*l.*; while the interest, instead of being 30*l.*, as it would be in the funds, produced only 12*l.* After expressing a hope that the warning which he thus gave would be attended with beneficial results among the parties for whom it was intended among the public, the noble Lord concluded by saying, that he would not trouble their Lordships by reading the Orders which he had prepared; but he would beg leave to move that they be now laid upon the Table, and printed.

Motion agreed to.

The Marquess of *Breadalbane* said, he had a petition to present from one of the railway companies, against which his noble and learned Friend had endeavoured—and he was afraid successfully endeavoured—to excite the feelings of their Lordships. He was confident that as long as his noble and learned Friend remained in the House, and retained his hostility to railways, no great hardship would be inflicted by them, without being brought before the House and the public. The petition was from a company calling themselves the Caledonian Railway Company; and it complained of certain clauses of a Bill about being introduced into their Lordships' House, namely, the Railway Clauses Consolidation (Scotland) Bill, which gave compensation to road trusts. These clauses gave a power to the Sheriff in certain cases to inquire what compensation should be given to road trusts by railway companies, and they had been pronounced by persons well versed in the law of Scotland to be totally impracticable, and calculated to lead to great injustice.

Lord *Brougham* said, he was aware his noble Friend, who had just sat down, was one of the principals of the railway powers, and the chairman of a great railway company, but he was quite sure that his noble Friend would never be a party to any such acts of oppression as those which he had been describing.

The Earl of *Dalhousie* said, he would not trouble the House by going at length into the observations which his noble and learned Friend had made on this occasion, as a more fitting opportunity would present itself when the Motion of his noble Friend came under discussion. He wished, however, to guard himself against his being supposed to admit, to the full extent, the view which his noble and learned Friend had taken. There was much truth in what he had stated; but many of the facts were strongly put, and the picture he had drawn, though, perhaps, correct, was yet too highly coloured. As to the petition presented by the noble Marquess, the proper occasion for discussing that would be when they went into Committee on the Bill, which would be on Thursday evening. But so far was it from being true that this clause established a new principle, it had been acted upon in every Bill connected with Scotland; and so far from the general feeling being against the Bill, he thought that this being the only petition presented, and it from a company whose chairman was a Member of this House, was sufficient proof that the general feeling of the country was not against the Bill.

The Marquess of *Breadalbane* moved, that the petition be printed. [" No, no."] He reiterated the statement that the clause had only been introduced into three or four of the Scottish railways—into them for special reasons.

Petition read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

Their Lordships then adjourned to Thursday.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, April 15, 1845.

MINUTES.] BILLS. *Public.—Reported.*—Auction Duties Repeal; Sugar (Excise Duties).

Private. — 1°. Duddeston and Nechell's Improvement (No. 2).

2°. Hemel Hempstead Small Tenements; Manchester Sheffield, and Midland Junction Railway; Watermen's Company (Poor's and Endowment Fund); Clifton Bridge; Bristol Parochial Rates.

Reported.—Foulmire Inclosure.

PETITIONS PRESENTED. By Mr. Colquhoun, from several places in Ireland, for Encouragement of Schools in connexion with Church Education Society (Ireland).—By several hon. Members, from an immense number of places (581 Petitions) against the Grant to Maynooth College.—By Mr. Colquhoun, and Colonel Wyndham, from several places, against the Union of Saint Asaph and Bangor.—By Viscount Ebrington, from several places, against the Importation of Hill Coolies into the Colonies.—By Mr. Baillie, from Jamaica, complaining of Distress there.—By Mr. Morgan, from several places, for Establishment of County Courts.—By Mr. Bramston, Mr. Burroughes, the Earl of March, and Mr. Waddington, from several places, against Justices Clerks' and Clerks of the Peace Bill.—By Mr. Colquhoun, from Newcastle, in favour of the Museums of Art Bill.—By Mr. Baillie, Mr. Oswald, and Mr. Pringle, from several places, for Ameliorating the Condition of Schoolmasters (Scotland).

POOR LAWS (IRELAND).] Mr. *F. French*, seeing the right hon. ecretary of State for Ireland in his place, wished to ask him several questions relative to the Irish Poor Law. In the first place, he was desirous to know if the Government had been informed that the want of proper sewerage in the Cavan workhouse had produced a malignant fever, by an attack of which the matron and porter of that workhouse had been carried off; whether the master of the workhouse had run away; and also if it were true that the house was now without its proper officers? In the second place, he wished to know if the poor rate in the Ballinasloe Union was levied this year as it had been last year, namely, by aid of military force? He was anxious also to be informed if it were true that the Board of Guardians of the Listowel Union had applied recently to the Government for the aid of an armed force, without which they said it was impossible to collect the poor rates in that Union? In the next place, he wished to ask if it were true that a poor-rate collector had been lately murdered in the county Roscommon; and lastly, he would ask whether the Government were about to abandon the existing Irish Poor Law, and to give to that country, as they were about to give to Scotland, a Poor Law suited to the wants and the circumstances of the people?

Sir *T. Fremantle* said, it was true that the matron and the porter of the Cavan workhouse had been attacked with malignant fever, but there was no reason to conclude, or even to suppose, that this attack of fever had arisen from want of proper sewerage in the workhouse. The Commissioners had not received any intelligence to the effect that the master of the Cavan workhouse had resigned, or that he had run away, as the hon. Gentleman termed it. However, such an event might take place, as the Commissioners had threatened his dismissal for irregularity in his conduct. With respect to the next question, he was able to state that at an earlier period of the year, an armed force was employed in the Ballinasloe Union for the purpose of protecting the collector of poor rates, who had been threatened with violence. The collector was accompanied by police in consequence, but no disturbance had taken place; with respect to the Listowel Union, he had no knowledge of the proceedings to which the hon. Member referred as taking place in the Listowel Union; and he could also add that he had heard nothing of the loss of a poor-rate collector's life in the county of Roscommon. He was happy to state that the poor rates had been collected in Ireland during the last year with less opposition than had been exhibited during any former year, and he believed that the opposition was confined solely to a few parishes in the West of Ireland.

PROTESTANT OPERATIVE ASSOCIATION — PRINTING PETITIONS.] Mr. *Ferrand* rose to move—

> "That the Petition of Members of the Dublin Protestant Operative Association and Reformation Society, and other Protestants, praying the House forthwith to institute an inquiry into the conduct of the Right Honourable Sir Robert Peel, Baronet, M.P., and, if the premises of the Petitioners be correct, to impeach him for high crimes and misdemeanors against the Laws and Constitution of the Realm [presented 11th April], be printed;"

as it was his intention to bring it before the House on the Third Reading of the Maynooth College Bill, if it went to so advanced a stage.

Colonel *Rawdon* said, he had entertained hopes that the hon. Member for Knaresborough would not have pressed his Motion for the printing of that petition. What, he would ask, would be the consequence, if the House agreed to the Motion of the hon. Member? The result would be, that on the following morning the petition to which it referred would be on the breakfast table of every Member of that House. He begged the House to recollect the Act of 1829, by which the Roman Catholics were emancipated, and to remember that so long after the Act of Emancipation had been carried, they would, if they agreed to the Motion of the hon. Member for Knaresborough, place before Roman Catholic Representatives a petition containing such allegations as that to which the Motion had reference. What did that petition contain? He begged pardon of the House for occupying its attention whilst he read a sentence from that document—

> "The Petitioners have learned with regret that a law has been introduced into your honourable House by the head of the Government, the object of which is to inculcate in public seminaries Popish doctrines, which are false, idolatrous, and Anti-Christian."

Anti-Christian! Where was the feeling of charity which ought to predominate in the breasts of Christians, if they consented to stamp the religion of their Roman Catholic fellow Representatives with the charge of idolatry contained in that petion? It might be in the recollection of the House that the greatest authority on that subject, after the Speaker, namely, the hon. Member for Montgomeryshire, had expressed his doubts as to whether they ought to receive the petition in the first instance; and the hon. Member waved his doubts only in consequence of the interposition of the right hon. Gentleman, against whom the charges contained in that petition were levelled. The House, must, of course, pay the greatest respect to the feelings which had induced the right hon. Baronet the Member for Tamworth to interpose; but they could not at the same time forget that the hon. Member for Montgomeryshire had opposed the reception of the petition in the first instance. It was not a matter of necessity that the petition presented by the hon. Member for Knaresborough be printed. If he wished to bring the Prime Minister to condign punishment, as the petitioners prayed—if the hon. Member wished to imitate Mr. Burke in a measure of impeachment, he believed the printing of this petition was not a necessary preliminary. The petition could be referred to a Committee up stairs, according to the custom of the House, and if the Committee considered there was matter of import, they might order it to be printed. He relied on the good sense and generous feeling of the House; he thought this was not a party question, and he felt convinced that no man of charitable feeling in that House, or out of it, could sanction the words "false, idolatrous, and anti-Christian," as applied to the religion of more than half of their fellow-subjects. Had hon. Members seen the letter relating to the petition signed by the hon. Member for Knaresborough? He would not insult the House of Commons by mentioning its language; but he felt convinced that there was hardly another Member of that House would write such a letter as that which the hon. Member for Knaresborough had written. He disclaimed all personal offence, but would fearlessly and fully express his opinion on this matter. The terms of the letter showed clearly the animus which existed in its writer. In a word, he considered it would degrade the House of Commons in the eyes of the nation if, by ordering this petition to be printed, they in some measure stamped it with their sanction. If the petitioners really intended to impeach Sir R. Peel, the hon. Member would be perfectly justified in carrying out their wishes. But as the Representative of what was termed in Ireland "Protestant Armagh," he must object to the wording of this petition. He would therefore move a direct negative to the Motion.

Mr. *Redington* said, there could be no doubt that the petition contained a foul calumny against the Catholic religion —it was a foul libel, which was formerly sworn to by Members of that House, and similar expressions were now contained in the Coronation Oath. He thought, therefore, that under these circumstances the House exhibited too much squeamishness with respect to the petition presented by the hon. Member for Knaresborough. He was of opinion that it was a disgrace to the Sovereign of these realms to make her swear to such expressions.

Sir *R. Inglis* supposed the next measure of Her Majesty's Government would be a measure to do away with the passage referred to by the hon. Gentleman who spoke last, especially as his remarks had been so loudly cheered by the other side. But he rose for the purpose of calling the attention of the House to the practice of the House, that when a petition was ordered to lie on the Table, it was almost a matter of course that it should be printed with the Votes, when an hon. Member declared his intention of making a Motion upon it. That was the usual course, without any reference to the language of the petition, and upon that ground alone he should vote for the Motion of the hon. Member for Knaresborough.

Sir *James Graham* said, that he certainly regretted the passage in the petition which the hon. and gallant Officer the Member for Armagh had brought under the notice of the House. He regretted that any petitioners should have used language so painful and so offensive towards a large portion of Her Majesty's subjects. It was not on the present occasion that he should feel under the necessity of entering into a discussion upon that point, much less was it any part of his duty to enter upon the present occasion into a discussion upon the terms in which the Coronation Oath was couched. As to the point of order, he agreed with his hon. Friend the Member for Oxford. He thought it was a general rule of the House, subject to exceptions in some peculiar cases, that when one hon. Member pledged himself on presenting a petition to bring it under the special notice of the House in the shape of a Motion, it was, as a matter of course, to be printed with the Votes. The question then arose whether there was anything so special in the circumstances of this petition as to prevent the operation of the usual rule? He had said that the language of the petition was of an unusual kind, but he did not think that the language was such as to take it out of the general rule. Then came the question as to the allegation, that the First Minister of the Crown had been guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors — was that allegation a reason that the House should refuse to print the petition? Now, the hon. Member for Knaresborough had said that he should make that allegation the subject of a Motion. Was he right? [Mr. *Ferrand:* I have given notice of the Motion I intend to make.] If the hon. Member meant to found upon the allegations of the petition a Motion against the First Minister of the Crown, neither his right hon. Friend, nor any Member of Her Majesty's Government, would offer the slightest opposition to the printing of the petition.

Mr. *Ferrand* said, he had given notice last night of a Motion, which it was his intention to bring forward on the third reading of the Maynooth College Bill. The Motion was to the effect that the Charitable Bequests Act was a violation of the Act of Settlement, and a contravention of the Oath of Supremacy. He intended to found his Motion on the allegations contained in the petition; and i he were able to prove that the Bequests Act was in contravention of the Oath of Supremacy, and a violation of the Act of Settlement, he should consider what it would be his duty to do further with reference to this subject.

Lord *John Russell:* Sir, the hon. Gentleman does not seem to me to have answered the question by merely stating that it is his intention to bring forward the Motion of which he gave notice last night; the question having been whether he intended to bring forward an express Motion directed against the First Minister of the Crown. I do not quite agree, in my view of the subject, with the right hon. Gentleman opposite; for I do not consider it a matter of course, that according to the rules and Orders of the House, even if there were an express Motion to be grounded on it, that the petition should necessarily be printed with the Votes. Although I conceive that in ordinary cases and on ordinary questions there would be no objection to the printing of a petition on which the Motion of an hon. Member was to be founded. This, however, is a peculiar case—it is not an ordinary petition—it is one accusing the First Minister of the Crown of high crimes and misdemeanors, and asking the House to proceed to his impeachment. The right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir J. Graham) says, that if a Motion is to be founded on the petition, he and his Colleagues wish to give every facility to the hon. Member in bringing forward his Motion. I have not a similar feeling on the subject to the right hon. Gentleman who made that statement, or to the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government; and for myself I think that the House ought to consider it, in the first place, as a Motion against the First Minister of the Crown. I cannot, Sir, consider a Motion on the third reading of the Maynooth College Bill, directed partly against that Bill and partly against an Act of Patliament, which had last year received the assent of the Sovereign, the Lords, and the Commons, describing that Act as a violation of the Act of Settlement, and a contravention of the Oath of Supremacy—I cannot consider that as coming within the notice of a Motion impeaching the conduct of the First Minister of the Crown. In the next place I am of opinion that the printing of the petition, although it would not show that the House meant to go further, yet it would imply that there was something plausible and reasonable in the petition, and that it was not altogether frivolous and absurd in its allegations. The petition seems to me, from listening to an hon. Member the other night, to consist of two parts; one part being that which was objected to by the hon. Member for Montgomeryshire, as directed against the right hon. Baronet the Member for Tamworth with respect to his conduct as a Member of this House—with regard to Motions made, and to Bills introduced as a Member of this House—and I think that is not a sufficient reason for printing this petition. The other part is an allegation that the right hon. Baronet, in fulfilment of the Charitable Bequests Act, had placed Roman Catholic Prelates in a certain precedence in an Order in Council approved of by Her Majesty, and that this was a violation of the Act of Settlement, and in contravention of the Oath of Supremacy. That appears to me to be a most frivolous allegation; it is not sufficiently plausible to be the ground of any such proceeding as that which has been alluded to, and I could not, therefore, be disposed so far to give the sanction of the House to the petition as to consent to its being printed. The hon. Member states, that on the third reading of the Maynooth College Bill he will move that a violation of the Act of Settlement has been committed by the provisions of an Act of Parliament, which the House of Commons agreed to, this House having a perfect right to agree to such an Act, or repeal another, if it thought fit; and, as I think that Notice of Motion does not justify us in agreeing to the printing of the petition, I should, if no one else agreed with me, support the view of the hon. and gallant Member for Armagh, and give my decided negative to the Motion, that the petition be printed.

Mr. *S. Crawford* regretted that sentences which were insulting to their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects should be contained in any petition presented to that House. He should be as reluctant as any man, although opposing the grant to Maynooth, to do so upon any grounds which could be offensive to the principles or opinions of his Roman Catholic fellow-subjects. If the question should come to a division, he should feel bound to vote against the printing of the petition.

Mr. *Liddell* said, that in consequence

of the reference made by the hon. Member for Dundalk to the Coronation Oath and the oath of abjuration, and his charge against the House of being unnecessarily squeamish with regard to the language of this most injudicious petition, to say the least of it, he had procured the oaths mentioned, and (having read passages from them to the House) he contended that there was nothing in them to sustain the arguments founded upon them by the hon. Member.

Mr. *Redington* said, he still adhered to the opinion that Her Majesty on accepting the Crown of these realms did declare the worship of the Virgin Mary to be damnable and idolatrous.

Mr. *T. Duncombe* said, the object of the House, in requiring a Member to give notice of a Motion for printing a petition, was with a view to oblige him to make a specific Motion on a subsequent day, not in connexion with any Bill before the House, because in that case he might move that every one of the petitions presented against the grant to Maynooth should be printed to-morrow, because he chose to call attention to them on the third reading. It was, therefore, clear that the hon. Member for Knaresborough must make a Motion in reference to this petition unconnected with the grant to Maynooth; and if he did so, he did not see that the House had the power of refusing it. The only exception in the case of printing a petition was, that when printed it should be confined to the use of Members, and if there was anything objectionable, or libellous, or calumnious in this petition, it would be better that it should be printed — as other petitions which were so honoured—for the use of Members only. With reference to his hon. and gallant Friend behind him, he must say that if he wished to give publicity and importance to the petition, he had taken the most effectual way of doing it; for whether the Motion was agreed to or not, he believed he would still find the objectionable passages of which he complained on his breakfast table. Some kind Friend in Dublin had favoured him (Mr. Duncombe) with a copy of the petition a few days ago, and he felt no great apprehension from it. He did not believe there was any great harm in it. There was a strong feeling that the right of petitioning was encroached upon by that House, and therefore, they ought to be very cautious in refusing any petition, however objectionable or offensive to the feelings of any individual it might be. If, therefore, the question should come to a vote, he should vote for the printing of the petition, on the ground that the hon. Member meant to make a distinct Motion with reference to it.

Mr. *Ferrand* said, it was not his intention to make a distinct Motion, and as he saw the sense of the House was against his present Motion, he should not press it.

Motion withdrawn.

MAYNOOTH COLLEGE—ADJOURNED DEBATE (THIRD NIGHT).] Major *Beresford*, in resuming the debate, after claiming the indulgence of the House for the observations he felt called on to make, said, he should address the House on the present occasion in the double capacity of an English Representative and an Irish Protestant; in the first character weighed by that feeling of diffidence, which, from so seldom addressing the House, he naturally endured; in the latter, feeling the awful responsibility of maintaining the Reformed Church in Ireland, which his ancestors had assisted to establish, and which, when established, they had for generation after generation continued to support and foster. Before he entered upon the subject in detail, he wished to add his congratulations to those which the right hon. Secretary at War offered the House last evening on the total absence of religious acrimony which had hitherto distinguished the debate. In his observations he should endeavour to preserve to the debate the same character. His feelings towards his Roman Catholic fellow-subjects were those of great kindness and the utmost liberality, and that liberality had not been of words only; it had been proved by deeds. Early in life he had marred his prospects for their cause. In 1823, when he was very young, at a time when a seat in that House was frequently at the disposal of persons in high station, he refused to enter the House of Commons, because he would not sit there without voting for Catholic Emancipation. If he had thus marred his prospects early in life, could he now be called a bigot because he voted against the present Bill? He was no bigot; but he did think that there was a limit to concession, particularly when concession had not been responded to as it ought to have been. They had been told by an authority of far greater influence than he could be, that there was a limit to concession; but the actions of those who said so showed that they now thought concession had no limits; their motto was *Toujours en avant.* During the period that he had had the honour of a seat in that House he had purposely refrained from voting against the annual grant to Maynooth, because he was continually told that it was proposed in accordance with a compact entered into by Parliament; and though he never could discover the specific Act which contained the compact, and though the object of the grant was not in accordance with his principles, yet he had abstained from giving an adverse vote, lest he might be participating in an Act which involved a breach of faith. If he had not misunderstood the right hon. Baronet, he might have saved himself from such over-scrupulousness; for the right hon. Gentleman had stated in the speech by which he introduced this measure, that it was competent to the House of Commons to withdraw the grant: if so, it was competent to an individual Member who disapproved of it, to vote against it. But the present measure was entirely a new one; and as such he had a perfect right to vote against it. But before he altogether dismissed the subject of compacts, he wished to ask one question with respect to them. At the time of the Legislative Union between the two countries, was no compact entered into with regard to the Established Church in Ireland? He contended there was such a compact; and one more firm, more tangible, and more visible than that involved in the grant to Maynooth, which required all the talents of able and subtle casuists to sustain. He asked the plain and honest question, had the compact with the Church of Ireland been maintained? Had not ten bishops been taken away from that Church "at one fell swoop?" Had not the income of the Irish clergy been diminished one-fourth? Had not 25 per cent. of the income of the Church in Ireland been given to the landed proprietors, and were not the gentlemen of Ireland turned into the land agents of the clergy? He trusted he should not hear so much of a compact again. The present measure was distinctly a new one; the right hon. Member for Newark (a good authority on such matters), had admitted that; and he (Major Beresford) declared it to be *ab initio* a fresh endowment by the Imperial Parliament of the College of Maynooth for the education of the priesthood of the Roman Catholic persuasion—an endowment which was not given to any other creed in the country, not even to the Established Church. He could see no good reason why the Roman Catholic clergy only should enjoy this special privilege, nor could he understand how they could refuse it to every other sect, if they once established the precedent; he, therefore, on principle opposed this measure. He had no hesitation to class himself among those persons whom the hon. and learned Member for Bath (Mr. Roebuck) could not understand or sympathize with, because they acted on principle. He considered, when an institution like Maynooth received an increased and permanent grant, and the Government voluntarily offered to give that larger sum, that the Parliament who voted the increase, and the people of England who paid it, had a right first to be informed of the use the institution had made of the smaller sum. They had a right to inquire whether the means and powers conferred on it had been used for the benefit of the country at large, and the dissemination of religion and loyalty amongst those for whose advantage the grant was intended. He believed if such an inquiry was strictly instituted, it would not tend to the honour of Maynooth. He had promised to abstain as much as possible from virulence or invective; but he had had many opportunities of seeing the priesthood of Ireland who had been educated at Maynooth, and he had found them generally more disposed to disseminate the precepts of agitation among the people, than the more wholesome doctrines of religion and peace. Such, indeed, had been the conduct of the priesthood educated at Maynooth, that the supreme head of the Catholic Church, the Sovereign Pontiff, had found it necessary to reprove the system of agitation pursued by the priests in Ireland, and strongly to censure the misapplication of their influence among their subservient flocks. But here they perceived this curious anomaly, that while the Sovereign Pontiff at Rome, the head of that Church, deemed the Maynooth priesthood deserving of his censure, the First Lord of the Treasury in England held up Maynooth itself as a worthy object for Parliamentary endowment and Ministerial favour. As those two eminent persons were each considered, within their respective circles, to be perfectly infallible, he found some difficulty in saying whose opinion was the correct one; perhaps, he, as an Irishman, might be permitted to suggest, that though they differed so totally, yet that being infallible, both were right. The failure of the present system at Maynooth was alleged as one of the weightiest reasons for the larger grant; that seemed to assume that larger means would bring necessarily greater success; but as larger means conferred greater power, and as the powers before given had not been used beneficially, he prognosticated for the future only a greater amount of failure. But if, on the other hand, the predictions of the right hon. Baronet should prove correct—if all the felicitous effects which he foretells should develope themselves—if they did obtain from new Maynooth a larger supply of enlightened and gentlemanlike priests, different in manners and tastes from the priests of old Maynooth, would they stop here? Would they allow the improved creation of their own liberal legislation to be supported by a revenue gathered from "halfpence, potatoes, and rags?" Must they not endow generously those they had educated liberally? They would have created wants, and those wants they must supply; but when they came to the means of doing it, they would find the people of England would not tolerate further burdens for the purpose of endowing a Catholic seminary, or a Popish Church. The people of England desired to crush this Bill; perhaps they would not be able to do it; but before this second endowment, which appeared to be a necessary consequence of the first, came under consideration, a general election must take place; the electors of England might then act vituperatively as regarded the past. He trusted they might do so; but if they did not, they would act with vigilant precaution as to the future, and allow no vote out of the Consolidated Fund for such a purpose. Whence, then, would come the funds for this endowment? In the dearth of other means, it would, he feared, be suggested to take them from the revenue of the Established Church. This would prove an expedient, though not a well-principled resource; but alas! expediency was now considered superior to principle. Strange as it might sound, they might yet see the right hon. Baronet coming down to that House with due solemnity, and gravely proposing to Parliament to confiscate four-fifths of the revenue of the Establishment for the support of a priesthood, whose manners he had reformed, whose tastes he had elevated, and whose wants he had created and must supply. Then the hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Ward) might have the felicity of seeing his favourite, though stunted, bantling ushered in full vigour into public life, and presented, on coming of age, by the right hon. Baronet. It would not be the first time they had witnessed such a shifting of the scenes; it would not be the first time that a piece which had been well damned in the one theatre, had been acted with unbounded applause by the rival company. And in such a play as this, may not the chief character of head appropriator of the revenues of the Established Church in Ireland be enacted in the year 1850 by the Conservative Premier of 1835? Whatever might be the result of this Bill, whether it produced the fortunate result the right hon. Gentleman expected, or the unfortunate ones he predicted, in both cases he saw danger to the Established Church, and should, therefore, from attachment to that Church, and from principle, vehemently oppose the Bill. There were, however, minor objections also against this Bill, both as regards the mode of carrying it out, and the time of introducing it. The present would have been a good opportunity for correcting the evils of the existing system at Maynooth; and common sense would have taken care to see that the grant was properly applied. But this opportunity was to be thrown away; no control over the College was proposed to be enforced. With regard to the Established Church in England, such a control was required; grants of the public money were refused to the national schools, unless certain conditions of inspection and other means of control were agreed to—this proved there was a distinct mode of dealing with the Established Church in England and the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland. They had better reason to call for justice to the Church of England, than they had to call for justice to the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland. He had another objection to this Bill, on account of the time at which it was brought forward. At the very time they introduced this measure, the Government refused all aid to Scriptural education in Ireland. It had turned a deaf ear to the prayers of the Primate and the bench of Bishops for assistance in educating the Protestant people of Ireland in the Word of God, according to what they believed the proper course of education; and at the same time the Government was about to impose burdens on the people of England, in order to propagate doctrines which the people of England believed to be erroneous. It seemed to him, whatever might be the individual opinions of Members, yet, sitting there collectively, they were in the habit of legislating as if they regarded every other creed as superior to the one which the majority of the House professed; and he thought their modest diffidence of asserting their principles spoke more of a lack of faith than of Christian humility. Last year all their favour was lavished on the Socinians; this year it was bestowed on the Jews and the Roman Catholics. But if by any chance a measure tending in any way to exalt the influence and raise the power of the Established Church happened to be brought forward, when an opposition reared its front, that measure was instantly withdrawn. Thus, the Educational Clauses of the Factory Bill were withdrawn, in consequence of the petitions presented against it. Had no petitions been presented against the proposed grant of Maynooth? Was it not notorious that the petitions against this grant were far greater in number than those which had been presented on the former occasion to which he had alluded? No honest man who was a sound reasoner could come to the conclusion of arguing on this matter on the principle of inverse ratio, and, because there were more petitions against the measure, pay less attention to them. But they were told that these petitions were the result of an agitation which should not be attended to. He denied the fact, and reprobated the inference. He trusted the people of England would know who it was that rejected their humble petitions, and turned a deaf ear to their honest prayers. But to return to the complaints of the Established Church—if any part of it had, more than another, just reason to complain of late of adverse legislation, it was the Protestant Church of Ireland. The Protestants of Ireland had drunk deeply of the bitter cup of disappointed hope and blighted expectations. The Protestants of Ireland had seen a change of men at the head of affairs, but they observed no change of measures as regarded themselves. The Protestants of Ireland knew that it was a sound maxim of religion, that "whom the Lord loveth, he chasteneth." But the Protestants of Ireland felt that to apply that maxim to politics, and say that whom the Minister loveth he chasteneth, was unsound in principle, novel in practice, disagreeable in experience, and calculated neither to create gratitude nor to engender affection. And yet it was on the gratitude and affection of the Protestants of Ireland that had hitherto mainly depended the Legislative Union of the two Kingdoms. Let them but undermine the one, and destroy the other, and the dismemberment of the Empire will probably follow—a dismemberment to which the fostering of Maynooth would materially contribute. It was with great regret that he felt himself called upon to speak thus openly and plainly. The subject, however, was one on which, in an Irish Protestant, silence was cowardice, and flattery a dereliction of principle. He trusted, that although he had thus spoken plainly and openly, he had said nothing uncourteous, nothing personal, nothing offensive to those whom, while he could, he had vehemently and zealously supported, and to whom he was now only opposed, because they were bringing forward measures diametrically at variance with the best principles which placed them in power. It only remained for him to thank the House for the kind attention with which they had listened to him. What he had said, he could assure the House had been spoken by him in all sincerity—and that sincerity was the best excuse he could offer for having detained them so long.

Mr. *Byng* observed, that upon this question he wished to say a few words. He would promise the House that his remarks should be very brief. Having felt interested from the bottom of his heart in favour of the Catholics of Ireland now for sixty-seven years, he could not allow this opportunity to pass without saying a very few words. He thought that he could support this measure, not only upon political grounds, but on what was far nearer and dearer to his heart—religious grounds also. He thought that the Catholics of Ireland had been worse governed than the subjects of any other State in Europe. He could not find in the sacred Scriptures that he was ordered by the great God who made them all, to hate any man because he differed from him in his religious views. There was no such mandate to be found in the sacred volume. He believed that every man had a right to worship God Almighty according to the mode which he imagined would be most acceptable to the great God. God Almighty alone knew when men pursued the mode of worship which was pleasing in his sight; He was the searcher of all hearts, and knew whether any human being was or was not sincere—sincerity was what He expected and loved, and He would tolerate nothing else. It was impossible that he (Mr. Byng) could any longer remain in that House to give a vote involving the interests of his Catholic fellow-subjects, if he did not record that vote in their favour. He thought it his bounden duty on all occasions when he came to that House to think of his fellow man. He was to think of them alone. He was never to think of himself; and, thank God, when the time should arrive, that he retired from that House, he could safely and conscientiously lay his hand upon his heart and say that he had never given a selfish vote, or a vote which he thought contrary to the happiness and welfare of this great country—never, never, never. He was sorry to see so many of the different sects of Protestants with which this country abounded, arrayed against this measure. He remembered that on a former occasion they were arrayed against a friend of his, Mr. Harvey Combe, in great numbers; but in the personal canvas which he had made amongst some of them, he had inquired of them if they were that day against the Catholics, what would become of them, the Dissenters, the next week? He had said to them then, "Do you think that the Church of England is more partial to the Dissenters than it is to the Roman Catholics?" And by speaking openly and boldly to them he found that, instead of having them all against him, they were all for him. At a county meeting on that occasion, where they met, gentlemen present would not vote? He told the Catholics that they must not send a single Catholic. He left it entirely to the freeholders, and they were unanimous. In the course of ten days, they, by speaking plainly to them, were all for him. The more he thought of that, the more convinced he was that such might be the case, in reference to this measure, with the Dissenters throughout the entire country. Let them only think for a moment who were the Ministers of the day. They were the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel. Now could any man imagine that there were any two who could really dislike the measure before them more than the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel? No, there were none. But he was sure that this dislike had not the smallest influence over their actions. They thought that this measure would be for the good of the country. That was their feeling on the subject, and that was their desire he was confident. He himself could not at that moment forget that while 7,000,000 of his fellow subjects had no endowment whatever, at least no endowment worth naming, a very small number, about eight hundred thousand Protestants, were superintended in their religious concerns by a clergy who had more in proportion for their labour than the clergy of this country. That being the case, he felt bound to give his most cordial vote in support of the measure.

Colonel *Verner* felt confident that there was not an hon. Member in the House who could not give the hon. Member who had just sat down credit for the sincerity with which he had declared his sentiments. He could not recollect so far back as the hon. Member had stated he recollected; but if the hon. Member had given his support to the Roman Catholics of Ireland for sixty-seven years, he (Colonel Verner) could say that he had given his humble aid in favour of Protestantism for fifty years. It had not been originally his intention to have taken any part in the present debate; indeed, he might say that his intention had been to have abstained from doing so, seeing how useless it was; but when he observed so powerful and so general a feeling throughout the Kingdom against the Bill, and when that feeling had been endeavoured to be conveyed to the House, by the shower of petitions which had been laid upon that Table, he did not think that he would be discharging his duty to himself or to those he represented by giving a silent vote. The hon. Member said he could not agree in opinion with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newark, who had so recently withdrawn himself from the framers and promoters of the Bill, and who had so fully qualified himself to return to them again, that the petitions presented to the House were not to be taken as representing the sentiments of the people. He had always understood that there were but two ways by which the people could approach that House, in order to make known their wishes. The one was by petition—the other through their Representatives. In the present instance they had tried both—they had poured in their petitions by thousands, and they had accompanied the petitions by an unanimous call upon their Representatives to support their prayer. What more, he would ask, could they do? Had a contrary opinion been prevalent throughout the country, surely those who approved of the measure could have expressed that opinion in like manner; whereas he had heard of but one petition presented in favour of it, and that, he believed, was signed by an individual. The hon. Member had that day the honour to present a petition from Belfast, signed by thirty-seven ministers of different congregations, [and he felt proud that he had been selected to present their petition. The petition was accompanied by a letter, which, with the permission of the House, he would take the liberty to read, although he had no authority from the gentleman by whom it was written to do so. There were two reasons why he craved the indulgence of the House to be permitted to read that letter—one was, in order to contradict the statement made in the House that the Presbyterians of the North were favourable to that Bill; the other, because it conveyed the sentiments which he (Colonel Verner) knew to be entertained by, not alone the Protestants of Ulster, but by the Protestants of Ireland generally. The hon. Member then read the following letter:—

"*Belfast, April* 12, 1845.

"Sir,—Deserted by our town Members at this critical juncture, I request that you will kindly state the protest and petition, which I inclose by this post, against the grant to Maynooth. It is signed by ministers alone—by thirty-seven, all connected, with the town, and belonging to the Church of England, Presbyterian Church, Independents, Methodists, and Voluntaries.

"There is but one feeling of sorrow and shame at the conduct of the Government. When the proposal of Sir R. Peel became known, a public meeting was resolved upon—as any meeting previously would be declaiming in the dark. But the exceedingly short interval allowed for the expression of opinion has perfecly muzzled us, and created a deep and general indignation. We felt we had only time to protest—and that protest, as the secretary of my brother ministers, I request you to present and support.

"Hoping that the energy and unity of right-hearted men may yet, with God's aid, stem the tide, and bring back the Government to their right mind—I remain, &c.

"To Colonel Verner."

He did not remember in the course of his experience an instance, in which the violation of principle was so little recommended by any promise of a good result, as in that of the Bill now in rapid progress through the House. The violation of principle appeared to him quite manifest. The expediency of the measure he was unable to discover—and he had not heard any rational promise of expediency held out by any hon. Member who had addressed the House. The violation of principle was manifest; not only in a religious, but in a political point of view. The Bill introduced by the right hon. Baronet was strikingly at variance with his own declared policy. What was the reason why the grant, so long bestowed in aid of Scriptural education, was withdrawn? It was that the advantages of a united and mixed education were so vast, that in order to obtain them it was justifiable to put fetters upon the freedom of Scriptural education. This was, at least, the reason assigned. Let them now compare the present policy with the past. If it were desirable that children of different communions be educated in the same buildings and the same rooms, was it desirable also that Roman Catholic priests should be educated apart and in secret? Was it wise that the British Government should withdraw all aid from Scriptural schools, because it was possible that there might be instances where Protestant children might be benefited by the grant, and at the same time should increase fivefold the aid given to a collegiate system which was not Scriptural, with the certainty that none but Roman Catholic priests could benefit by it? He was encouraged to believe that the measure of 1829 was to put an end for ever to legislation for sects or parties. Roman Catholics swore that they would not disturb old institutions or endowments. Now institutions, if established, were to be formed for the benefit of the people, not for a sect. This was what he understood to be the good derived from the measure. Were we now, he would ask, legislating as if such a promise had been kept? He would say No. He could understand a continuance of the usual grants; he could understand an enlarged grant, for purposes of education, in which persons of all denominations could freely participate; but he could not discover the wisdom or the justice of the policy which withdrew all the aid from schools in which the Bible was freely read, and heaped a fivefold bounty on Maynooth—perpetuated an exclusive system of education—a system not merely suspected but accused, on evidence which had never been contradicted, of circulating principles and fostering a spirit which it ought to be the object of every good Government, as at present the wish of every honest man, to discountenance and extinguish. With regard to the compact which it was endeavoured to persuade the House was entered into at the time of the Union, and by which we were told we were bound, he (Colonel Verner) felt it unnecessary to make a single observation; as it appeared to him (Colonel Verner), notwithstanding the opinion expressed by the Member for Newark, and the quotation he read to the House, that it had been fully and satisfactorily proved that no such compact existed. He could not avoid calling the attention of the House to another subject, and he did so with very great regret. He could not help observing, that in all the measures which had been of late brought before the House, connected with Ireland—in all the debates which had taken place upon those measures—there was a cautious avoidance, a studied omission of all allusion to the Protestants of that country. It would seem to him as if they were considered to be undeserving the notice of the Legislature, or as if they constituted so insignificant or so small a portion of the people of that country, that their rights, their wants, or their injuries, were matters of little or no importance; but when he remembered the many years he had been a witness to the state of Ireland—when he remembered, during that period, the many important services the Protestants had rendered to the country—their unshaken loyalty, their fidelity to their Sovereign, their obedience to the laws and to the authorities, and their unalterable attachment to British connexion—when he recollected all this, and then contrasted it with the conduct of those for whom they were now called upon to vote the public money—he could not help feeling that this was not the treatment they deserved, and that he ought not to allow this Bill to pass without raising his voice in defence of the Protestants of Ireland. He expected to have heard from the right hon. Baronet some grounds for bringing forward this measure; he expected to have heard at least that some of the heads or leaders, or influential members of the Roman Catholic body, had come to the right hon. Gentleman, and satisfied him that however their political views might differ, they were both actuated with the same feelings with regard to the promotion of the peace of Ireland, and both equally anxious to put down agitation. But, no; neither in this House nor out of it, had there been one solitary instance of an individual, lay, or clerical, expressing as much as regret at the state of Ireland, at a time when it became necessary to pour troops into that country to protect the lives of its peaceable and well disposed inhabitants; and he verily believed there were none who stood more in need of that protection than the Roman Catholics themselves, thousands of whom dared not refuse to join in the monster meetings, as they were called, and who, he believed, were as much opposed to them as any other persons whatever in the country. Was not the Loyal Repeal Association continuing its meetings at this moment, and issuing its orders to the Members of this House with regard to the measures they thought proper to direct them to support? Within the last week, he himself had received two Resolutions passed by that body, which were to direct the conduct of Members as to the course they were to take in this House. And who, he would beg leave to ask, were the chief persons connected with that Association? The priests, those very persons in aid of whom they were now called upon to endow a College. And who were their chiefs and leaders? The Roman Catholic Bishops—so said the organ of the Roman Catholic body—and no man knows better; but it was not his word alone they had—they had the declaration of those bishops and clergy to the same effect over and over again. He need not remind the House for what purpose this Association held its meetings. Every Member whom he had the honour to address knew as well as he did that separation from this country was their avowed object. His hon. Friend the Member for Dublin had, upon a former night, alluded to an observation made by Mr. O'Connell, when he heard of the provisions of the Bill about to be introduced by the right hon. Baronet. He would also quote the concluding sentence of a speech delivered by the same Gentleman upon another occasion. His words were, "Hurrah for Peel and Repeal!" He would ask, could any person entertain a doubt as to what Mr. O'Connell meant? Was there an hon. Member in the House who did not know full well, that the meaning it was intended to convey was, that Mr. O'Connell looked on this Bill as one step more towards Repeal. Then he would ask the right hon. Baronet how he could call upon the Protestants of Ireland to support such a measure at such a time? The boon which the right hon. Baronet was about to force upon the Roman Catholics would not satisfy them—it would create, if possible stronger feelings of suspicion and discontent upon the part of the Protestants.

They already felt they were deserted by those in whom they placed most confidence—they felt that they had few friends left to defend or protect them. They at one time dissolved their society, a society which could count amongst its ranks some, aye, many of the first noblemen and gentlemen in the three kingdoms. They dissolved their society at the bidding of their Sovereign without hesitation, and without a murmur. He hoped not, but he could not help fearing that the time would soon come, when the services of that society would be as much required as they were at any former period. Self-preservation he had always understood to be one of the first impulses of our nature; and when the Protestants of Ireland found themselves deserted, abandoned, and betrayed, he hoped they would not be considered as deserving of censure, if they again re-united for their mutual protection.

Mr. *Hume* was anxious to offer his opinion upon a subject which interested the country so deeply. He had paid considerable attention to the state of Ireland, and, therefore, desired to state the view he entertained in reference to the measure brought forward by the right hon. Baronet. The spirit of the hon. Gentleman (Major Beresford), who had begun this debate to-night, afforded a specimen of what the Irish Protestant was—a specimen of the opinions entertained by the class to which the hon. Gentleman belonged. The hon. Gentleman, who had just taken his seat, called upon them to recollect what had been the state of Ireland. The hon. Member had told them, and told them truly, and he recollected more, perhaps, than most of them in the House upon that subject—of the proceedings and transactions in that country, which every hon. Gentleman in that House must regret had ever taken place. Now what was the policy which the right hon. Baronet intended to pursue towards Ireland? The object of that policy was to remove the just grounds of complaint which existed on the part of the Roman Catholics for the injustice which had been exercised towards them. It was intended that Acts should be removed which had been always considered as acts of oppression. Such a course would put an end to the possibility of such scenes taking place as the hon. and gallant Gentleman stated to have taken place almost every year during the last century. It was because such was the object and tendency of the right hon. Baronet's measure that he would give his support to the Bill. It was because it was one of those measures which had been announced last year, and which, it was promised, would be measures of conciliation, and such as would remove the obstacles which existed to the pacifying the great majority of the Irish people, who had hitherto been in a state of great disquiet, that he would cordially support it. The course which the right hon. Baronet was now pursuing was not new. Did not the right hon. Baronet commence last year? Two measures, one of which was the Dissenters Chapels Bill, had been introduced by the Government, and sanctioned by the Legislature. To both of these he had given his support. The Dissenters Chapels Bill he regarded as an excellent measure; and now that it had passed and become law, he looked back with satisfaction to the support which he had given to that measure—a measure which he considered as of great importance to the country, and which would yet be productive of much more real good than any one perhaps at present anticipated. What, then, was the next measure? The Charitable Bequests Bill—a Bill which, he regretted to say, had not been received by the Catholics in that spirit he could have wished, nor that it really deserved. He remembered Mr. O'Connell declaring, in 1830, his opinion, that if the Roman Catholics were given the partial direction of their charities the greatest advantages would follow from it. By the Bequests Bill, not only was an equality given to the Roman Catholics, but there was the chance of a majority for them amongst the Commissioners. Yet, he was sorry to say, such a measure had not been received in that spirit he had hoped for, and in which he believed it had been tendered. This was, then, the third measure. He rejoiced to see it proposed, because he considered that it was calculated to allay discontent in Ireland. The hon. and gallant Officer who last had addressed himself to the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government, had asked of him to see how Conciliation Hall would deal with these measures. He trusted that the right hon. Gentleman would not pay the least attention to any such suggestion. Let the right hon. Gentleman do justice, and he need not pay any attention to the opinions of individuals. Let him perform his task by securing peace, and he need not care for the discontent of a few. Upon this subject the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Shaw) had made a strong appeal to the right hon. Baronet. The right hon. and learned Gentleman seemed to be generally calm and sedate in his manner; but on this point he was seriously agitated, and, in his opinion, took a most erroneous view of the question. The right hon. and learned Gentleman regarded it as a religious question. He, on the contrary, did not esteem it to be any such thing. It was a mere question of policy. It was the duty of the Government so to regard it, and so to proceed with it. He was sorry, upon such a question, and at such a time, to find the cry of "Church in danger"—the "No Popery" cry again raised, and the opinion again put forth, that Catholics could not be permitted to be placed on an equality with Protestants. Such sentiments carried them back for two centuries—to that period in their history when Protestants felt themselves called upon, by any and by every means, to defend themselves against the power then possessed by the Catholic Church. What danger, he wished to know, could now follow from having any connexion with the Pope? He believed that the alarm felt upon religious grounds was utterly unfounded. He believed that no men could live satisfactorily with each other in the same country, unless there was an equality of civil rights, and something too like decency and forbearance exhibited towards each other. Believing this, he asked them to look at the situation of Ireland, to see the position in which the Catholics were placed there, to ask themselves would they be satisfied, as a people, if their condition was similar to that of the people of Ireland? He had often said, and repeated the sentiment many years ago, that if he had been an Irishman and a Catholic, he would have been amongst the first, the most ardent, the most zealous, and the most unflinching in his resistance to that system of oppression which was so long maintained and so cruelly continued. He considered that all subjects of the British Crown were entitled, as a right, to equal laws and equal privileges; and on those grounds alone he maintained that discontent existed, and discontent must be continued as long as they were refused to any one class of men. He had heard Mr. O'Connell from that very Bench, say, that the best way to satisfy Ireland was to remove the causes of her discontent. The sentiment was as true as it was just; it was as just as it was wise to act upon it. He held, then, this measure as one step in the right direction. The right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite seemed to dissent from this opinion; he seemed to think that passing such a measure as this would be adding to the difficulties of Ireland. How that could be he could not understand; for he believed that placing the teachers of the Roman Catholics in a better situation, rendering them better able to perform the duties of their sacred calling, and capacitating them the more suitably to conduct their parishioners, and instil into them sentiments of morality, must be in itself a most important national benefit. Some, however, complained of the conduct of the Irish priests. It was, he must say, a matter of astonishment to him, how upon such a moderate, such a scanty pittance as had been allowed to them, the Irish were able to bring up their clergy to fill the responsible situations of parish priests. He believed, that by giving them assistance to produce an enlightened and intelligent priesthood, they would have men better able not only to teach their flocks, but by that very means to improve the condition of the people of Ireland. Let them, he said, when they treated of the affairs of Ireland, consider what had been their policy in India, and imitate it. Let them recollect that there were various sects within that vast extent of India which was submitted to their rule, and there due regard was paid to the religious ceremonies of each sect. Every sect was treated with due respect, and they allowed to each the means of giving education to the teachers of the particular sects. The consequence was, that the greatest satisfaction and the most perfect contentment prevailed. In India they had the proof of the course that ought to be pursued in Ireland. In India they saw a small number of British settlers governing an immense empire, and governing it well. It was a marvel how, by so few in number, the many could be controlled, governed and directed — how quiet, how peaceable, and how well behaved were the many. Why was this? Because the interests of the community were attended to—because no sectarian feeling influenced their political proceedings. It was by this course, and this course alone, that a few Englishmen were able to govern India. Let them look, then, to see how religion was provided for in India. He would begin with the Church of England. The total expenditure of the Episcopalian Church in Bengal, in 1827, was 40,000*l.*, and in Bombay, 20,000*l.*, whilst the Mahomedan and Hindoo religions were also in part supported. One of the acts that attached most credit to the government of the Marquess Wellesley, was the establishment of the Hindoo College. Now, if they had followed in India that course of policy which had been so constantly pursued in Ireland, the result must have been that their empires must be but of a few years duration. And whatever might be said of the India Company, there was certainly a desire on the part of its servants to do their duties justly and fairly. In India did they refuse assistance to the Roman Catholics? Far from it. The Roman Catholic Church was also aided by the Indian Government. In 1831, the Bombay Government gave 2,000*l.* to repair the principal Catholic church in Bombay, which they had built in 1804. At Surat, the Roman Catholic church received forty rupees monthly, and the Indian Government had assisted to build Catholic churches in Baroda, Bassein, Malwan, Vingozula, and Kiziadroog; in fact, whenever there was a sufficient number of Catholics to form a congregation, there an allowance was given. The result was, the contentment of the population. It was not, however, only the Indian Government that displayed this proper spirit towards those whose religious opinions were different from those of the ruling Sovereign. The Mahomedan and Hindoo rulers frequently paid for the support of the priests of the Christians. The oldest Roman Catholic church in Bombay was erected in 1624. It received 126 rupees monthly from the Nawab of Surat, by virtue of a warrant from the Emperor of Delhi. The Ranee of Travancore gave 20,000 rupees a year, in 1815, for the religious instruction of the Syrian Christians, who were more numerous in that part of India than any other sect of Christians. But then, the hon. Baronet opposite said he would never contribute to the promotion of error. He was sorry to hear such a sentiment from one whose father, as a member of the Court of Directors, had attended so much to the moral and religious education of the native Indians. He was sure that it was not from his parent such a lesson had been learned, for he had been one remarkable for his kindness and tenderness towards the feelings of others. It was his opinion that they ought to be ashamed to find themselves exceeded in benevolence and kindness by Pagans. Let them consider the situation in which Ireland was placed. If they had conquered Ireland on the first of last January, instead of having conquered it six hundred years ago, would any man of common sense now think of depriving Ireland of a fund for her religious teachers? Much as they might regret the Irish being Roman Catholics, they never would think of taking from them the means of supporting their clergy. They had not done this with Canada. He had the means of showing that they had not done this with other parts of the Empire. According to a Return moved for by Lord Ashley in 1839, and which was now on the Table, it would be found that the Colonial churches received 134,000*l.* The Church of Scotland was paid 9,900*l.* the Dutch Church, 6,800*l.*, and the Church of Rome, 14,763*l.* At the Cape of Good Hope they paid for other Churches than the Episcopalian Church; in Jamaica the Baptists had 600*l.*, and they even paid for a Jewish synagogue. In every part of their territory they supported persons of different religious persuasions. By their doing so, there was contentment. If they pursued an opposite course, the result would be the same as it was in Ireland—discontent and dissatisfaction. But now, when the means were proposed for removing discontent, they had the hon. and gallant Colonel opposite (Colonel Verner) threatening them with a union of some kind; but whether it was to be a revival of the Orange Lodges, the gallant Gentleman had not told them. He would tell the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Peel) not to mind such threats; he said to him do justice, and he need not be afraid of ill-will or faction: neither could harm him. He held it to be the duty of a Government to the people, whatever might be their religious opinions, to do them justice. To do, not as they had done, but as they ought to do in Ireland—to change the system—to adopt a good one, and the results must be beneficial. Another reason why he thought Ireland was now fairly a claimant for a large concession of justice was, that she had been long wronged and long injured. The squabble that had been so long going on in Ireland was not one for religious doctrines, but it was a squabble for a large amount of public property; and he was sorry to see, amongst those who opposed the present grant, some whose families had risen by the allocation to themselves of that property which had once belonged to the Catholic Church. He passed that topic by, however. He was not disposed to dwell upon it at the present moment. This he could not but remark, that the Irish were not disposed to be discontented. If they were now discontented, it was because they felt they had been wronged. Men in all countries were disposed to obey the ruling powers, unless such insults were offered to them, and such wrongs done to them, that they could no longer bear them. Ireland was so treated. Ireland was discontented; Ireland must be discontented, therefore, like every other oppressed country, as long as justice was denied to her. In England the Established Church was the Church of the majority. In Scotland the State provided the means for maintaining the clergy—public property was assigned to them; but in Ireland they took the whole of the public property for the maintenance of a national clergy, and they gave it to a small portion of the population. That, he believed, was the greatest cause for complaint in Ireland. The right hon. Baronet proposed in some degree to remedy the evil; and then he was upbraided—charges were preferred against him, and epithets applied to him, which he thought were little creditable to those who used them. He was not one much attached to party; except so far as party promoted the principles he wished to see carried into successful operation. He was prepared, therefore, to take from either hand that which was good. He would not refuse a good thing now, bcause a number of years ago the right hon. Baronet was not prepared to propose it. What! was it because the right hon. Baronet was four years ago in error, and that he was now convinced he had been wrong—because four years ago he had sanctioned some measures different from the present—that it was to be said of him that he had acted improperly and discreditably in proposing this grant? What would those, who made such an objection, say of St. Paul, who, from being a persecutor up to a certain time, at length was convinced of his error, and became an apostle of the true faith? He felt a strong objection to the taking this money from the Consolidated Fund. Such a proposition made him feel a deep regret that they had not been able to carry the Appropriation Clause some years ago. Had they done so, there would now be an ample and sufficient fund for such purposes as the present. There was a saving of 134,000*l.* from the abolition of unnecessary bishoprics and unwise sinecures in the Protestant Church in Ireland. He thought they ought not to take the money from the Consolidated Fund; but if the Church funds were not at present sufficient, let them take from the Consolidated Fund until the surplus revenues of the Protestant Church could meet this demand upon them. He repeated that this was not a religious question—that so far from the Church being endangered by it, it would be in a better situation than it was at present. He considered that this was sound policy—that it was an act of justice; that it was one the people of Ireland had a right to demand, and that they were bound to yield. It was an act of justice—it was not concession—for the people were entitled to have the means of giving religious education to their teachers. It was a measure proposed in a good spirit; he supported it, and he trusted it would be triumphantly carried.

Mr. *Newdegate* said, that having, from his first entrance into that House consistently opposed the grant to Maynooth, he was anxious to give his reasons for that course which, indeed, applied still more strongly to the present measure. It could not be supposed but that almost immediately after having been returned with the view of generally supporting the present Government, his determination to oppose them on this subject had cost him great pain, nor had he arrived at that conclusion without deep thought and consideration. He could not say that the hon. Member for Montrose had done much to weaken his determination. He could not consider the question apart from religion, nor did he think that the hon. Member had taken a line of argument calculated to promote that desirable object which the hon. Member seemed to have in view—to reconcile conflicting parties, and to soften the differences which existed on this question; for the hon. Member had compared the Roman Catholic religion with the idolatrous religions of India. ["No."] The hon. Member had certainly said that, as we contributed to the support of the latter, we ought to contribute to the former; but he could not think of Catholicism in the same light with idolatry. Who could believe that those who were ornaments of that House, representing Roman Catholic constituencies, Roman Catholics themselves, were benighted as to the truths which they believed essential to salvation? But, at the same time, the Catholic Church took a latitude in teaching the ignorant which could not be justified; one of its maxims was, "*Si populus vult decipi, decipiatur.*" Was it then right to appropriate without inquiry to an institution for teaching, they knew not what, the funds of this great country? Not only are we forbidden to inquire, but we are expected to act in defiance of experience. Mr. Pitt's experiment with respect to the Establishment of Maynooth had signally failed; of that there was no question; yet upon that experiment, and the past liberality of Parliament, a plea of compact or virtual engagement had been set up. He (Mr. Newdegate) would not without good cause have been willing to withdraw funds upon which parties had been accustomed to depend; and he had certainly been inclined to think that there was some shadow of a compact up to the year 1821; since then even that shadow had vanished. Might he not ask then, to what was the failure of this experiment in regard to Maynooth owing? That failure was owing to the withholding of all voluntary contribution by the Roman Catholics themselves, upon which contribution Mr. Pitt had calculated. The Roman Catholic Church, exclusive in its doctrines, would not allow the Government to give part, and themselves provide the rest, because it would involve them in a suspicion that the Government claimed some interference in their management of the College; if that was the system of the Roman Catholic Church, then, he said, the Roman Catholic Church precluded itself from our assistance. He regretted that that system should be the means of exciting angry feelings; but that very circumstance made him deprecate the more earnestly the introduction of this measure at the present moment, when it certainly seemed most inexpedient to add internal dissension to external danger. But suppose that the hon. Member for Marylebone was right in his anticipations of war with America, who were to blame for having at such a time excited feelings of animosity between the people of England and of Ireland? Those who, in defiance of the strong feelings and opinions of their own supporters, had forced on this measure at such a crisis. If danger from this combination of circumstances arose, he cast the whole responsibility of it upon Her Majesty's Ministers. He had listened most attentively to all the arguments in support of the measure. What were they? It was said, "Place the students at Maynooth in easy circumstances, and their recollections of Maynooth will dispose them favourably to this country." But could it be believed that those easy circumstances would have any effect upon the minds of men who were educated in habits of ascetic privation, and taught to regard the use of comforts as a sin? And if such circumstances could unite the priests more firmly to England, would not the enjoyment of them at the same time deprive them of the confidence of their fellow-countrymen? It had been said that to doubt the gratitude of Irishmen for this boon was to exhibit a distrust of Ireland quite unjustifiable. He did not doubt their gratitude; he did not doubt that at first a friendly feeling would be aroused by this measure; but ere long the effect of it would wear out; for sincere Roman Catholics must be jealous of assistance given to any other sect, since they believe that doctrines other than their own, tend to the eternal detriment of those who hold them; and their gratitude would soon be lost in other feelings. It might be urged that these feelings were not common to all Roman Catholics—that they were entertained only by a sect. But he believed that it was for the education and maintenance of priests in the doctrines of the most rigid and the most political sect of Romanists, that this grant, if made, would be devoted. And this made him think it the more unreasonable, that they were called upon to make this grant without inquiry. They had very little information respecting the College of Maynooth before them; but they had some. It appeared from the Report respecting Maynooth some years since laid before that House, that the Gallican Articles were not professed by those educated at Maynooth. The late President of the College stated that the teaching was the same as at Lisbon; and another professor that it was the same as at Palermo, which was a Jesuit College. Even so late as the 3rd of the present month, at a meeting of the Priests' Protection Society, over which Lord Roden presided, the Rev. William Burke stated that the Roman Catholic priests at Maynooth were educated in the ultra Montane or Italian doctrine of intolerance; and this gentleman had been himself educated at Maynooth. May we not fairly infer, then, that the Italian doctrines—those of the Jesuits—are inculcated at Maynooth. It is never easy to penetrate the mysterious secrecy in which that order envelopes its proceedings. In this country, for many reasons, it is their policy not to attract public attention; and yet a recent meeting, held by the Roman Catholic Institute, appeared, by the report in the *Times*, to have been addressed by the Provincial of the Jesuits. Now, in the Bill of 1829, there were provisions for registering any persons of the order of Jesuits, or of any other of the known orders of the Roman Catholic Church, and for making an annual Return of them to that House; but he found that no such Return had been made since 1836, when the Return stated that there was no such person in England or Wales, excepting Flintshire; though from Ireland there was a Return of a considerable number of such persons. He thought, however, that that Return ought to be made annually; it might be as well to know how many persons of that class there were altogether in this country; for, from circumstances to which he would presently allude, it was evident their numbers were considerable. Then an argument had been raised upon the poverty of Ireland; and the right hon. Baronet had painted a glowing picture of the destitution of that country and of Maynooth; but he thought there was great weight in the observations of the hon. Member for Wickham, when he asked how it was that the Roman Catholics of Ireland were able to subscribe their 10,000*l.* to the Society of the Propaganda of Lyons? That was an index to the policy which the Church of Rome had always pursued. Ireland was already converted; and now her efforts were directed elsewhere—principally to England. The Roman Church calculated, that if her institutions in Ireland were left destitute, their condition would meet with—commiseration he was about to say—but with liberality on the part of the British Parliament. She would fain have connexion with the State, therefore she left her Irish institutions destitute; and it appeared her policy would prove successful. These reflections were forced upon him by the circumstances of the district which he represented. On the south of it the Convent of Princethorpe had arisen—large in extent—numerously occupied—amply provided; on the east, the Trappist Monastery of Gracedieu raised its head from Bardon Hill; nearer to the centre of that district a convent had been founded at Atherstone, and was at once tenanted; on the west, Oscot College gave the lie to the assertion that Roman Catholicism cannot educate her priests without national assistance; whilst Birmingham has its Roman Catholic cathedral; throughout the whole district, churches everywhere—schools and priests—were maintained at an expense far greater than the Roman Catholics of that district could themselves maintain; and this is but one instance of what is happening throughout England. Was this poverty, or was it Propagandism? If the Roman Catholics wholly neglected the education of their own priests in Ireland, was it not remarkable that they should appear possessed of such ample means in England? Did it not show what their policy was? Ireland was converted, and England was now the scene of their exertions; and what were the Government about to do? They were about to support the most active pioneers of a faith which they believed to be wholly mistaken. Was there not danger to the public peace? Was there not danger of entailing future dissensions of the gravest character, by adopting such a policy? What had brought Switzerland to her present distracted state? The attempt to commit the education of her people to the Jesuits. Let it not be thought he would justify the action of the Free Corps; that movement was anarchical, and opposed to every principle he held; but it was the unhappy consequence of the Government's having violated the religious feelings, and having endangered the religious freedom of a people who felt deeply on these subjects. He had a right to appeal to the decision of the Swiss Diet, as indicating the feelings of the Swiss in the most legitimate manner—and what was that decision? Why, the majority of the States of the Diet were determined to resist the commission of their education to

Jesuits, whose exclusive doctrines they abjured; and who in other countries had proved themselves to be arrant disturbers of the public peace. The objection to them was, that they bore in their constitution the elements of a secret society. True, the majority was not sufficient to make its decision federal law; but the majority wanted so little to give it effect, as to render it almost as strong a criterion of opinion, as though it had carried that opinion into law. He might be called a bigot, he might be accused of raising angry feelings; but he cast the whole blame upon those who, by this measure, had insulted the feelings of their supporters, and knew that those feelings were deeply rooted in their breasts. Formerly he had aided the Government as far as he could, by word, thought, and action, and little did he expect to see the result which had now happened. Was there a question that the Roman Catholic religion could amply support itself without this grant? If any such plea were raised, it might be worth listening to; but there was no foundation for any such argument. It had been said that the conduct of a Protestant landlord, who had provided means of devotion for his Roman Catholic tenants, presented a good example of what ought to be the conduct of the Government of the country to its Irish subjects; but in the first place, the landlord was not the ruler or the guide of his tenants; a landlord might do right in building a chapel for his tenants, if they had already been converted; but it was quite a different thing for a Government to foster and encourage the means of conversion to a faith considered by them erroneous. It had been urged that Protestantism was a vague indefinite term, involving only a negative; but a negative term was more than any defined in that which it denied. And he was of opinion, therefore, that Protestantism afforded justifiable bond of union for the opponents of this measure. What was the meaning of the word Protestant? What was that against which all sects of Protestants in common protested? What was it against which the constitution of this country protested? Nothing more nor less than the Roman Catholic doctrine. In common they deprecated that exclusive doctrine; in common they resisted domestic and civil interference on the part of the clergy, as exercised by the Roman Catholic priesthood; in common they claimed for all men free access to the Scriptures; in common they claimed for all men perfect freedom of conscience. In maintaining those views he could see nothing inconsistent, nothing wrong in Churchmen uniting with any class of their fellow-Protestants. For one, he would compromise himself by no course but the most direct on so important an occasion.

Mr. *Pakington* said, he quite agreed with his hon. Friend who had just sat down, that it was not possible, nor indeed desirable, to exclude religious considerations from the discussion of this measure; but, he thought his hon. Friend had by no means succeeded in showing that the Roman Catholics of Ireland were themselves able to supply the 17,00*l.* per annum, which was necessary to place the College of Maynooth upon a respectable footing. His hon. Friend the Member for Harwich (Major Beresford), had expressed apprehensions as to the effect this measure might have upon the Irish Established Church; and his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Armagh (Colonel Verner) had alluded to the necessity of supporting the Irish Protestants. He would not yield to those hon. Gentlemen, either in zeal for the fair support of the Irish Church, or in admiration of the high character and known loyalty of the Irish Protestants; but, he thought, that neither of those hon. Members had addressed themselves to the argument whether or not the Protestants and the Established Church in Ireland would not be in a better position to defend their rights after they had endeavoured to concede everything that could in justice or liberality be demanded. He must say he was sorry to hear the narrow party views on which the right hon. Member for Edinburgh had argued this question. As a Member of that party which had opposed the late Government, he thought the charges of the right hon. Member for Edinburgh were altogether unfounded. He had charged them that when they were in opposition they had made the "No-Popery" cry one of the means for unseating the late Government. Now, he denied that charge altogether. It was true, that when in opposition they had raised the cry of "Defend the Church," when they thought it was in danger, more particularly on the subject of education;

and under similar circumstances he was prepared to do so again; but he denied that the late Opposition, or their leaders, had raised the "No Popery" cry for the purpose of unseating the late Administration. There was another argument he had heard with much surprise—namely, that the measure lost much of its grace, if not of its utility, from the character of the party by whom it was brought forward. The hon. Member for Northamptonshire, indeed, had asked what right the present Government had to bring it forward? He must say, he thought it an unworthy mode of treating this question to oppose it on such grounds, instead of dealing with it upon its own merits. But looking at the history of the last fifteen or sixteen years, and considering that during ten years of that period the late Government had held office without attempting to improve the defective establishment at Maynooth, while the present Government were those who had carried Catholic Emancipation, he thought there was no Government or party in this country by whom this measure could be brought forward with more grace or propriety. Another argument which had been used by the right hon. Member for the University of Dublin and others was, that they ought to oppose this measure because it was but the forerunner of others still more objectionable He would not say that this was an unfair argument; but he must say, especially as it had been resorted to by so many speakers, that he thought it a very feeble one. He said again they should deal with this question on its own merits, and not upon contingencies. He was truly sorry to differ on a question of this nature from his hon. and respected Friend the Member for the University of Oxford (Sir R. Inglis), and from his hon. Friend the Member for Kent (Mr. Plumptre); but after the strong language used by the hon. Member for Kent (Mr. Plumptre), he felt bound to say, that while he would not yield to any one in sincere devotion to the Church of which he was a member, he did not think it inconsistent with his duty to that Church to give this measure his support; not a cold or hesitating support—not a reluctant support extorted by the strength of party ties—but a cordial and willing support, founded upon deep conviction; first that they must not venture to leave Maynooth on its present footing; and, secondly, that this measure was called for as a step in that wise and conciliatory policy towards Ireland which every Government should attempt to carry out. There was no part of the speech of the right hon. Baronet, when he introduced this question, in which he concurred so entirely as that in which he said, that of all courses they could take, the worst would be to leave things as they were. It was his sincere conviction, and he hoped he might express it without offence, that in its present state, whether they regarded it on social, political, or religious grounds, Maynooth was one of the greatest evils under which Ireland had suffered. He feared also, that these evils were not limited to Ireland. He feared they might be found in operation in our Colonies, and that it would not be difficult for him to name Colonies in which serious evils might be traced to the defective system of education at the College of Maynooth. He might, perhaps, be accused of inconsistency on this question; for, although he had never voted against the annual grant, he admitted there had been a time when he thought prospectively the grant to Maynooth might be withdrawn. But after the debate in 1841, which was brought forward by the hon. Member for Newcastle, the attention of Parliament had been more directed to the subject; and from that time he had ever thought that it would not be just or honourable in the Parliament of this country, so to sever the connexion now existing, and that the only fair policy would be forthwith to ameliorate the condition of this establishment. With these views he had never heard of an announcement with greater satisfaction than he heard of the notification of the right hon. Baronet at the close of last Session, that it was the intention of the Government to bring forward some measure of amelioration. He would not detain the House by again reading that extract from the speech of Mr. Perceval in 1812, which had been already quoted by his right hon. Friend the Member for Newark (Mr. Gladstone); but he would contend, if such were the opinions at that day of Mr. Perceval, with his known bias, how much more impossible must it be now to violate what had been well called our moral obligation upon this subject, not only after such a lapse of time, but after the course of legislation which had intervened, including the fresh measure of Roman Catholic Emancipation. How much more difficult would it now be to retrace their steps, and say they would sever all connexion with a Catholic Establishment. The only fair and prudent course left open was the policy adopted by Government, to endeavour to make the College of Maynooth effective. Such a course had been attempted, and he would not bring himself to believe that it could fail. He would not believe that the great proposition of Her Majesty's Ministers would be met by the Roman Catholics of Ireland in any other than a spirit of gratitude, or be regarded by them in any other light than a measure of liberality and conciliation on the part of the Government. They might not find improvement in the first year or the year after, yet looking at the recognised principles of human nature, if a class of persons were improved, and if they were educated in a more efficient manner, the rational result would be as had been expressed by the right hon. Member for Newark in his admirable speech, that this course would have a softening effect on the system. These were the sentiments which led him to give his support to the course recommended by Her Majesty's Government. He thought Her Majesty's Government might fairly be congratulated on the success which had attended their Irish policy. The right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government had on one occasion, just before he took office, alluded to Ireland as his chief difficulty; but such had been the policy of the right hon. Baronet with regard to Ireland—firm and vigorous on the one hand, generous and conciliatory on the other—that he thought the time would soon come, if it had not already arrived, when Government could turn to Ireland as the subject of their best and proudest triumph. Before he sat down, he must express his hope, that while he cordially supported this liberal course towards their Roman Catholic fellow-Christians—there were some who seemed scarcely to regard them as fellow-Christians—the religious destitution of the Protestant members of the Church of England both at home and abroad, would no longer be overlooked by either the Government or the House. Her Majesty's Ministers should recollect, while doing this act of justice to Ireland, that they had other duties no less binding—other obligations no less sacred—they sent forth annually thousands of destitute emigrants and wretched convicts to our Colonies; and when any fair and reasonable claims for assistance to our Protestant fellow-subjects might hereafter be made, he trusted they would not again be met in a spirit of illiberal objection by the House, or cold refusal by the Government. He would no longer detain the House than to express his earnest hope and prayer that this conciliatory measure might be productive of every good and healing effect which could be intended or hoped for by its authors.

Mr. *P. M. Stewart* would not presume to answer any hostile remarks made by the hon. Member for Droitwich on the able and unanswerable speech delivered by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Edinburgh; but as there was a part of that hon. Member's remarks which related to other hon. Members, and which had reference to the two great parties into which the country was divided, he would venture to trespass on the House for a very few minutes. The hon. Member stated that in the electioneering contest, in 1841, no weapon was used by the Conservative party, such as the "No-Popery" cry. The hon. Member had evidently forgotten, or had thrown away one of the most powerful weapons of Conservative politics used by his party at the election. He did not charge the hon. Member himself with having used that weapon; but he wished he could cite there the Conservative constituencies throughout the country to bear him out in the assertion that "the Church in danger" was the weapon used by the party opposite throughout the country for the purpose of turning out the late Ministry, and placing themselves in power. They could not have forgotten that it was said of the proposition of the late Government as to the Irish Church that it was "a heavy blow and great discouragement to the Protestant religion." At all events, he knew that this weapon was used, and with great effect, at the elections against the party with which he was connected. The hon. Member said the measure ought to be tried on its own merits, and that a distinction ought not to be drawn between measures and men. The right hon. Member for Edinburgh declared that the country had a deep interest in the characters of public men, and though this measure should have his support, he must nevertheless look at the men who introduced it, who, when out of office, opposed it—for if the measure was right in principle now, it must have been doubly right then. Though differing from many hon. Gentlemen in their arguments against the measure, he yet hoped it would not reach the Statute book; but if it did reach the Statute book he hoped the House would not let it do so under false pretences. He had not heard the speech of the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel); but he had read the speech, and he gathered from it that the right hon. Baronet declared the measure involved no question of principle, and no minor points of detail; but in his (Mr. P. Stewart's) opinion, there was no measure introduced into the House which more deeply involved a direct and important principle than this Bill. It was urged that since 1795 the grant of 9,000*l.* to Maynooth had been sessionally agreed to. But the proposition was not now for 9,000*l.* or for three times 9,000*l.*, a proposition which would neither decide nor involve any principle. This Bill was to remove the annual grant from out of the reach of Parliament, and to give simultaneously 30,000*l.* for building purposes. Instead of leaving the grant to be annually considered by Parliament, Government were intoducing an Act of Parliament and a binding Statute which was to put this grant effectually out of the reach of Parliament. Did not this measure, then, involve a question of principle? The country at least so judged of the measure, and it judged rightly, he thought. They were going to substitute for an administrative Act of each Session, a fixed plan by a Statute which would thus become a part of the Constitution of the Kingdom, and in doing this he held that it was in violation of the protestation which the nation had made against Popery at the Reformation. It was curious to remark the qualified reasons for supporting the measure assigned by many hon. Members. How, for instance, did the right hon. Member for Newark relieve himself from responsibility on this question? He said he deprecated the principle of the Bill—he was fearful of the consequences, but he was not answerable for them. Was that the way in which an all-but Member of the Cabinet should recommend and support a measure of this nature? The hon. Member for Bath brought forward stirring, pungent, and pointed arguments in favour of the Bill, and against those who dared to differ from him; but how did the hon. Member qualify his support? He said, had this been the first proposal of the sort, and had the House not been in the habit of granting the Maynooth vote annually, he would not have supported it. This was the qualified support the measure received from the hon. Member for Bath. Then there was the hon. Member for Lambeth, how did he qualify his vote? The hon. Member said, "I applaud the measure — the principle is perfect—but unless the funds to pay the College be drawn from the source pointed out by the hon. Member for Sheffield, and unless the measure leads us towards the end aimed at by the hon. Member for Sheffield, then I cannot approve of the Bill." The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for Ireland said, "You tell us it is useless to meddle with the question, and that it is best to leave well alone;" and the right hon. Gentleman—he would pardon him for the word—had the effrontery to tell the House. "But there is no 'well' in Ireland to let alone." He would ask the right hon. Gentleman was there no well in Ireland in 1841, when the reins of government were given up by the late Government, and assumed by the present? In his humble opinion, looking at the ordinary tests and proofs of prosperity, Ireland since the time of Henry II., since the twelfth century, never was in so prosperous a state as to its general interests as at the time when the late Government gave over the seals of office to the present Ministry. Take the common tests, the rise in the value of property and the fall in the rate of interest—tests which afforded a general conviction of the security and the peace of a country. If tested that way, Ireland would be found never to have been in such a state of prosperity as in the year 1841. The present Bill was uncalled for —it was entirely unlooked for by the country at large—it was startling to all, and more especially considering the quarter from whence it came. It was brought forward to cure a grievance of which the Roman Catholics never complained. The House had always listened with sympathy and attention to the catalogue of grievances which was but too heavy in Ireland; but even in the admirable speech of the Member for Waterford in reference to the improvement of Maynooth, he had never heard this grievance included in the list. The Roman Catholics of Ireland were too intelligent to make that a ground of grievance which they but shared with Protestant Dissenters at large. Then, let the House look at the measure as a measure of pacification, what was it they saw? It was improper for a Member so humble as himself to go into motives of Ministers, but he could not help saying that had the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel) foreseen the way in which this Bill had been received here and in Ireland, he never would have involved the House in the present interminable debate on the merits or demerits of his measure. What had they recently collected from Mr. O'Connell's speech—a speech in which the hon. Gentleman had shown no falling off in powers, and no cooling of his ardour in the cause of his country? That hon. Gentleman was reported to have said, in reference to this measure, "This is the first fruits of fear, but not the last, for we shall next have Repeal itself." The hon. Member went on to say, "It was a boon to misbehave, and we will continue our behaviour, for we are beginning to reap the fruits of it." What he would ask, must be the effect of this Bill on the Irish people, so interpreted by their leader? In this country we were already beginning to see what that effect was likely to be—the destruction of peace and harmony here, and, if not a mere dead letter in Ireland, provocative of nothing but distrust and disturbance there. The public ask how reconciliation and union were to be accomplished by this measure, when they see the fruits of it already are increased agitation in Ireland? As a Scotchman, he almost regretted that in his own quiet country the same system of agitation had not been adopted. But the truth was, Government thought the Scottish people so passive and peaceable, that they might despise their reasonable wishes. Two years ago the hon. Member for Perth and himself came forward as the advocates of the claims of the Scottish Church, when they presented humble petitions, not for money, not for patronage, for they abhorred the one and did not value the other; but praying that while in secular matters they obeyed the laws of Parliament, in spiritual matters they might be exempted from the interference of the civil powers; but this petition was spurned and disregarded. The Roman Catholics of Ireland, however, to whom he grudged nothing—who did not ask to be independent in spiritual matters, on them Government voluntarily bestowed this privilege. Here was an inconsistency which must be explained. The system adopted by Government in respect to Scotland was exactly the reverse of that adopted towards Ireland; and this system had resulted in disaster, for a separate Church Establishment was founded—a proceeding which Government might have avoided by granting to the prayers of the Presbyterian people of Scotland that which they had voluntarily given to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, and which they did not even ask for. He was quite willing to admit that the world at large was indebted to the Roman Catholics for many bright examples of piety and learning. The names of Fenelon and Lingard were sufficient to prove the benefits mankind had sustained from the Roman Catholics; but while he was prepared to relax every Penal Statute passed against them since 1688, yet, as a Protestant, he must say his concession was limited to this—that he would not lend his hand to risk those great principles of the Reformation, on which, in his opinion, the welfare and security of the country depended. There was no mistaking the opinion of the people on this question. The countless petitions declared the deep interest they took in the question, and the thorough knowledge they had of its true import. There were only three petitions presented in favour of the Bill that day, and from whom did these petitions come? From a body of Socinians at Ulster, from another body of Socinians in Finsbury, and from a third body of Socinians at Newington. He objected to the principle of doing evil that good may come; and it was because he held this doctrine that he considered he should not discharge his duty to his country if he did not oppose the present measure—a measure fraught with evil, and which at best could only be productive of doubtful good to Ireland. In his heart he desired that the measure might never reach the Statute book; but if it were forced there against the opinion of the people of the country, that opinion would take the first opportunity of eradicating it. The measure was doubly fraught with evil, for it raised hopes in the Roman Catholics which Government dared not satisfy. It was fraught with evil to the Protestant, because it created anxieties which would take much time and caution to allay. He might be in a minority in that House, but his majority was in the country at large; and he felt he should not discharge his duty, not to his constituents only but to the country, and to the Roman Catholics of Ireland, if he did not enter his solemn protest against the present measure.

The Earl of *Lincoln* was so well aware that the subject before the House had been completely exhausted during the four nights' debate which had taken place, and that every argument which had been brought forward, both for and against the measure, had been successively repeated, that he should have hesitated in rising to address the House, and should have contented himself with giving a silent vote, had it not been that he was anxious to remove from himself the danger of any misconstruction which might be attached to his omitting to state the reasons for that vote. He was anxious to explain that the vote he should give would not be a hesitating or a doubtful one; but that he was deeply interested in the success of the measure, not only in its success in this House, but in its success in Ireland. So strongly, indeed, was he convinced of the propriety, of the excellence, the necessity, and the justice of this measure, that he wished in the few observations which he was about to make, that he could impress upon any of his hearers ever so small a proportion of that conscientious conviction which influenced his own mind. The hon. Gentleman who had just sat down had appealed to the religious feelings of the community on the question; and he was ready to admit, that these feelings had been raised—that they were honest and conscientious; and equally ready to admit that no statesman ought rashly to do violence to such feelings. But it was equally the duty of a statesman to examine carefully whether these feelings were based upon justice and reason. The hon. Gentleman had stated it as his opinion, that if Government could have foreseen the reception which the measure had met with, they would have never brought it forward. He imagined that the hon. Gentleman, from the context of his reasoning, meant to imply that Government would have shunned that expression of religious feeling which, he was free to confess, had been excited. Now, he believed, and, in fact, he knew, that his right hon. Friend at the head of the Government, not only when he brought forward the question, but when he gave notice last year of his intention to bring it forward, was well aware of the risks he was incurring, and of the manner in which it would probably be received. And this, of itself, would be a sufficient answer to the taunts launched last night by the right hon. Member for Edinburgh. Why, the hon. Gentleman the Member for Renfrewshire had answered these charges, when he said that there had been no call for the measure. If such had been the case, if on the one hand there was no demand for this Bill, and if on the other those feelings of religious opposition to which he had adverted were anticipated, what but an imperious sense of duty could have influenced the right hon. Baronet in bringing forward the measure? The question of contract had been repeatedly argued and re-argued during the last four nights' debate, and a great number of hon. Gentlemen, including the right hon. Member for Edinburgh, had denied the existence of any contract, or even of any implied contract. Now, he was ready to rest his vote on the merits of the question itself, because, quite apart from any questions of contract, he believed the proposition to be founded on justice; but at the same time he could not agree with the assertion that no contract existed. He could not agree with those who asserted that they might with equity withdraw the grant, any more than he could agree with those who asserted that a new religious principle had been raised by the measure. In discussing the question of contract, he was aware that he could bring forward no new argument; but, looking at the two Irish Acts of Parliament; looking at the Act of the Imperial Parliament sanctioning them and confirming them; looking at the Acts establishing the College of Maynooth, framing its regulations, appointing trustees, many of them Protestants, to whom to confide its management; looking to the circumstance that in 1809 and in 1813 they revised this Vote for the purpose of increasing it, and adding to the accommodation of the institution and the number of the students; looking to all these facts, he could not but feel that they were committed to the principle, and that a contract did exist upon the subject, not indeed a written contract of that legal force which would bind an individual, but such a contract as could alone exist between a Government and the governed. Again, he denied that any new religious principle was involved in the measure. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Edinburgh had taken advantage of the assertions made on this point by hon. Gentlemen on his (Lord Lincoln's) side of the House; but he conceived that the religious principle which did exist in the matter was raised in 1795, and then when raised, disposed of. Indeed he could not see what a religious principle had to do with what was now purely a matter of arithmetical calculation, though the hon. Gentleman who last addressed the House mainly relied, in discussing this part of the subject, on the fact that we are about to triple the amount of the grant, and to give 30,000 for the improvement of the building. But, as he had stated, the religious principle was raised in 1795, in the measure suggested by Mr. Burke, introduced by Mr. Pitt, laid before the Prelates of England for their sanction and approval, acceded to by both Houses of Parliament—then exclusively Protestant—and finally made law by the sanction of George III., a Sovereign whom all Protestants revered. Finding a measure thus sanctioned, could they in 1845, in a reformed Parliament, with Roman Catholics now associated with us in the general legislation of the Empire, assume the right to discontinue it? Now with the permission of the House, he would refer to one or two authorities which he thought ought to have great weight with them on this subject. In 1811, Mr. Grattan stated "he was not aware of the strength of the right hon. Gentleman's (the Chancellor of the Exchequer's) argument, that because we adopted the original grant, therefore we were not obliged ever to enlarge it. If once the principle was adopted, the limitation of the sum was only to be fixed by the circumstances of the times; to act otherwise was nominally to adopt and ultimately to defeat the principle." But when he contended that they would not be justified in striking off the grant, he did not mean to say that fifty years' prescription would make that right which was in itself wrong. There might be maxims in politics as in morals of right and wrong, which no revolution of ages, and no changes of States or Legislatures, could modify or alter; but then he was compelled to ask whether any such maxims were involved in the measure now before the House? As to the proposition that a State might, without any infringement of religious principle, endow an institution intended to teach doctrines differing from those professed by the State—could it be contended that such a principle was morally wrong? He denied it. He believed, however, that there were some of his hon. Friends who held this doctrine; but, if they did, let them act up to their principles: they must go further than the rejection of this measure—they must utterly repeal the grant. But even this will not vindicate their consistency—they must go further still: they must cease to continue to the Protestant Dissenters of Ireland such assistance as the *Regium Donum;* they must withdraw from the Colonies that aid which the Roman Catholics there at present received. He knew that his hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle said that he would be willing to make an exception in favour of the Colonies, and to stand by Treaties which bound us to payments for the support and advancement of Catholicism there. Where then was the principle? If the hon. Member considered the question as a matter of religious principle, he must make its application universal. No consideration of expediency should enter, when feelings so much higher stood on the threshold. The hon. Gentleman, and those who thought with him, should be prepared to act up to their principles, and treat these Treaties, providing for the support of Roman Catholicism in the Colonies, as so much waste paper, even though by such infraction of Treaties we should lose these Colonies, and all the advantages which attached to them. As for himself, he looked upon this measure as altogether unconnected with religious considerations. He looked upon it as a measure of high national policy. He saw in Ireland a priesthood placed in the midst of a population poor and ignorant—a priesthood which must possess power and influence in proportion to the poverty and ignorance by which it was surrounded. Could he then hesitate, seeing the immense moral influence they possessed — could he hesitate to adopt means for the better education of these educators of the people? Could he shrink from an endeavour to instruct those from whom alone the people of Ireland would consent to receive instruction? He did not despair of seeing the influence of the priesthood enlisted in aid of the common cause of the United Empire. He did not despair of seeing that priesthood labouring in connexion with them, not indeed in the field of religion, but in the common field of the regeneration and improvement of the country. Such a consummation he believed to be within their reach. He would appeal even to his hon. Friend the Member for the University of Oxford — to his feelings of Christian charity and benevolence—he would appeal to him whether even he would not make any sacrifice, short of one in which his feelings of religion were involved, to arrive at such a consummation? But to attain such an end, the proposition before the House must be the first step. Without such a measure nothing which they could do would be received in a grateful spirit. If this first step be wanting, all the best meant efforts of the Government for the improvement of Ireland will be valueless and unavailing. Several hon. Gentlemen, among others the hon. Members for Harwich and Warwickshire, had laid great stress upon what they conceived to be the failure of Maynooth up to the present time, and contended that therefore the grant should not be increased, but should be withdrawn altogether. But before he could come to such a conclusion he must inquire into the circumstances of this alleged failure. He was not about to give the House any further details on the point alluded to by the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government, in bringing forward the measure, as to the present state of Maynooth; but he believed that the hon. Member for Perthshire was the only Gentleman who had stated that Maynooth was in that condition in which its friends could reasonably wish to see it. He believed, on the contrary, that it was in that state, as regarded internal arrangements, which was more calculated to lower and debase the mind than to elevate and enlighten it. Endowed by the State with a sum of money calculated apparently at the exact amount most likely to thwart its own avowed object, and at the same time discourage private liberality — could a place like this be likely to instil into the mind of the young candidate for holy orders any gratitude or reverence to those to whom he owed the education which he was receiving? Before, then, they pronounced Maynooth to be a failure, increase the physical comforts of its inmates. It was now admitted to be an axiom as regarded education, that it required physical comforts as a first step to its effective instilment, and that without that first step it could be only half successful. Let there also be an improved system of scientific and literary education. With the theological course of study he hoped that they would not interfere; but the general education, though he by no means concurred in the observations of the hon. Member for Newcastle on this point, was susceptible of much improvement. With this improvement, and with an increase of physical comforts, if the institution should yet be found a failure, they would then, and not till then, have a right to complain of it. As matters at present stood, any argument deduced from the allegation that the priests hitherto educated in Maynooth had been found in any way wanting in their proper duties to their flocks, and had diverged into the paths of agitation and political excitement against the laws, only confirmed him in the impression that it was wise to attempt to improve their education, and by some such measure as that now before them to attempt to gain to the Legislature their better feelings. Another objection which had been raised to the measure, was that which related to its being introduced unconditionally. It was said, "Increase the endowment if you will, but increase it under certain conditions. Impose such conditions as should make Maynooth a seminary for general as well as theological learning. Do not educate priests only within these walls. In short, secularize as much as possible its character." But this system had already been tried. It was upon this foundation that the College had at first been placed. The plan was persevered in for twenty-two years, and then abandoned, as having been found unsuitable and practically inconvenient. In the year 1826 the Commissioners of Education inquired into the condition of the College at Maynooth, and it was in these terms that they spoke of it:—

> "Although the principal object of the trustees appears to have been the education of persons for the Roman Catholic priesthood, they appropriated a portion of the building as a lay college, and received within it persons who were not destined for holy orders. It became, however, apparent that the different system of education which is deemed necessary for those who are to undertake the duties and obligations of the priesthood, and the additional restraints to which they are subject, rendered the lay college an inconvenient appendage. It was discontinued in the year 1817, and the buildings and land which had

been appropriated to it were applied to the use of the clerical students."

The statement which he had just read fully confirmed the prudent and sagacious anticipations of Mr. Burke. The words of Mr. Burke had been quoted already by an hon. Gentleman on the other side; but with the permission of the House he would read a passage which bore upon this part of the question:—

> "When we are to provide for the education of any body of men we ought seriously to consider the particular functions they are to perform in life. A Roman Catholic clergyman is the minister of a very ritual religion, and by his profession subject to many restraints. His life is a life full of strict observances, and his duties are of a laborious nature towards himself, and of the highest possible trust towards others. The duty of confession alone is sufficient to set in the strongest light the necessity of his having an appropriate mode of education. If a Roman Catholic clergyman, intended for celibacy, and the function of confession, is not strictly bred in a seminary where these things are respected, inculcated, and enforced as sacred, and not made the subject of derision and obloquy, he will be ill fitted for the former, and the latter will be indeed in his hands a terrible instrument."

It was admitted that the experiment had been fairly tried, and that it had entirely failed. Into this part of the subject he would not enter further. He would only express his belief that it would be most improper in the Government to impose such terms as those thus proposed; and if they did attempt to secularize education in Maynooth, they would run greater risk of making the laity educated there bigoted, than they would have a chance of rendering the priesthood liberal. But the hon. Member for Armagh complained of the time at which the Motion had been brought forward, and his hon. Friend the Member for Harwich had adopted the same tone. He remembered also, that on a previous night the hon. Member for Dublin had declared that he thought the time at which the measure had been brought forward the most unfortunate which could have been selected. He feared the objection of time was too often raised to measures of this kind when all other arguments failed, or when it was necessary to find a makeweight for the scale when the balance of reasons was against the speaker. At the same time he was ready to admit, that on a measure of this kind, the time of granting the concession, and the manner of doing it, were two essential points on which the success of the experiment depended. As to the manner in which it had been brought forward, he should say nothing. The right hon. and learned Member for Dungarvon—in a speech of even more than his usual eloquence—did ample justice to that point. As regarded the time, he thought this was the time for granting a boon of this nature. Let him remind the House, that they had been frequently told by Mr. O'Connell that every concession to the Roman Catholics was extorted by force; we have been told that we yielded to agitation within our shores, or to the apprehension of dangers and wars from without. Where were the dangers which we had now to fear? He believed we had nothing to fear; and this was a fitting occasion for displaying a requisite degree of moral courage in adapting our measures to the circumstances of the time and of the country. This was not only the most propitious, but, as he had said, the precise time for such a measure as the present. Agitation had been suppressed, the supremacy of the law had been vindicated, the clamour for Repeal (which had continued so long that the people of this country at least were apprehensive that there was some real danger of the success of that measure), was drowned in the murmur of growing industry and commercial prosperity. As to external dangers there were none; not even those "little wars" which had been left as a legacy to the present Government by their predecessors in office. Scarcely even a rumour of wars was heard. He maintained, then, that with peace at home and abroad, this was the particular moment when a boon might be conferred with grace. "And I pray to God," said the noble Lord, "it may be accepted by the people of Ireland in the spirit in which it is given." But let me remind the House that if this measure is now rejected you will not be in the same position as if it never was proposed. We have held up this cup to the lips of the Roman Catholics of Ireland. I sincerely trust the House will not dash it from them. We have raised their hopes. I trust you will not force them back on their own resources. If the House should so decide, it will incur a heavy and serious responsibility. I feel that I have detained the House too long, but I must repeat that this measure has my hearty concurrence, not only in its details, but in its principle. I am ready, however, to admit that whilst I give as unhesitating a support to this measure as I have ever done to any measure during the twelve years I have had the honour of sitting in this House, and while I approve warmly of its equity and propriety, as well as anticipate the most beneficial results from it when it shall have come into operation, I must, I say, at the same time acknowledge that this vote is to me a painful one. I shall give this vote in opposition to the remonstrances and views and opinions of my constituents—men with whom during my career in Parliament I have had no political differences, and whose religious feelings on this question I cannot look on otherwise than with the deepest reverence and respect. There are other causes which render the vote a very painful one. I feel that those causes—to which it is neither necessary nor would it be becoming in me more particularly to allude —are entitled to weight, and render my vote a most painful one; but I also feel that I should be wanting in my duty to the country if I allowed considerations of this kind to induce me to hesitate or falter in the course which I think right. I support this measure because I am firmly convinced that it will—I do not say in its immediate results—tend to the prosperity of Ireland, and that the policy which dictates it will tend to produce political and religious peace in that country, and to secure the establishments of both countries, whether civil or ecclesiastical. As regards the feelings of constituents on this question, I would address myself with all deference and humility to some hon. Friends around me, who I know are suffering from pressure from without. I can myself speak from experience on that point; but I feel confident that if my hon. Friends adopt the course which according to their conscientious convictions they think right, we shall be enabled, at some future day, to appeal from the intoxication of the present state of apprehension of our constituents, to the sobriety of their future reflections; and sure I am, that in their calm and temperate moments, they will accord us their free and unqualified meed of approbation.

Lord *Worsley* said: If I consulted my own feelings, I should not trouble the House with any observations on this question; but having presented 136 petitions from my own constituents against this Bill, I feel I may be excused if I ask the House to indulge me for a few moments whilst I state the grounds of the vote I mean to give. I presented petitions, not only from the Wesleyans, but from all the Dissenting bodies in the division of the county which I represent; and although I have had the honour of sitting for that division for thirteen or fourteen years, I may safely say that on no previous occasion has there been so universal a sentiment of opposition to a Government measure. I am bound to say this; and I feel I should ill discharge my duty as a Member of this House, if I did not at once avow that my opinion on this question does not coincide with the views of my constituents. I have the satisfaction, however, of reflecting, that though I gave no pledges, my general opinions on this question were known to my constituents. During the period I have been in Parliament, I have invariably voted for the grant of 9,000*l*. to Maynooth, and I have been three or four times re-elected after having done so. I also, in 1835, voted for the Motion of my noble Friend the Member for the city of London, when he proposed a Committee of the whole House on the ecclesiastical affairs of Ireland. In his speech prefacing that Motion, my hon. Friend stated that if the House went into Committee, he should propose that the surplus funds of ecclesiastical revenues in Ireland should be appropriated for the religious education of all classes of Christians. I voted for that Motion, and was afterwards twice re-elected. I mention these facts merely to show that I am not now acting contrary to those views which must have been known to those who sent me to this House; and though it shall ever be my desire to pay a due respect to the opinions of my constituents, I have also to consider what the interests of the country generally require. It is true I hear on both sides as a matter of taunt against the Government, that this measure is brought forward by men who never before proposed any plan of liberal policy towards Ireland. I will admit the justness of this observation; but, am I to reject a measure which I consider a good one, because Ministers have not heretofore acted up to their present professions? Looking at its effects in a religious and political point of view, I believe that this measure is calculated to do good to Ireland. I do not think I am doing anything wrong in a religious point of view, if I afford better means of education to those who are to instruct the people of Ireland. To give the clergy of Ireland the benefit of such an improved system of education, I look on as a step merely in accordance with the divine precept of Christian charity. I shall, therefore, without hesitation, give my vote for the second reading of this Bill. At the same time, I wish to be understood as pledged only to the principle of the Bill. I am not giving any opinion as to the source from which the money to be applied under this Bill should come. On the same ground that I voted in 1835 that the surplus Ecclesiastical Revenues should be applied to education, I should oppose the charge of 26,000*l.* on the Consolidated Fund, and I should prefer the Motion of which my hon. Friend the Member for Sheffield has given notice. But that does not preclude me from voting for the principle of the Bill on this occasion. If I had given a silent vote I feel that my approval of the measure might be construed as indicating the views of my constituents; I should not, therefore, be acting an honest part if I did not state the difference of opinion which existed between us, and I should be acting a less honest part if I absented myself on such a question, or voted contrary to my own conviction of what is right.

Mr. *Milnes* said, he should hardly have taken a part in this eager and anxious debate, had it not been for the circumstance that last year he had placed on the Books of the House a Resolution, praying the House to affirm that the endowment of the Roman Catholic priests of Ireland would be a wise and judicious measure. He could not deny that at that time his Motion met with the same reception from the House that the Bill of his right hon. Friend had met with from the country. And when he had come to answer his constituents for bringing forward that Motion, he did feel almost to a certainty, that an occasion would soon arrive when he should be called on in a more distinct and prominent manner to express himself on the subject. He did not, however, think that the Bill before the House contained any formal or distinct recognition on the part of Her Majesty's Ministers to carry out any distinct scheme for the endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy. When he proposed that Resolution to the House he did not ask the House to pledge itself to any particular scheme, but merely to the propriety of conciliating the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland. And he must say that this was the value, the real gist of the Bill before the House, that it was a first great step towards conciliation. Other modes of conciliating Ireland had failed in their intent, because they did not approach the Irish people through the medium of their instructors—those men who had stood by the Irish people during the whole of their dark and desolate history—because an attempt had not been made to conciliate the Irish people in the only way they could accept it, by improving their priesthood, and thus making that priesthood the great links of connexion between the English and Irish people. But to come to the mere innocency of the Bill; for he did not think any hon. Gentleman—not even the hon. Member for Oxford himself—would object to the measure solely and simply because it proposed to give a little more comfort to the students of Maynooth, to put a little more furniture into their gloomy apartments, to give a more decent front to their dilapidated building, and afford to the students a readier introduction into the kingdom of literature, science, and art. If that question stood merely by itself, he (Mr. Milnes) did not suppose that the Bill would be opposed by any body; but it was asserted that this additional grant to Maynooth would be an encouragement to Catholicism in Ireland. Now, if comfort or even wealth were to encourage and promote a particular religion, surely the Protestant Establishment would hardly have remained so long stationary during the whole progress of its career. Surely, if those means, so largely and generously applied, could produce such immediate and extensive spiritual effects, the Roman Catholic religion would hardly, at this moment, be the religion of nearly seven millions of people. He need not remind the spiritually-minded men who opposed him on this subject that there was no necessary connexion between those things—that the concession of a little comfort to the priesthood of Ireland did not necessarily encourage and increase the spiritual efficacy of Popery. If the hon. Member for Kent saw a Roman Catholic sick on the wayside, the fear of encouraging Popery would not deter him (Mr. Plumptre) from acting the part of the good Samaritan. And he (Mr. Milnes) did not think this Bill involved any more the encouragement of Popery, nor did he think it entered into the consideration of the Government to encourage or discourage Popery by this Bill. He had never been more shocked in his life, than when he had heard the hon. Baronet the Member for Oxford say, that he had rather the Irish priests should be as bad and as ignorant as they could be, than that they should produce such men as Bossuet, or Dr. Wiseman. He should be ashamed of his Protestantism if he held that opinion. He did not hold the opinion, that if you gave the Roman Catholics more knowledge you rendered their approach to Protestantism more difficult. There was more in the spirit of the contract of Mr. Pitt than at first appeared. The real contract was, that the priests should be educated properly. If the hon. Member for Shrewsbury would allow to Mr. Pitt the privilege which he would not allow to Mr. Perceval, of having a ghost, he (Mr. Milnes) was sure Mr. Pitt would rejoice to see the real fulfilment of his contract. If the shade of Pitt were now hovering over the House, he would hail with delight the present measure, both for what it is and for what it promises. For although it conferred but a small favour, that favour derived an enormous value from the frank and generous manner in which it was offered, and also for the promise it gave that the Government were determined to reach the hearts of the Irish people in the only way that was possible. In this respect Her Majesty's Ministers had followed the example of the admirable Government of hon. Gentlemen opposite. He thought it extremely unjust to speak of that Government in the way it had been spoken of by his own side of the House when in opposition. He did believe that they had struck the right chord in respect to Ireland, and had begun to govern that country in the right way. They had governed Ireland rightly, not by Whig Registration Bills, or political fancies, but by obtaining the love of the people. They had governed Ireland by the true and simple process of treating the Irish priesthood as they ought to be treated. He believed that that was the whole secret of Whig popularity, and if the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Peel) followed up that course, he would be able to accomplish some good, without doing a tittle of injury to the Established Church of Ireland; while all the acts, and all the intentions of the hon. Gentlemen opposite necessarily implicated its destruction and overthrow. He earnestly wished to state what he believed to be the main distinctions in matters of this kind. It was important to mark those distinctions; and if they were not asserted, then Her Majesty's Government was open to those reproaches which had been so eloquently directed against it by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Edinburgh; but which, if those distinctions were preserved, were most unfair and unjust. We have been asked how far we mean to go in this course. The question had been put to him as it had been put to every other Member. ["No, no."] The question had been put to every Member that supported Her Majesty's Government. ["No, no."] The question had been put to him. It might be extremely ludicrous to the House, but it was extremely serious to him. He believed it was the intention of Her Majesty's Government, arguing solely from what he had seen of their public proceedings—and he knew it was his own intention—to proceed as far in the conciliation of Roman Catholics in Ireland as was compatible with the existence of the Protestant Church in Ireland. Not a word had fallen from the supporters of this Bill during the debate, to show that they had any intention to promote any measure that would endanger the Church Establishment in Ireland. It was not, however, to be supposed that the same line could be laid down for all the individuals composing a party. He knew well that he was associated with some hon. Gentlemen holding extreme opinions; and some hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House sympathized with them, because the noble Lord the Member for London had treated them in the same way in which the right hon. Baronet was treating his supporters. But was it to be argued that, in the present political state of that country, the lines of conduct laid down by Lord Eldon were to be scrupulously adhered to? The right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government had been reproached with having deserted his principles and party; but there had been crises both in party and in political history which showed that the right hon. Gentleman was not single in the course which he had taken; indeed, some such opinions as those which had escaped with reference to his present proceeding had frequently before been expressed in that House; and he must state his firm conviction that there was nothing more dangerous to the character of that House than for its Members to permit their political and their party feelings to assume a religious aspect, and for them to be governed by such considerations in giving their votes upon any measure. In that case, all improvement would be impossible, and all the lessons of experience would be lost; victory would yield nothing but pride; defeat would result in obstinacy, and we should end at last in holding opinions which reason would reject, and principles which our better reason abhorred. He should support the present measure; and when he was on the other side of the House, upwards of twenty Members expressed to him publicly their desire that such a measure should be brought forward. [" Name, name."] The hon. Member for Northamptonshire had challenged him to name those that expressed such a desire; but he would not name them. Under any circumstances, he should have given the same cordial support to the measure which he was prepared to do, from whatever Minister it had proceeded; but, independently of all other considerations, he was prepared to maintain that the question was one of the very highest expediency. [*Loud laughter, and cries of* " Hear."] He could not understand how it was that within those walls the word "expediency" always bore an opprobrious meaning. For his part, he always looked upon expediency to be the best principle of action. He never could disconnect it from the adage which declared honesty to be the best policy; and if that principle were carried out, then expediency would often be found at the bottom. Let him only ask hon. Members who were in favour of the Bill to examine their own minds, and, having done so, to declare whether they were not prepared to vote for it upon the ground of expediency. He asserted that the measure was not only expedient, but that it was absolutely demanded. He did not mean by this to imply that the right hon. Baronet might not have got through another year or two without bringing forward some such measure as that before the House; but what he meant was, that the battle must be fought sooner or later, and he therefore thought that the present was a most favourable moment, and that the time was most opportune for deciding the question whether the people of England were prepared to allow Ireland to be governed in a spirit of fairness and equality. He rejoiced most heartily that such a measure should have been brought forward by the right hon. Baronet; and he was the more disposed to welcome such a measure, because he was certain the country would, at no distant period, see that Her Majesty's Government had only brought it forward from motives of strong necessity. When the right hon. Baronet and his noble and venerable Colleague in the Ministry (the Duke of Wellington) had been accused of having resisted such a measure as the present until all Ireland was on the brink of a civil war, and when such men concurred in the measure conjointly with the right hon. Baronet the Home Secretary, and the noble Lord the Secretary for the Colonies, he could not but consider that public men of the character and standing of those to whom he referred were actuated by the highest principles of the public welfare; and, he believed, that the country would soon be able to perceive that Ministers had not approached the question on wanton or trifling grounds, but had been urged to deal with it by the strong and pressing necessity of the case. He knew what the country said and felt at present on the subject of the measure. He knew also that it was difficult to oppose reason to the passions; but he must deliberately state it to be his opinion that the country was not at the present time susceptible of the arguments which had been adduced in favour of the Bill. The House was, however, intrusted with a solemn and a responsible duty, and it was a part of that duty for them to carry out a measure like the present, in the principle and justice, as well as necessity of which, so vast a majority of them concurred, even at the risk of incurring the displeasure of their constituents. Those were solemn moments of deliberation, and he was not unwilling to take his share of the responsibility which the success of the measure would throw upon the House. If the right hon. Baronet should be defeated on the present question—and such a contingency was possible—all he would do was to ask the country to compare the successors of the present Ministry with those whom they would displace. He did not, however, anticipate that such an occurrence would take place. He believed rather that the opposition to the measure would be found to comprise chiefly the well-meaning theorists of the closet. He did not believe so good so wise a measure as the present would be lost. He believed that the marvellous common sense of the people of England, which had carried them through so many arduous struggles, would again guide them in coming to a right decision upon the present Bill, and that it would not fail them on the present emergency. He believed that the people would compare those who sat on his side of the House with their opponents on the other Benches, and that they would also compare the measures of the right hon. Baronet's Ministry with those brought forward by the late Government, and having done so, that they would decide in favour of the Bill. He believed the people would ask themselves whether Ireland was to be governed in conformity to the principles on which the measure was based, or by means of violence and coercion. For himself, he saw no alternative between the adoption of the Bill and the resumption of coercive measures. There was no safety in dallying with the discontent of 6,000,000; and the country must either be prepared to re-enact the penal laws of Ireland, or else to follow out the course indicated by the present Bill. One or the other of these two courses must be pursued, and that without further delay. He could conceive no bigot so injurious to the cause which he supported as an amiable bigot, like the hon. Member for Oxford. When it was recollected that Lord Bacon had declared Popery to be at an end in Ireland, and when Swift was found declaring that in a few years there would be no more Roman Catholics in that country, the fact could only be referred to the mysterious decrees of Providence, that the priesthood there were, at the present moment, more powerful than ever. The cruelty of the policy which had been pursued towards Ireland was such as to humiliate every Englishman who looked back on the history of that country; and no penance could be too great to expiate the past, nor was any danger too great to be risked, if by any means the recollection of past injuries could be effaced, and the persecution of the past be made the means of present reconciliation. For his own part, so strong was his conviction that the present measure was based on a right principle, that he was ready to sacrifice his seat in that House if such would be the result of his voting in support of the right hon. Baronet.

Mr. Sergeant *Murphy* said, it must be a subject of congratulation with every person, on whatever side, to know that, however disastrous to the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government, the contingency of removal from office might be, his hon. Friend opposite was ready, with that spontaneous profusion in which images flowed upon him, to vindicate his failure. It might be for antagonist leaders of political parties in that House to indulge in crimination and recrimination, and to contrast the differences of their present conduct and policy with that of former days. But he, as a Roman Catholic Member from Ireland, was not in a situation to adopt that course, which he would leave to others who had fought the battles of contested policy. He stood there on neutral ground, to consider what was the spirit of the policy of Her Majesty's Government towards Ireland, and to tell what he conscientiously believed would be the advantages to the peace of both countries, if it were accepted in a cordial spirit. It was in that spirit he came before the House; but, if he should transcend, in some measure, the calm spirit in which he would fain review the matter—if he too keenly resented certain taunts, which must gall his feelings where those whom he revered as the ministers of his religion had been insulted, he hoped it might be ascribed to the generous feelings of an Irishman. Reviewing certain speeches made on either side of the House, he would first address himself to that of the hon. Member for Newcastle-under-Lyne (Mr. Colquhoun), who, in an address remarkable for its ability, arrived at certain conclusions, which appeared to him startling and anomalous. These were, first, that the degree of ignorance existing in the College of Maynooth was lamentable and ridiculous, from which the hon. Member inferred that we ought to withhold any grant of money which would lay the axe at the root of the evil; and next, that there was something in the ascetic character of that institution wholly repugnant to the character which the people of this country would approve of in an Institution for the education of the Catholic clergy. If the hon. Member had known the sentiments of the people of Ireland as to educational institutions, he would have known that one of the boons, the most zealously sought for, was, that the advantages of Trinity College should be thrown open to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects. Yet, when they asked that this should be done, and expressed their willingness to accept it in lieu of any separate educational institution, it was refused to them. He appealed to the hon. Recorder for Dublin whether, when they arrived at a certain point in that academical arena, they did not find the stigma of exclusion cast upon them? They asked the right hon. Baronet to propose no measure for education but the opening of their own University. He came now to consider the principle of the measure. The proposition of the Government was to give a certain amount for the education of the Roman Catholic clergy. He was told by hon. Members, some of whom opposed the grant, that there was no compact in the case. He never considered there was any magic in the word compact; he had merely looked at this as a matter recurring from year to year; but he would ask any person whether, even if there were no compact in the first instance, there was not something in the tone and temper of society in this country which gave to the grant a permanence as strong and fixed as if there had been a written treaty? Was it not, then, a wise and good measure, first, instead of the heart-burnings which flowed from the annual discussion of the measure, to make the grant permanent? and, next, to put it on a footing which should be beneficial? The hon. Member would say that he did not object to the original grant of 9,000*l.*, but that the proposed increase involved moral turpitude as well as injury to the interests of Protestantism. It was to him new to find that there was such a thing as a sliding scale in morality, and he could not understand why, if it was wrong to give 26,000*l.*, it was not equally wrong to give 9,000*l.* He found that this institution had been recognised for the purposes to which it was set apart in 1791, and the foundation-stone was laid by the Lord Lieutenant, Earl Camden. The right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government told them that this establishment was now in the most ruinous condition. The right hon. Member for Perth quoted Mr. Grant, who told them that it was a place well built and in good repair, of which the inmates were in the utmost comfort and prosperity. The right hon. Member for Dungarvon seemed at the moment to have a clue to his notions on the subject, for he remarked that the author was a Scotchman. He could easily imagine that the author, not being acquainted with the luxury of trousers, might have supposed those whom he saw wearing them to be exceedingly well off. He happened to have before him a book by this author, devoted to the description of the Members of that House some years back. Perhaps they would allow him, from its graphic pages, to present certain delineations of them in the article of dress, which would probably convince the House what an eminent judge this respectable Scotch traveller was of such matters. On the principle of *detur digniori,* to the spirit of which he should always adhere, he would commence with the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel). He was quite sure every one who heard the description would say at once, "There is the man before me:"

> "His usual dress is a green surtout, a light waistcoat, and a dark pair of trousers. He generally displays a watch-chain on his breast, with a bunch of gold seals, unusually large in dimensions."

Let the House listen to what followed; he was sure the right hon. Gentleman would feel it was a calumny on him.

> "He can scarcely be called a dandy, yet he sacrifices a good deal to the graces, and for my part I hardly know any public man who dresses in better taste."

This was Mr. Grant's description of the right hon. Baronet; and, turning over the page, he came to another description, which appeared to be underlined; it was that of the gallant Officer the Member for Lincoln; and, if the gallant Officer would receive it in the same good humour with which he offered it, he would make no bones about reading it to the House. [Colonel *Sibthorp:* Hear.]

> "His countenance is altogether unique; it stands out in broad relief from the countenances of all the other Members. Two or three other senators rejoice in tufts, and a few more in whiskers of decent proportion; but, compared with the moustaches and whiskers of the gallant Colonel, one feels indignant that they should be dignified by the name. You hardly know whether he has a mouth or not, it is so completely buried amidst the surrounding crop of hair, until he begins to speak. He

is extremely proud of his whiskers and moustaches."

Now they came to the plums in the pudding,—

> " He will do and suffer a great deal for his party and principles, but rather than submit to be shaved, he would see Tories, Constitution, and all scattered to the winds."

He came now to the hon. Member for Lambeth, Mr. Hawes,—

> " He speaks very often, but generally on the details of some very unimportant Bill: I have known no one great principle or measure with which he is identified. He is a little man, round in the face, and of dark hair."

After this he should not detain the House except by the description which the writer gave of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Perth, Mr. Fox Maule,—

> " He is a man of exceedingly graceful proportions, and very retiring manners."*

He was quite sure every one who had heard these specimens of the author's descriptive powers, would be prepared to admit that his authority, as appealed to by his right hon. Friend the Member for Perth, in all matters of dress, comfort, and convenience, was correct. The hon. Member for Northamptonshire asked the Roman Catholic Members how it was that, supporting the voluntary principle, they were willing to accept this grant. He was willing to accept the measure, because he found a meritorious class of men in a state of great misery and destitution; and he was willing to receive it for another and a political reason. The paltry consideration of a sum of 30,000*l.* was not regarded. It was regarded as applied to the education of a class of men with whom the people were connected by the nearest and holiest ties. If the people were prepared to receive the measure in this spirit —if they felt that no matter what party was the governing party—the Bill was to be taken as an indication on the part of England that the time had arrived when she was willing to treat Ireland in a spirit of equality, irrespective of sectarian and party feeling; and as an earnest of still greater measures of justice, he did entreat hon. Gentlemen who were about to oppose this Bill to pause ere they dashed the cup from the lips of the people of Ireland. Was the House prepared for that feeling which the rejection of the Bill would excite in Ireland? Hon. Members had quoted certain words reported to have been used by Mr. O'Connell, at Conciliation Hall. " Conciliation! I thank you. Agitation! I am obliged to you. Repeal! Maynooth ought to pray for you." Now, if it should appear that a Minister in this country, gifted with the power of the right hon. Baronet opposite, convinced at length that the time had arrived for conciliating Ireland, proposed this paltry grant to carry out the intention of an exclusively Protestant Irish Parliament, and his proposition were rejected by an opposition which, whether upon evangelical or voluntary principles, must be construed into a No-Popery cry, Mr. O'Connell might then get up, and instead of saying " Repeal! Maynooth ought to pray for you," he might say, " British House of Commons! you who reject this Bill, Repeal ought to pray for you!" for he (Mr. Sergeant Murphy) believed that no circumcumstance would give so great an impetus to the Repeal movement as the rejection of this measure. Objections had been raised against taking this grant out of the Consolidated Fund. He did not wish to burden the taxes; he would rather see a fund from the Established Church devoted to all creeds alike, having due regard to vested interests; but was it nothing to consider how much might be saved to the taxes by a judicious distribution of these small sums? Murmurs had been heard on the other side of the Atlantic, and it would be well to meet them with the firmness and resolution of a really united kingdom. He now came to a speech delivered by a Protestant clergyman at a crowded meeting held last evening at Covent-garden Theatre, some passages of which he would read to the House, and he would beg to ask the House if they were prepared in the rejection of this measure to convey to the people of Ireland their acquiescence in such sentiments:—

> " He had been asked to give an historical view of the effects of Popery in this country, and he would attempt to do so. It was twenty years since that view first occurred to him, and during that period he had seen from day to day additional reasons for relying upon the fidelity of it. England, beyond all other nations of the world, had been made the depo-

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* It seems right for the benefit of posterity to record the fact, that these quotations excited much merriment in the House from their gross inaccuracy or exaggeration.

sitory of religion and truth; but from the time she became a kingdom, until the Reformation, she might be said to have been in slavery. He spoke of facts. With the Reformation came a total change. Elizabeth, that most magnanimous Queen, declared for Protestanism. In the next reign a Popish conspiracy arose, but it was overthrown, and the King and Commons of the country were saved from the fearful explosion of a gunpowder plot. Then came the reign of Charles, a splendid Sovereign, and just the one for raising a nation; but he made a Popish alliance—he brought up his two sons in Popery—and, as if the lightning of Heaven had fallen upon the diadem of England, and blasted its splendour, Charles was the first of the Kings of this country who perished upon the scaffold."

This from a clergyman!—

"Next came Cromwell, a guilty man, no doubt, because he had stained his hands unnecessarily in blood; but still a great man, who had redeemed by his glories as a king his errors as a subject. Then followed the second Charles, a weak and superstitious man, but not so deeply criminal as to draw down the vengeance of Heaven on his head. He was not a declared Papist."

He would pass on to another sentence—

"Within twelve months of the passing of that measure (Catholic Emancipation) of which he was prohibited from giving an opinion, a greater number of extraordinary changes occurred in this country than ever were known before. The King—a popular King too—soon after he had put his signature to it, was carried from this world."

(*Cries of* "Name, name.") He had no objection to name the clergyman in question—it was the Rev. Dr. Croly. What was the inference the rev. gentleman wished his audience to draw from these allusions? Was he not advising the Sovereign of these realms not to lean to Popery, and warning her to take example from her predecessors, and saying—"If, in the present state of society, you are not brought to the block, at least have the example of him who signed the Emancipation Act before your eyes." That was the conclusion, and no other, that could be drawn from such a speech. If after such statements as these the Bill were to be rejected, was it likely to contribute to the good feeling and peace of Ireland? He supported the measure because he held it would be beneficial to both countries, and that its rejection would be fatal to the peace of Ireland.

Sir *John Hanmer* said: Although this Bill has had the advantage of the great majority of speakers, none have shown me sufficient reason for supporting the grant which is proposed. The hon. and learned Gentleman who has just sat down (Sergeant Murphy) who spoke of the impediments which existed to Roman Catholic education in Ireland, seems to have forgotten, or not to have been aware, that even before the passing of the Charitable Bequests Act of last year, it was the opinion of Mr. Blake that no impediment did in fact exist, either by the law of "mortmain" or of "superstitious uses," neither of which applied to Ireland, to the endowment by Roman Catholics of any religious or scholastic institution for the purposes of their own church. Mr. Blake said distinctly before the Mortmain Committee of last year, that in his experience, which was well known to be great, he had known such bequests carried into effect by the Irish Courts of Equity—at least since the name of equity had ceased to be profaned by the penal code. The Charitable Bequests Act, however, has since cleared up every doubt, if doubt or hindrance existed; and I maintain there can be no longer just ground for the complaint of want of means of education made by the hon. and learned Gentleman. I have listened with great attention to all the speeches in favour of this Bill, and I declare that up to the present time it seems to me left in doubt what character we are to attribute to it; whether it is a Bill the operation of which will be confined to the walls of Maynooth, or whether it is the indication of a distinct course of policy hereafter to be pursued. Yet to arrive at a distinct understanding of what is meant is of great importance to Parliament; of great importance, as it is of great interest to the people. If you had got triennial Parliaments, which existed for a considerable period of your history; if by any means Parliament was brought now to a dissolution; if the people had got now to select new Representatives, it cannot be doubted—whether you like it or not—that in their choice of Representatives, in that constitutional expression of their political opinions, they would be greatly influenced by their opinion of this Bill. Look to Kent at this moment if you doubt what I say. Well, then, is it not of the first importance, in every point of view, to define what the Bill means. This is not a question merely to be argued upon general considerations. I will not yield to my noble Friend (Lord Worsley), or to any man in Parliament, or out of it, in my determination to maintain religious liberty by the side of civil. I yield to no man, I hope, in my general desire, aye, in an ardent desire, to do good to Ireland. But I want to arrive at an appreciation of the instrument (said to be for good) which you wish me, as a Member of the Legislature, to put into the hands of the Government. What is it, I repeat, for I want to know, that you intend by this Bill? The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Edinburgh tells you it means nothing but the difference between 9,000*l.* and 26 000*l.*—nothing but the difference between dilapidation and comfort—nothing, save that choice of decency and the reverse, in an institution which is already associated with the State. Aye, but the right hon. Gentleman went farther than this, for he desired you to remember who now lived in the halls built by William of Wykeham: who had possession of the foundations of Margaret of Anjou; he referred to great ecclesiastical possessions in Ireland, once belonging to the faith of the majority, now to that of the minority of the Irish people; and he called upon you to be just, as well as generous, in remembrance of these things. Sir, where justice and generosity come together, the stronger and sterner virtue will overbear the beautiful grace. I may be generous and just, but in the name of justice I must do far more than in the name of generosity. What, then, in the name of justice, is it that you ask me to do by this Bill? If beyond the liberty of voluntary endowment—if beyond the protection open to all citizens of just and equal civil laws, I am to do justice to my fellow-citizens of the Roman communion in Ireland, by bringing about between them and the State ecclesiastical connexions, do you mean to say that object can be satisfied thus and here? No, but it must be by a further operation of the principle that is involved. The Secretary at War (Mr. Herbert) says none is involved—he means of course no new one; he thinks you have got machinery already, which only requires a little modification and rubbing up. He would have you suppose this Bill will conclude and include all you have to do if only you will adopt it; and he feels warranted, in contemplation of this moderate expenditure of the Government, to anticipate that Ireland may, hereafter, instead of the usual order of Maynooth priests, possess her Pascals and her Fenelons, and the advantages of minds like theirs; whom, indeed, as models, I am not surprised that the discrimination of the right hon. Gentleman preferred to Bellarmine and to Bossuet, alluded to by other Members. For, only think what a condition you would find yourselves in—you who speak philosophically, and a little proudly, perhaps, in your philosophy of religious toleration—who say that error must be mixed with truth, and for the sake of truth are not unwilling that the State should propagate the errors of the Church of Rome. How would you find yourselves off, I will suggest to you, if, as one result of this moderate and yet extraordinary expenditure, you were to find the great cardinal (Bellarmine) rising up again, and the bishop who grasped the thunderbolts of Meaux, rallying the millions of their faith around them, turning the tables upon you, speaking in the name of what they would consider the only true church, the Alpha and the Omega of the Christian world: you might be in want in your turn of a little toleration. Sir, the right hon. Gentleman the Minister introduces and he supports this Bill, in a way which still leaves it doubtful whether the limited interpretation put upon it by his Colleague, or that which the Member for Newark (Mr. Gladstone) prefers, is the right one. But, I say, where things of great importance are involved, great principles must be the moving power; I say, that I must consider the effect of principles—I must treat this Bill as a detail. The right hon. Gentleman recommends the Bill in the name of Mr. Pitt, as well as that of Mr. Perceval; the footprints of Mr. Pitt are stronger and deeper, they have a more direct bearing than those of Mr. Perceval. Linger with Mr. Perceval about details; if you take Mr. Pitt as your leader you must go onward, and take care where and how you go. Ask yourselves—you who would deal with this Bill as statesmen—whether the circumstances of these times are such as will warrant you in taking Mr. Pitt as your immediate leader—for I put Mr. Perceval aside. The principle on which this Bill rests—that for which I distinctly oppose it—is the principle of a connexion between the State in Ireland, and the Roman Catholic Church. Now such connexion was in the contemplation of Mr. Pitt, as is well known. Pay to the memory of a great statesman so much respect as not to blame his unaccomplished intentions; but consider well, if he in his time could be justified, can there be anything to justify you in such a course now? The object of Mr. Pitt was to gain influence in Ireland, then recently in rebellion: will you gain influence by those ecclesiastical relations which are not so directly proposed here, as the necessary consequence—the consequence which Mr. Pitt foresaw and intended—of the State taking charge of the education of the priests of Maynooth? In the days of Mr. Pitt, with the French Revolution like a burning fiery furnace melting and devouring every law in Europe, or whatsoever it inscribed, with all your legislation as to the admission of your Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen to the rights of citizens yet to come, it might have been possible for a great statesman, wielding the power of this country, when all these things came to be remodelled, to have exacted some stipulations from the heads of the Roman Catholic Church, which might have given you, in return for your interference in their ecclesiastical relations, ecclesiastical control. Is it in your power, by interfering with the priests only, to attain this, supposing it to be an object which you should desire? Sir, if ever there was an institution upon earth, the continual, the ruling maxim of which, from the very beginning, was that political maxim adopted by the Abbé Sieyès, that "confidence should come from below, power from above," it is, as it has been, the Church of Rome. What is the use, then, I say, of Parliament violating great principles by the way, amusing itself with hopes and visions as to the effects of entering into ecclesiastical relations with the priests, if over the great leaders of the Church, "the lions of the fold of Judah," as some of them call themselves, you can have no ecclesiastical control. For, if Mr. Pitt could have got this by a concordat, such as the Church of Rome entered into, after his time, with Prussia, and such as regulates the relations of the Romish Church with other States, twenty concordats could not give it you now, under the influence of present circumstances, and those which have existed since the days of Mr. Pitt; and, indeed, the right hon. Gentleman seemed almost in a hurry, some little time ago, to publish, through no less a person than the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, that the farthest thing from the contemplation of the Government was the negociation of any concordat with Rome. Why, then, without the power of acquiring ecclesiastical influence, enter into ecclesiastical relations at all? But influence is desirable to you—the Romish Church has great power over the mind of Ireland. I tell you, you must trust for your influence to your civil power—to your justice in civil relations; the good Saxon justice of the right hon. Gentleman will give him influence, which if he seek by more perplexed courses he will only lose. And now let me ask you a very plain practical question, without much reference to principle—though I say again and always, it is on the principle that I resist this Bill—but if you were in the right, and if it were wise to maintain the priests at the cost of the State, is it in your power? I was looking the other day into *Hansard* for the account of an old debate on Maynooth, it was in 1808 (when by the bye Sir Arthur Wellesley delivered an opinion that it never was originally the intention for the State permanently to contribute to the maintenance of this College); but in that debate, I saw that the number of Roman priests then required for the ordinary service of parishes in Ireland was 3,000. I do not know if it be more now; take it at that amount. How can they be paid? Can you pay them out of the Consolidated Fund? No; for neither the people of England, nor their Representatives, would suffer you? Can you accept the aid offered by the Member for Sheffield? That is neither your intention nor in your power. Can you raise the money by a land tax upon Ireland? Difficulties, I think, greater than those which you seem to have had hitherto much in regard, in approaching questions of Irish taxation, would meet you in the way. And if you could conquer these, what hope of tranquillity can you reasonably rest upon the principle of collateral ecclesiastical establishments? Remember the great variety of religious persuasions of Protestant sects in this country; remember their ardour of religious belief; remember their power as citizens. Do you think you could reasonably object, if the further development of the principle upon which you act, were, in the course of time, and according to circumstances, insisted on by some of these? It may seem unlikely, if you infer from the language of their petitions. Why then, Sir, I say, as their assent to your principle and desire to share in its benefits themselves, would seriously embarrass you, so will their dissent from your principle, their warm, strong, conscientious opposition to it, afford you no reasonable hope of tranquillity. I have heard Gentlemen talk of Canada and Prussia, and of what may be found in other countries. Beware of political parallels. The lines seldom fit; their direction is rarely in true accordance; they are a dangerous foundation on which to build. It is with Great Britain and Ireland that you have got to deal: look to them then, I say, and not to what may exist in Canada, under circumstances peculiar to that country, to half-settled Colonies, where everything is new, where the Government has store of lands; not to what you may find in that half-cemented kingdom of Prussia, where questions arising out of confused ecclesiastical relations are yet to be solved. Sir, I regret the more that the Government should have thought proper to take the course indicated by this Bill, because I did approve, and I am ready to express my acknowledgment of the policy they acted upon last year. I give my full concurrence to the policy of the Charitable Bequests Act; it may not, indeed, have been so original in operation as some have considered it, but, at the very least, it removes hindrances, it prevents frauds, by the substitution of public for private trustees of charitable bequests; and the right hon. Gentleman, when he introduced the Bill, was warranted in saying that great benefits were to be expected from the power which was given to all persons to endow as they pleased their own religion. Sir, I agree in this: it is a clear and defined policy, to which the Government will have cause to look back with regret in proportion as they depart from it. I object to this Bill because it does so depart: I object to this Bill because if I consider it upon its principle—which is the only way in which a Member of the Legislature ought to look at it—it is the commencement, or it may be made at any time the starting point of a policy which offers nothing but stumbling-blocks and impediments. I know not whether the Government will attempt to proceed in it; but I act now, as I must continue to act, upon a principle of another kind—namely, that the State ought not to concern itself with other ecclesiastical relations than those which are necessarily and irrevocably mixed up with its fundamental laws.

Mr. *Ross* looked on the present measure as the earnest of future measures which he believed the right hon. Baronet opposite had in contemplation. He did not mean to say that he regarded this measure as the initiative of proceedings with respect to ecclesiastical affairs in Ireland; but he looked on it as part of a system intended to open the resources of Ireland, and to heal the wounds which had been inflicted on the minds of the people of that country. In his opinion, the opposition to this Bill was founded neither in reason nor justice. Considering that there was more difference between the Presbyterian religion and the religion of the Church of England, than there was between the latter and the Church of Rome, he did not think it fair, while a *Regium Donum* was granted to the Presbyterians, that all aid should be withdrawn from the Roman Catholics. Would the House so far forget its proper mission as to make itself a party in these conflicts of religious opinion? If they were to take cognizance of truth and error in these matters, they would have to appoint a Committee of Error; and how would they compose it? He denied that the Roman Catholic priests were such enemies to civil liberty as they had been represented; he thought the Dissenters of this country were much indebted to the Catholics for the assistance they had rendered to the cause of civil and religious freedom. The grant to Maynooth had remained at its present amount ever since 1805, while the grant to different Dissenting bodies had been increased to 36,000*l.* Even in point of economy the Bill deserved support; if it passed with a good grace they might dispense with three regiments in Ireland at once. Four years since, Lord Wicklow declared in the House of Lords that Ireland was too strong to be governed on any principle but that of equality. He hoped that equality would be established, not only between Ireland and England, but equality among the people of Ireland themselves. If that equality were established, Ireland would become a united and prosperous country, and prove the strength and the right arm of England.

Mr. *M. Gore* was particularly anxious to express his opinion with respect to a measure affecting a very large body of his fellow-citizens, for whom he entertained the highest regard and respect. He respected their principles, he reverenced their very prejudices, because he thought those principles and prejudices took their rise from religious feelings and sentiments which he hoped would never be extinct in the minds of Englishmen. If he considered the Bill before the House was one that in any way tended to impair the great principles of the Reformation, or to impugn the basis of religious liberty in the country, he would give it as strenuous an opposition as he now offered it a warm and cordial support. Looking at the Bill itself, he must say the ferment raised with respect to it throughout the country was hardly called for. Since he had sat in Parliament, he had always voted for the annual grant to Maynooth, and he had fully intended to have voted for it in future. So far, then, as the principle was concerned, he thought he had admitted the principle by the vote he had already given, as much as he should do by the vote he was about to give. He could not see that in the measure before the House any fresh principle was involved. Looking at the present state of Ireland, he doubted whether it would be wise to propose any measure for maintaining the Catholic clergy or the Catholic Church; such a measure would not be suited to the present times; whether it might have been done at the time of the Union or not, was a distinct consideration; but at the present day nothing of the kind could be effected. Still he hoped this measure would be accompanied by others calculated to promote the real practical benefit of the peasantry and the people of Ireland. In the hope this would be the case, he should give the measure his warm and cordial support. As there seemed to be no objection to the Bill in point of principle, he came next to the consideration whether it was not calculated to confer great and signal benefits and advantages upon the people of Ireland and the Empire at large. Whether he looked at the situation of Ireland in her political relations with regard to this country, or at the state of the affairs of the Kingdom at home and abroad, he conceived no measure would confer a greater benefit on the country, or contribute more to the welfare of the State, than the Bill before them. If they looked at the relations that had existed between this country and Ireland, they would see nothing similar to what had prevailed in other countries between the conquerors and the conquered race. In the instance of the Romans and the Gauls, and the Normans and the Saxons, the conquered had become united with their conquerors by the influence of equal laws and the progress of civilization. In France many provinces which long remained separate and distinct kingdoms had become blended into one united empire. But let them look at their relations with Ireland, and let them ask themselves whether they did not present a painful contrast to other countries? Their process with regard to Ireland had been very different; in all the other cases to which he had alluded, the union had been, what Lord Bacon said a union ought always to be—a real one—a union not merely in name, but in laws, advantages, and employments. Such had been their union with Scotland; and this was the only description of union that could have a real and valid effect. What had all other nations done in the countries they had conquered? What did the Romans do among the nations they subdued? Civilization followed the Roman arms, and the same arm that subdued the people also protected them. A just administration of equal laws removed all marks of the inferiority of a conquered race; and if a people lost their nationality, they received instead, the boon of Roman citizenship. What, according to the great Roman historian, was the conduct of Agricola in Britain?—

> "Homines dispersi ac rudes, eoque bello faciles, quieti et otio per voluptates assuescerent; hortari privatim, adjuvare publice, ut templa, fora, domus exstruerent laudando promptos, et castigando segnes, ita honoris æmulatio pro necessitate erat."

He induced them to have recourse to liberal pursuits, and the arts practised by the Romans. It was by extending equal rights to Chester, Durham, and Wales, countries once quite as barbarous as Ireland had ever been, that the monarchs of England secured them to their kingdom. A lenient policy ought peculiarly to be adopted towards Ireland. For 350 years the Irish had prayed and desired to be admitted into a participation in the laws of England; and our ancestors had for 350 years refused to allow that participation. There was also another circumstance connected with Ireland, which had not been mentioned in that debate. Archbishop Usher had said, that in the early times of Christianity there existed in Ireland a form of religion not very different from the Protestantism we profess. The monarchs of England had used their best endeavours to supplant that form, and to extend to Ireland the Catholic faith; and, having done so, England afterwards turned round and complained of the consequences of her own act. He believed that no one measure could have been introduced better calculated to knit together the different members of the Empire than this measure of Her Majesty's Government, accompanied, as he hoped it would be, by other measures of a healing nature for the mass of the people, and promoting the real welfare and the true interests of Ireland. He gave the Government great credit for having brought forward this Bill, which should have his hearty support; and he was also bound in justice to say that hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House had shown a laudable and manly spirit by giving their support to the Bill, when, by taking a different course, they had it so much in their power to embarrass the Government. Such conduct redounded much to their credit. This was too important a question to be allowed to be dealt with upon mere party considerations. Too long had party prejudices marred the prospects and blighted every measure which was for the advantage of Ireland. He trusted that day was over; and that on whatever other points party spirit might be displayed, either in that House or out of it, Ireland at least would be considered as sacred ground, and that statesmen would consult only her real welfare, and her true and substantial advantage. In giving their support to measures with such an object, let them elevate their minds to the greatness of their calling. They sat there not as the mere Representatives of particular constituencies, but to legislate for a mighty Empire. He believed that the course which Her Majesty's Government had taken, if they looked beyond the present time, which was as nothing in a nation's life, and if they appealed to the judgment of posterity, would be found calculated to lull the violence of faction, that it would shed a its genial influence over a distracted portion of the Empire, would elevate the condition of Ireland, and would add fresh lustre and additional strength to Great Britain. Brighter signs were apparent in the horizon; the landmarks were fast appearing above the receding waters; and he trusted that by adopting this measure they would advance the better prospects now opening upon them. If they looked not to the opinions of the day, but to those which history would pronounce, when the illusions of the present moment were dispelled, they would see that it was a measure for which they ought to be grateful, because it would place the prospects of the United Empire on a firm, solid, and lasting foundation. There were a great number of his constituents for whom he had a great regard; there were Members of that House whom he held in the highest estimation, who differed from him; but he had a great public duty to perform: no private considerations should induce him to depart from that duty, or to shrink from promoting the happiness of the great body of his fellow-subjects, and the glory and prosperity of England. He should, therefore, give the measure his most cordial support, fervently hoping that it might be carried through to a triumphant result.

Debate again adjourned.

House adjourned at a quarter past twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, April 16, 1845.

Minutes.] Bills. *Public.—Reported.*—Museums of Art; Justices' Clerks and Clerks of the Peace.

3°. and passed:—Auction Duties Repeal; Sugar (Excise Duties).

Private.—1°. Totnes Markets and Waterworks (No. 2); Westminster Improvement (No. 2); North Wales Railway.

2°. Kidwelly Inclosure; Harwell and Streatley Road.

Reported.—London Orphan Asylum; Liverpool Guardian Gas.

3°. and passed:—Birmingham and Staffordshire Gas Light Company; Manchester Division Stipendiary Magistrate; Amicable Society Assurance.

Petitions Presented. By Lord Claud Hamilton, Visct. Bernard, Mr. Shaw, and Colonel Verner, from several places in Ireland, for Encouragement to Schools in connexion with Church Education Society.—By Mr. Thornely, from Chester, in favour of Jewish Disabilities Removal Bill.—By Sir George Clerk, from Penycuick, and Mr. J. Tollemache, from Middlewich, for better Observance of the Sabbath.—By several hon. Members, from an immense number of places (420 Petitions), against the Grant to Maynooth College.—By Mr. Rice, from Dover, in favour of same.—By Viscount Clive, Viscount Newry, Colonel Paget, Mr. J. H. Vivian, and Mr. Thornely, from a great many places, against the Union of St. Asaph and Bangor.—By Lord Dalmeny, Mr. E. Ellice, and Mr, F. Maule, from several places, for the Abolition of Tests in Scotch Universities.—By Mr. Protheroe, from Halifax, complaining of Grievances (New Zealand).—By Mr. Stewart, from the New Zealand Company, for Redress (New Zealand).—By Mr. Duncan, from Dundee, in favour of Increased Charge for Appraising Auctioneers' Licences.—By Mr. Grogan, from the British and Irish Steam Packet Company, for Reduction of Tolls and Dues levied by Lighthouses.—By Mr. Kemble, from several places, for Repeal of Malt Duty.—By Mr. Entwisle, from several places, for Alteration of Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons Bill.—By Sir Chas. Napier, from Francis William Beaumont, for Inquiry.—By Mr. Ainsworth, Mr. Roebuck, and Mr. Towneley, from several places, for Repeal or Alteration of Insolvent Debtors Bill.—By several hon. Members, from a great number of places, against Justices' Clerks and Clerks of the Peace Bill.—By Mr. Bruges, Marquess of Douro, Colonel Rolleston, and Colonel Wyndham, from several places, against the Parochial Settlement Bill.—By Mr.

Barclay, from Chertsey, against, and by Mr. Blackburne, and Viscount Duncan, from several places, for Alteration of Physic and Surgery Bill.—By Lord C. Hamilton, from Guardians of Cookstown Union, for Inquiry into the Poor Law (Ireland) Act.—By Sir G. Strickland, from several places, for Diminishing the Number of Public Houses.—By Lord Dalmeny, and Viscount Duncan, from Dunfermline, and Tain, for Ameliorating the Condition of Schoolmasters (Scotland).—By Mr. Tollemache, from Middlewich, for extending the Smoke Prohibition Bill to Salt Manufactories.

IRISH BEQUESTS ACT]. Mr. *Ferrand*, pursuant to notice, inquired of the Secretary for Ireland whether, at the late election of a temporal Peer of Ireland, one or more noble Lords did not decline to vote on account of the Irish Bequests Act being a contravention of the Oath of Supremacy; whether the Crown lawyers were consulted upon the validity of this objection; and, if so, whether the right hon. Baronet would lay a copy of their opinion on the Table of the House?

Sir *T. Fremantle* had made inquiry, and endeavoured to ascertain whether there were any ground for such a statement. He could not learn that this had been the case; and with reference to the opinion of the law officers of the Crown, he felt very well satisfied that no opinion on the subject had been given.

Mr. *Ferrand* hoped he should be allowed to observe that his authority was an Irish Peer, and a statement to the same effect had been publicly made in the *Dublin Evening Mail.*

RULES OF THE HOUSE.] Sir *R. Peel* moved that the Order of the Day be read.

Colonel *Sibthorp* rose to move—

> "That there be laid before this House a Return of the Numbers of Petitions that have been presented for and against the present proposal on the part of Her Majesty's Government of an increased grant out of the Consolidated Fund to the College of Maynooth in Ireland, with the total Number of Signatures thereto."

He had often heard the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government profess the utmost respect for those who petitioned that House. He hoped, therefore, the right hon. Baronet would not only readily concur in this Motion, but evince his due respect, as a Protestant Minister, for so numerous a body of petitioners, by at once abandoning this detestable measure.

Mr. *Roebuck* rose to order. He submitted that it was not competent to the hon. and gallant Member to make such a Motion on the reading of the first Order of the Day.

Mr. *Speaker* said, according to the statement in the "Votes," that the original Question was, "That the Order of the Day be now read." The only Amendment that could be moved would be, to proceed with another Order of the Day. It was not, therefore, competent for the hon. and gallant Gentleman to bring forward his proposition before the other Orders of the Day on a Wednesday evening.

Colonel *Sibthorp* would at once bow to the authority of the Chair, if the Speaker was of opinion that he was not in order.

Mr. *Speaker* said, that the hon. and gallant Officer was not in order, for he could not make the Motion of which he had given notice at present. The Motion itself would, in his opinion, be unnecessary, because the information sought for would be laid upon the Table of the House in the Report of the Committee upon Public Petitions in a few days.

Order of the Day read.

MAYNOOTH COLLEGE — ADJOURNED DEBATE (FOURTH NIGHT).] Mr. *George A. Hamilton* did not hesitate to confess that it was with some reluctance, but under a most imperative sense of duty, that he felt himself compelled to vote against the measure before the House. He could easily understand the motive by which Government was actuated in proposing that measure—the desire, namely, of conciliating the Roman Catholic population of Ireland, of showing good will and good feeling towards them, by making what they might consider a liberal and suitable provision for the education of their clergy. He (Mr. Hamilton) was perfectly ready to admit that it was most desirable that the respect and attachment of the population of Ireland towards the British Legislature and the British Government should, if possible, be secured by wise and just measures. There was no Member in the House more anxious than himself that all irritating topics, and all causes of dissension in Ireland, should be consigned to oblivion, and that each party in that country should hold out the right hand of fellowship to the other. He felt the peculiar importance of this at the present juncture of affairs in that country. To promote or effect this, there were no lengths he would not go, consistently with higher obligations; and he did not hesitate to say, that if he believed the measure now proposed would have the effect which Her Majesty's Government contemplated—and if he could reconcile it to his conscience to support it, no considerations of consistency—no considerations connected with his own peculiar position, should induce him to oppose it. It was, therefore, the more incumbent on him to state, unreservedly, the reasons which, after anxious consideration, had compelled him to oppose the measure; and especially, because some of them were reasons which some hon. Members—the Member for Bath and others—misunderstood and had derided, and which the right hon. Gentleman the late President of the Board of Trade had, to a certain extent, attempted to contravene in his speech. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Bath had declared—and not now for the first time—that the State had nothing to do with religion; and, strange to say, the right hon. Gentleman the late President of the Board of Trade had used arguments, which, in his opinion, went nearly to the same length—for the right hon. Gentleman, although he had stated that a complete unity and coincidence in religious opinion between a State and all its subjects would be the consummation of political happiness, yet he seemed to be of opinion that where this happy state of things does not exist, all religions, without reference to truth or error, had equal claims upon the consideration of the State. Now, he was not ashamed or afraid to state, without involving himself in any question of political ethics or metaphysics, that he had always felt—and nothing he had heard in the course of the debate had convinced him he was mistaken— that considerations of religion, and of truth in religion, just as much as truth in reference to principles of morality, or trade, or commerce, or international law, were the subject matter, and within the scope and responsibilities of Government; and that it was the duty of every State—a duty that was owing to the Ruler of all States—to affirm that principle, by recognising and acknowledging some intelligible system or principles of religious truth. And if religion be something real, and practical, and important, and definite—he meant, if what is called religion involves necessarily certain great and essential doctrines, and if its essence consisted in the truth of those great doctrines—he could not but feel that although it was manifestly the duty of the State to tolerate and protect every subject in the free exercise of his own conscientious belief, whatever it might be, and however contrary to the religion of the State, it was most inconsistent, and a great dereliction of the homage that was due to truth in religion, for the State to countenance and support any two systems of religion diametrically opposed to each other; and still more so, to pay for the promulgation of doctrines held by the State to be erroneous. It could not be denied that the Protestant religion is the religion of the State, and as such is the religion which by the State is held to be true—that the British Constitution and British Empire is a Constitution and Empire protesting against the errors of the Church of Rome; and he, holding the opinions and principles he had stated, did not see how it was possible to contravene those principles, and make it consistent to endow the Roman Catholic religion, or any other religion essentially differing from the Church of England, or an institution for its clergy, without going the length of affirming the opposite principle, namely, that a State has nothing to do with religion or religious truth or error. And, if that principle were sound and true, why it would follow that the British Constitution ought to be unprotestantised; the Coronation Oath was an invasion of the liberty of conscience, the Act of Settlement at variance with sound policy and justice and toleration, and Her Majesty ought to be free to become a Roman Catholic to-morrow. He could not recognise the distinction which the right hon. Gentleman had drawn between the duty which appertained to any Member of that House in his individual, and in his collective capacity. He thought the same duty precisely, which, as he believed, appertained to the State, devolved upon those individually who held the same essential religious opinions which were recognised by the State as true. Those who professed the Roman Catholic religion would naturally, and most properly, seek to have it recognised and endowed. There was no inconsistency on their part; but, believing, as he did, that the Protestant religion is conformable to God's revealed will, and the Roman Catholic religion opposed to it, he could not reconcile it to his conscience—he should feel he was guilty of a great sin, and acting most inconsistently with his own principles, if he gave his vote for a measure expressly designed to encourage the promulgation of what, in common with the State, he considered error on the most important of all subjects. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bath had argued as if there was some great degree of arrogance and pharisaical assumption on the part of those who, holding their own opinions in religion to be true, act in their public capacity upon the belief of their being so. He could not at all see that this was the case. He did not see how opinions on religion differed from any other opinions in this respect. The hon. and learned Member held, and no doubt most conscientiously, strong political opinions; he never hesitated to avow them, and was not over sparing of those who presumed to differ from him. He was a great admirer of truth, both in politics and religion; and he thought that the great cause of truth in either one or the other would be advanced by every conscientious man maintaining and upholding what he believed to be the truth, and not by that false liberalism which, by confounding what was thought true and erroneous, placed truth and error on the same footing. It was obvious, he thought, that the observations he had made, and the principles he had laid down, applied only to the encouragement of religions by the State which differed from each other in essential truths. It was not, therefore, necessary for him to show that it was not inconsistent to vote for the *Regium Donum* to Presbyterians, or for the Established Church of Scotland. Neither should he enter upon the case of the Colonies, which he thought formed an exception, though, he must add, he felt it to be the duty of the State to form branches of the Established Church in every one of the British Colonies. There were many other considerations which impelled him to oppose the measure, most of which had been adverted to in the course of the debate. He had stated that the endowment of Maynooth was, in his opinion, virtually an abnegation of the Protestantism of the Empire. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone) had admitted that it involved the principle of the endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy. In that he fully agreed with him. It was quite necessary that Parliament and the country should have an explicit avowal of the intentions of Government in that respect. The House ought also to consider the effect which such a measure as this must have upon public opinion in Ireland on religious subjects; there was at present, it should be recollected, a great struggle going on in Ireland between two great antagonist principles, asserted and maintained by two adverse churches. The measure proposed would necessarily have the effect of throwing the whole weight of the Government and the Legislature into the Roman Catholic scale. This was a matter of serious consideration—it was a serious thing to consider that, while means are denied for the education of the children of the Established Church, in the principles of that Church—while disfavour is shown to the Protestants—the only clergy for whose education, as clergymen, the State undertakes to provide, should be the clergy of the Roman Catholic religion: and that at the very time when nearly all those clergy have declared themselves the enemies of the British connexion, and when many of those clergy are endeavouring, as at Dingle and Ventry, to resist the free progress of religious opinion by means of the most unjustifiable and unwarrantable nature. There was another objection which he had to make to the measure, and that was the total ignorance under which Parliament was called upon to legislate upon this important subject, and the want of all kind of control on the part of the State in respect to the system of education taught, or the principles inculcated in the College which they were about to endow. He approached this part of the subject with great hesitation and dislike; he trusted he would so express himself as to avoid giving offence to any Roman Catholic in the House. Certainly he had no intention of offending; nothing was more unpleasant than to impute error to others, who must be supposed to be as conscientious and to exercise their judgment as honestly as oneself; and he (Mr. Hamilton) was certainly free from that most depraved of all tastes—the taste which finds a pleasure in criminating the opinion of others. But it was his duty on such an occasion to speak out. He thought it was right that Parliament and the country should know what the system of education really was which was now to be sanctioned and endowed by the State. He was perfectly ready to admit that if Parliament should determine to endow a college for educating the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland, it was not to be expected that the State should be allowed to interfere with the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church. The Roman Catholics would require, and rightly require, that these doctrines should be kept intact; but still it would be right for the State to know what those doctrines really were, and certainly, it would be right for the State to know and to ascertain what political ethics or doctrines of a political or social, or anti-social, character are taught there. His hon. Friend the Member for the city of Dublin had stated distinctly, and had adduced strong proofs, that certain very obnoxious doctrines and principles, both social and political, were taught at Maynooth—doctrines, in fact, which inculcated intolerance and disloyalty. A noble Lord opposite, the Member for Arundel, had accused his hon. Friend of imputing to Roman Catholics obsolete and exploded doctrines; but what was the statement of his hon. Friend? Why, that the very doctrines and principles which the noble Lord considered obsolete and exploded, are at this moment inculcated at Maynooth, and are contained and taught in the recognised class books which are in use among the students. The question is one of fact, and admits of an easy proof or disproof. He was aware that a statement had been made to the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government, that the ultra-Montane doctrines and principles are the doctrines and principles of Maynooth—that they involve principles of a most anti-social and anti-constitutional character—principles, in fact, so atrocious, that he (Mr. Hamilton) hesitated to repeat them; that the books which inculcate those doctrines, are the books in use among the students; and that, as a consequence, a system of ecclesiastical law prevails in Ireland at variance with and dangerous to the law and constitution of the realm. He was also aware that an offer was made to the right hon. Baronet to prove this charge before any tribunal which he might appoint. The right hon. Baronet had declined entering upon the question, considering, no doubt, that to entertain it would be inconsistent with the spirit in which he desired the boon to be conferred by Government and the Legislature. But was it right that Parliament and the country should be kept in the dark on such a subject as this? Was it, or could it be, the duty of a British Minister, when charges such as these were urged against an institution which it was proposed that the State should endow, and with regard to which no control was henceforth to be exercised by the State—was it right, for the sake of conciliation, that no inquiry should be made as to the truth or falsehood of these charges? He had that day presented a petition from Harold's-cross upon the subject, couched certainly in strong language—setting forth the petitioners' objections to the endowment of Maynooth, and the grounds of their objection. The objections were not to the religious doctrines taught at Maynooth, but to the political and anti-social principles there inculcated. The petitioners set forth their proofs, and they demand inquiry. He (Mr. Hamilton) could only say, that if the charges in that petition were true, and proved to be true, he did not believe there would be found a single Member in that House, Roman Catholic or Protestant, who would be bold enough to get up in his place and defend a Bill intended to perpetuate, without control, an institution in which such principles were inculcated; and he did not believe that a Minister would be found who would venture to aver that it was consistent with his duty to his Queen or his country to propose it. But if no inquiry should be made by Parliament or Government on the subject, while he adduced that want of inquiry as a strong argument against the passing of the Bill, he saw hon. Gentlemen opposite, friends of his own, Gentlemen of the Roman Catholic religion, and who, he felt sure, would disclaim and repudiate such doctrines and principles as strongly as he would himself—even at the risk of weakening his own argument he would appeal to them, and would put it to them, whether they at least ought not to take the matter up, and ascertain whether these charges were true or false. If they were true, he would not say what considerations they ought to suggest; but he would, at least, call upon them to repudiate those objectionable class-books, and remove from their College the imputation of inculcating principles which they and yourselves abjure. He should, on all these grounds, feel it his duty to offer his most strenuous opposition to the Bill in all its stages.

Mr. *E. Ellice* (Coventry) said, that it was not his intention (contrary to his general usage), to give a silent vote on the present occasion. So much excitement had been got up, and he had received so many petitions from respectable bodies of his constituents against the opinion which he entertained on this subject, that he felt himself compelled, with much reluctance, to state very shortly the reasons which would induce him, without the least hesitation, to give his cordial support to the second reading of this Bill. He might probably thereafter vote with his hon. Friend the Member for Sheffield on the Motion of which he had given notice, with respect to the quarter from which all funds should be taken for the advancement of religion and religious education in Ireland; but he (Mr. Ellice) was prepared now to state, that if he should fail with his hon. Friend in carrying that proposition into effect, still he would give his support to the present measure, believing it to be an act of tardy justice, and a partial restitution to the Irish people. He would not follow the hon. Member who had just sat down in his religious objections to the present Motion. He did not think, that after so many nights' debate, and with the prospect of so many more, he had any right to waste the time of the House in discussing that subject; and he said that without the least disrespect to the hon. Member, or the manner in which he had stated his objections. But he found himself called upon to give an opinion on a measure intended for the benefit and advantage of Ireland. If he were to follow the hon. Member for Dublin University through his religious opinions, he being himself, he hoped, as good a Protestant as that hon. Member, he should be obliged to shape the whole of his policy in accordance with the opinions of one-fifth, and hostile to the opinions of four-fifths of the people of Ireland. He could not conceive that, under present circumstances, any party could be found to persevere in a system such as had hitherto disgraced the conduct of England towards Ireland. If he was inclined to follow the hon. Member in his arguments, he should find them so inconsistent as to leave him no point to stop at. The hon. Momber said he could not grant the money on the score of conscience, because he differed in religion from the intended recipients; but at the same time he was ready to vote the *Regium Donum*, and money for the support of the Established Church of Scotland. Why, as the right hon. Member for Edinburgh had stated, in his most luminous speech, the doctrines of a part of the Church of Scotland, and of some of those who received the Royal Gift in the north of Ireland, were more opposed to the Church of England than the tenets of the Church of Rome. ["No!" "Oh, oh!"] What! did they differ less from the Socinians of the north of Ireland than from the Roman Catholics? He did not want to pursue this subject; it was a painful and an odious one. He respected every man's religious opinions; and his principle was, that all the Queen's subjects had a right to equal privileges, no matter what might be their religious opinions. What, he would ask, was the danger to be apprehended from this small measure either to the Protestant Church, or to Protestant interests? The hon. Member for Dublin University had called upon them to consider for whom they were going to grant this money—the Catholic priesthood of Ireland—that priesthood being directly opposed to the best interests of the State. He (Mr. Ellice) denied that; he believed that there never was a time when the poor Roman Catholic priesthood of Ireland were more distinguished for good conduct, and for attention to the duties of their calling, than at present. If he were told they took part in political agitation, he admitted the fact; and he asked whose fault was it? These men depended for support on their flocks; they sympathized with them in their complaints against English mismanagement of their country. Was it to be wondered at, that the poor prelate of the Roman Catholic Church, when he saw the Protestant bishop in luxury, should be dissatisfied? Was it to be wondered at, that such men felt no great love for the institutions of the Established Church? The Roman Catholic parish priest, overworked and underpaid, saw the sinecurist rector of the same district revelling in the enjoyment of abundance and luxury—derived from endowments of which his own Church had been robbed. Could the Catholic priest, under those circumstances, look with an eye of love upon the Church Establishment? He did not wish to rake up the past; but he was giving reasons why the Catholic priesthood of Ireland were not bound to the State by those ties which well-used and well-governed subjects of the Crown would readily acknowledge.

It was with him, therefore, a question of paramount importance to remedy that state of things in Ireland. The only difficulty which he (Mr. E. Ellice) had on the subject was to vote pounds out of the public taxes for any sectarian purposes whatever. He had been no party to the profuse votes of former occasions in that House, and he was adverse to them upon principle; but this was so grave a subject, presented under such an exceptional aspect, that he would hesitate before he refused to entertain it. If the funds for the purpose in question could be procured from the revenues of the Established Church in Ireland, it would be the best thing for all parties. There were large funds available in that Establishment; and, notwithstanding the complaints and representations that had been made to the contrary, the Protestant clergy of that Establishment were amply provided for. The members of the Established Church of Ireland were the proprietors of the whole country; the Catholics were the destitute and needy portion of the population. The great endowments of the Irish Church had belonged to the Catholics of former days; and the re-appropriation of them might be looked forward to when the measures of the right hon. Gentleman were ripe for the purpose. The State had taken the funds of their Church from these poor people; and until it restored them—and he had heard the word "restitution," in the course of that debate, with great satisfaction—seeing their inability to raise funds for the education of their clergy, it would be as unwise as it was unworthy of that House to reject, in a parsimonious spirit, the grant for that purpose now proposed to be made from the public purse. In the north of Ireland the condition of the Catholic population was still more anomalous than in the other parts of that country. There the Protestant was in the enjoyment of the Church Establishment, and the Presbyterian of his *Regium Donum*, being one the landlord, and the other the tenant of the soil; while the poor Catholic cotter had no earthly assistance to aid his destitution, physical and spiritual, and no means of providing for it except by his own miserable exertions. Having brought forward the measure, it would now be neither wise nor prudent to abandon it, and by that means create disappointment in the breasts of the Catholics of Ireland. He did not know what were those further measures which Her Majesty's Government had in contemplation; but looking at the Bequests Act of last year—looking at the Landlord and Tenant Commission issued by them—and looking at the Bill then before the House, he could come to no other conclusion than that the Parliament and the country had embarked on a new course under their guidance — a course which he heartily approved of as regarded Ireland. It was with great satisfaction that he found the right hon. Member for Newark on his side of the present question. The maintenance of unity in government and in religion, might do very well for theoretical philosophers; but it was impracticable in this country. With seven millions of Catholics in Ireland, how could there be unity of religion and government? He (Mr. Ellice) had said on a former occasion that Mahomet was a merciful conqueror compared with the conduct of England towards Ireland, because he only exterminated one generation of those opposed to his creed, while England persecuted Ireland for ages. It would require some such practical philosopher as Mahomet to create unity of government and unity of religion in this country. The system that had hitherto been acted on towards Ireland could not now be persevered in under risk of the penalty of a civil war: good feeling, and expediency, therefore, concurred to justify the Motion. The proposition under discussion was a very different one from what that House had been accustomed to hear made by Tory Governments. The passing of the Reform Bill had, however, obliterated all those obnoxious principles. The right hon. Gentleman at the head of affairs, he (Mr. Ellice) had no doubt, felt that it would be utterly impossible to act on the principles which guided former Governments, and moved previous Parliaments. Before the Reform Bill, Parliament granted, without scurple, 700,000*l.* for Protestant Charter Schools, 100,000*l.* for building Churches, and finally 1,000,000*l.* in aid of the clergy, and in lieu of tithes. Why should the paltry sum now proposed be refused to the Roman Catholics? There was, no doubt, a great deal of feeling out of doors on the subject, but it was necessary to distinguish the motives of parties to that opposition. Some certainly opposed the grant on sincerely religious grounds, while others opposed it on the ground that public money should not be granted for sectarian purposes. The principle of the latter opposition was a correct one as a general rule; but, after the enormous grants that had been made to Protestants, he conceived that the case of the Catholics formed a fair exception to that rule. Besides, now that it had been proposed, to recede from it would be at once so pregnant with danger, so unjust, and so illiberal, that it would be hard to say what might result from the adoption of such a course. It would certainly supply one of the strongest arguments that could be put forward in favour of repeal. Repeal was merely a hobgoblin, if Parliament dealt fairly and liberally with the Catholics of Ireland; but if the opposite course was taken, and Parliament dealt with them in a contrary spirit, then it was dangerous indeed. He (Mr. Ellice), therefore, counselled the right hon. Gentleman to persevere in the course he had taken—to carry forward without fear the measure before the House, and he felt satisfied that, by calm reasoning, by preparing the public mind, by avoiding all topics of irritation connected with the subject, he would ultimately succeed in reconciling the Protestant population of England to equality of justice on the part of the Catholic people of Ireland. He never voted for any measure on which he felt a more thorough conviction that he was doing justice to the country and to his constituents, and he should therefore give it his most cordial support.

Mr. *Goring* deeply regretted that Her Majesty's Ministers had thought it their duty to introduce such a measure; the consequence of their doing so was that he was now unable to place that confidence in them which had hitherto been his pleasure. Whether there had been any compact with Parliament that Maynooth should be supported, he did not know; but he had always understood and believed that there was a compact between Her Majesty's Ministers and the Protestant Church in this country. When they found it was expedient that any other of our old and hallowed institutions should be destroyed, he had no doubt they would be ready to make the sacrifice. After their conduct, in regard to this measure, he could put no trust in them that they would support or maintain the Corn Laws. When they found it expedient, they would sacrifice the agricultural interest, as they were now sacrificing the Protestant Church. He could not give his vote for the endowment of a college for the instruction of those who were being educated for the purpose of teaching error. He considered the Bill as a serious blow to the Protestant Church in this country. It was with regret and alarm that the agricultural interest had viewed the introduction of the measure; it had disgusted every Protestant who paid the Income Tax, to see the money so applied, and he considered it a measure of insult to the Protestants of Ireland; he would, therefore, take every opportunity of opposing it which was afforded him.

Lord *Ashley* said: Sir, the position of those who vote for this Bill is far more favourable than the position of those who undertake to oppose it. They speak both on behalf of themselves and of many now present, whose principles and feelings are deeply interested in the question. We, on the contrary, have to urge what may be considered speculative opinions against what they maintain to be actual realities, and we have, moreover, to speak against the feelings and affections of many Gentlemen who are now listening; differing from us in religious opinions, with many of whom we are living on terms of friendship and intimacy, and for whom we entertain the sincerest respect. I, for one, feel a repugnance I can scarcely describe in resisting this Motion, to incur the appearance of casting reflections on the principles and practices of those Gentlemen who conscientiously believe the religion they profess. But, Sir, the question has been propounded by Her Majesty's Government, and we must address ourselves to it, as well and with as much forbearance as we can. I most unwillingly trespass on the attention of the House on this occasion; indeed, I have so often to address it in connexion with measures of my own, that in general I abstain from joining these discussions, and I would have done so in the present instance had I found it possible to withhold altogether my opinion on a subject that must excite such painful anxiety. This question, Sir, ought to receive from us the fullest and most minute investigation. It exceeds in importance any measure ever offered to this House, for good or for evil. I have never known any measure more important, for good or for evil, in Ireland. It very much exceeds in importance the Roman

Catholic Relief Bill; and it exceeds it on this ground—when we removed the disabilities that pressed on the Roman Catholics, we removed restraints, and gave free scope and opportunity to free action on their part; but in the present case we not only remove disabilities and restraints —we ourselves join that free action, and give all our energy and all our support to the principles of the Roman Catholic religon. If the plan works well, it will produce the regeneration of Ireland; if it works well, it will conciliate the affections of the people of Ireland, and mightily advance the prosperity of England. But, on the other hand, if it works ill, I believe it will lead to the utter destruction of the Protestant Establishment, and give rise to perils and feelings ten times more hazardous than the agitation that threatens us at the present moment. In discussing this question, I think we are at liberty to take it not only as propounded—not only as it stands in this Bill, but to consider also the consequences that will result from it—not the forced or unnatural consequences, but those which may be considered as just and legitimate. I will not enter on that part of the arguments which have been adduced touching on theological questions, and which leads us to examine how far it is admissible, or not, to propose to foster a religion from which we conscientiously dissent; that point may be handled by others; it is not at all necessary for the line of argument I wish to pursue. The first and main objection I take to the measure before the House is, that it proceeds to the endowment of this Roman Catholic College by Act of Parliament. This objection is one which, I find, has been taken very deeply and extensively by all the memorialists and petitioners to this House against the measure; it is, also, the one objection which is uniform and common to all of them, however they may differ on other points. This objection is urged by the advocates of the voluntary principle, by the petitioners belonging to the Church of England, and by those who take the high theological argument I have alluded to. I know that by the original constitution of this College it was based on an Act of Parliament; but there is a great difference between the Act of Parliament proposed at that time and the measure now before the House. The Act of Parliament of that day was one for the repeal of a penal law—a most just and necessary repeal. At that time it was illegal for the Catholics to found a college for the purposes of education in the Roman Catholic religion, and it was necessary to remove that disability. The College was founded, and a small sum of money granted towards establishing that seminary; but observe, the present Act not only founds the College, but gives it trustees in perpetual succession; and what is of still more importance, endows it in perpetuity with the large sum of 26,000*l.* a-year. I cannot understand how it can be said that the difference between this Act and the Act by which the College was first founded, is not sufficient to justify the opposition made to the measure. It seems to involve the whole distinction; the present Bill, by giving such an endowment, takes the whole expense of educating the Roman Catholic priesthood on the State; and whereas, by the other Act, only a small sum of money was given in aid of contributions for this purpose, this measure establishes a complete distinction, and makes the State the sole party to the education of those persons, and places the College, as one of the institutions of the realm, on the same footing—except that it is treated with much greater favour—as the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin. Now, I believe that the endowment of this College in perpetuity, and the removal of the grant from the annual Estimates, has more displeased and more alarmed the people of this country than if the grant itself had been increased threefold. They say that this measure is an immediate, direct, and perpetual recognition of the Roman Catholic Church, as one of the standing institutions of the Empire. [Mr. *Sheil:* Hear.] No doubt the right hon. Gentleman is quite right according to his views; but I am urging this as one of the objections to this measure. It amounts very nearly to a declaration on the part of the State, that as far as the power of enactments and statutes extends, the Roman Catholic religion shall never cease to be the religion of Ireland. I say so, because this grant establishes that if at any time there shall be an apathy on the part of the Roman Catholics of Ireland as regards the support of their religion—if they should have a disinclination to expend money on their Church, the State will step forward and supply those funds which the Roman Catholics themselves will not provide. I think that I can see this result from what occurred at a meeting of the Roman Catholic Institute the other day. The Secretary of the Roman Catholic Institute read, at that meeting, a statement to the effect that the condition of the Roman Catholic children in England was so deplorable as regards education, owing to the want of due provision for them, that they were falling off in great numbers, in proportion to the various Protestant sects. Now, if the House of Commons were to step in and provide the means of education for those children, it appears to me that such a course would be nearly what we are called upon to do now. There is no willingness on the part of the Roman Catholics of Ireland to subscribe towards Maynooth, but you are stepping in with this sum of money. This is going beyond toleration—it is going to the extent of absolute establishment; and you are calling on us to affirm that to which I am sure no sincere Roman Catholic would ever consent. But, Sir, connected with this there is another very important consideration—one which is so universally believed to be a necessary part of this proposition, not announced, but surely to follow, that I must consider it as one of the immediate and necessary consequences of this measure. I do not see how it will be possible for us to refuse our assent to the necessary consequence of such a plan as the endowment of the Roman Catholic priesthood. I infer that such must be the result from the argument of the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government when he introduced this Bill. The whole of his argument went to that consummation, and so it struck the intelligence of my noble Friend the Member for London; the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Dungarvon also drew the same conclusion from the argument of the right hon. Baronet. The noble Lord said that the argument of the right hon. Baronet led him to conclusions which he was not then prepared to avow, although they were conclusions to which every one who had heard that argument must be driven. I must express my conviction, Sir, that those who have made up their minds to vote for this Bill will find, as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newark said, that whenever the other subject comes to be discussed to which I referred, they will be unable to oppose the Motion on religious grounds. But, speaking for myself, I say at once, that if I could make up my mind to vote for this Bill, I should also think myself almost bound in honour to vote for the proposition which may succeed it. It may be said by the right hon. Gentleman and others, that they do intend to go on and endow the Roman Catholic priesthood. If so, then they surely ought to pause before preparing themselves to encounter a degree of agitation much greater than that which has been shown against this Bill. If, on the other hand, the right hon. Baronet tells us that he is not prepared to propose the endowment of the Roman Catholic priesthood, then I ask, what on earth becomes of his scheme and of his policy? Unless the right hon. Baronet is prepared to go to that full extent, he will not be carrying to completion the policy intended to be adopted by this Bill. The avowed reason for the measure is, that you wish to elevate the condition of the priesthood in Ireland, and, thereby, the condition of the people; but if you raise the priesthood to a higher level, both your policy and the claims of justice require that you should keep them there. You would not then be in a condition to say to the priests, "Now, go and get your livelihood as you can; go from house to house; take from every one, as before, the smallest pittance." You would not then be in a situation to tell the Roman Catholic priest to continue to do that which is admitted by all parties to have aided so much to degrade the body of the Irish Roman Catholic priesthood and people. Because, how could the priest be independent of the people, if the existing system were continued? If you wish to break down that principle and cause of agitation—if you wish to make them guide, not follow their flocks, you must first make them independent. If then, Sir, this be admitted, what is the next step? What is to become of the Protestant Establishment in Ireland? I know very well that the Minister will say that he will use all the power he possesses to defend the Church; but the principle he lays down is a progressive one, and beyond his control. The fact is, that he will have given life and vigour to a principle which will destroy the whole Establishment in Ireland. If the priesthood are to be endowed, you must do it by Statute; for, as the right hon. Gentleman the

Member for Dungarvon said the other night, you must make the priesthood as independent of the State as of the people. Endowed by Statute, what is the consequence? Why, that you expose us to the enormous, the almost ludicrous, contradiction of two coexistent established Churches in the same country. You will have the Roman Catholic Church established by Statute, the Protestant Establishment existing by prescription and also by Statute. You will have the spectacle of 7,000,000 of people receiving an annuity of 500,000*l.* a year from the State, and in the other of 1,000,000 of people receiving perhaps double that amount. Whence will the funds be derived? You cannot suppose that after this country and this House shall be brought to establish the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, they would consent to pay an annuity of half a million of money, for the purpose of securing the Protestant Church against the assaults of a creed which they will have ceased to fear. The result of such a state of things is quite clear. For the instant you can bring yourselves to regard the Roman Catholic religion as neither spiritually nor politically dangerous, the result seems almost a matter of necessity. The reconstruction of their Church then becomes almost inevitable; and even before that what will you have done? You will have taken from the Church of Ireland its whole missionary character—you will have given to the Roman Catholic Church form and pressure, limits and possession. How, then, in such a state of things, can the Protestant Minister interfere with the cures and charges of the recognised Roman Catholic minister? It would be impossible. You will altogether have rendered nugatory the expansive force of Protestantism. Which then will you favour? Which is the religion which you will call the Established religion, and which is to enjoy the peculiar protection of this country? You will then have two Established Churches in Ireland, very disproportionate in numbers; animated, I fear, by perpetual rivalry, and breaking out into hostility, the issue of which can scarcely be held to be doubtful when you consider the disparity of numbers. In objecting to the removal of this grant from the Annual Estimates, I beg to say I am not actuated by illiberal motives; and I will quote the opinion on that head of the present Lord Monteagle—a great friend to Ireland, and who objects to the removal of the grant from the Annual Estimates. He states his opinion that this grant ought to be year by year under the control of Parliament. And that I do feel is the strong opinion of many classes in this country. Sir, I hope that, in the opposition I may offer to the present Bill, I shall not be considered as animated by feelings of hostility to the Irish people; the whole history of that island demands the sympathy and repentance of the British nation; and I confess that I never can read those sad records, without a sentiment of shame and remorse, for the oppression of one time, and for the neglect at another, of which our Governments have been guilty. There are but few sacrifices that I would not cheerfully make for the happiness of Ireland; few things could be allowed to stand in the way of such an issue. But what profits will you derive from Motions such as these? Victories here will bring no triumphs; and whether the Bill be carried or lost, I see little on either side but darkness and deadly hatreds, increasing violence, and deep-brooding resentments — " without will be fightings, within will be fears." Would to God I were not summoned to give a vote on this painful question! but the matter is now submitted to our judgments, and we cannot evade a decision; we must act then with conscience for our guide. Did I believe that this concession would content the people, I would pause even here in my refusal; but first, I have never seen any thing gained by concession of principle; and next, the language of this very Session has assured me that the endeavour is hopeless. When, on the first night of our meeting, the Prime Minister had announced his policy in respect of Maynooth, a Member of no small importance, the right hon. Member for Dungarvon (Mr. Sheil) rose to reply, and these were his emphatic words:—

> " In Ireland it was a point of honour with Catholics that the University of Dublin should be thrown open. The revenue of the University amounted to nearly 40,000*l.* From this great national establishment Roman Catholics were excluded. Was it right that the exclusion should continue? It was a point of honour that it should not, and honour and interest were nearly identified. They wanted equality with Protestants in all respects; and

is they were excluded from Trinity College, the right hon. Gentleman's measures would not have gained the object he sought."

So thus you will perceive that something will still remain behind; some right, as they say, to be demanded; some concession, as we say, to be resisted. Had this language proceeded from a less important person — from an ordinary agitator—I should not have noticed it; but I will speak of it now as bold, candid, and justifiable. When the Relief Bill was passed, there was an honourable though tacit understanding on both sides that all parties, both those who had made the concession, and those who had obtained it, should rest content with what they had got, and not trespass on the position of each other. But when the propounder of that measure comes forward himself, and says that concession has not reached its limits, and that there are other concessions to be made, which are not only safe but just; then I do say, that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Dungarvon has a perfect right to come forward and state in his own name, and in that of his Roman Catholic brethren, all that he demands as a matter of justice to receive at our hands. Still more should I pause, did I think that this concession would confer any effective benefit on our Irish brethren; but I foresee the very reverse; I see nothing but strife and confusion—hostility exasperated by the possession of greater power, and more frequent collisions both in this country and that. Nor can I, with a view to their lasting good, assent to a measure conducing, in any degree, to suppress or even retard the advancement of the Protestant faith, which we believe, and may be allowed to assert without offence, to be a well-spring of civilization and happiness, of social and religious freedom.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said: Sir, in common with many others who have addressed the House on this subject, I am about to take a course which is at variance with the opinions of many valued friends, and contrary to the feelings of those whom I am bound on every principle to respect; I am, therefore, anxious to state the grounds on which I feel it my duty to support the course which I have, as a Member of Her Majesty's Government, concurred in recommending to Parliament. I agree with my noble Friend who has just sat down, that, taken in one point of view, the measure now under consideration is that of extreme importance. I think, at the same time, that there are other points of view in which the importance of this measure has been greatly exaggerated. When it is stated that we are about to make an enormous grant for the endowment of the Roman Catholic Church, I must call that a great exaggeration. I cannot consider that 17,000*l*. for the instruction of those who are to be the teachers of the Irish people can be deemed by any man an enormous grant for this country to bestow with reference to the purpose for which it is given. I should be rather disposed to say, that though liberal in amount, because adequate for the purpose for which it is given, yet it cannot bear the character which my noble Friend has given it. If, however, we measure the importance of this subject by the effects which it is likely to produce in the sister country, or judge of it by the satisfaction which is already expressed by those who are best able to perceive its full importance—I mean those who profess the faith, to the teachers of which this grant is to be made —I agree with my noble Friend that it is a measure of extreme importance, calculated to produce the best results on the tranquillity of the sister country, and calculated to promote those results without injury to the established institutions of that country, among which I place, above all, the Protestant Established Church, for which I feel as deeply and ardently as the noble Lord, and to inflicting the slightest injury on which I, in common with him, would never be a party. This measure is important also in the effect which it has produced on the disposition of the Roman Catholics of Ireland. When we witness the gratitude with which they have received a grant of no more than 17,000*l*., and hear the terms in which the most respectable of that body speak of the liberality of the Government and the country in making such a grant for a subject the dearest to their hearts—a sum of money, I may in passing observe, not more than we commonly vote, without observation or comment, for the purpose of gratifying our taste for ornament, or for some comparatively unimportant object—I say that we have an assurance that the forebodings which some hon. Gentlemen have expressed as to the effects of this measure will be disappointed. I believe, on the other hand, that this grant will produce the effects which we anticipate. I believe it, because, though I differ from my Roman Catholic countrymen upon points of faith —and no man can differ more strongly, and if I were to enter into controversy no man would oppose them more fearlessly —yet I believe they are animated by the feelings that animate every Christian man, that they are grateful for kindness shown to them, and above all for that which, given in a disinterested spirit on the part of this country, contributes materially to the comfort of those in whom they take the deepest interest. Thinking thus of the importance of the question, and the effects that are likely to flow from it, I am not easily to be deterred from the prosecution of the measure. I shall certainly not yield my opinion in deference to casual expressions which may have fallen in the course of debate from Members, however distinguished, still less from incidental paragraphs which may be extracted from speeches which have been made here at antecedent periods. I have, doubtless, great respect for the abilities displayed by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Dungarvon (Mr. Sheil), and for the talent he uniformly exhibits in discussing the subjects which he brings before this House. But if I were to select a Member of this House upon whose discretion I meant particularly to rely, I should certainly not fix upon that right hon. Gentleman, whose poetical temperament naturally leads him into the regions of imagination, and thus may, perhaps, form an excuse for indiscretion, and some forgetfulness of fact. I cannot believe, in opposition to the general feelings of others who are interested in this grant, that the right hon. Gentleman is correct when he states that no satisfaction will be entertained by those whom the grant is intended to benefit, unless it be accompanied by still further and impossible concession. I say, I would not give credit to such prognostications from any individual Member. Neither do I defer to the expression which Lord Monteagle is supposed to have used in some incidental debate in Committee of Supply, when, in answer to an objection from the other side, he stated, that the Vote to Maynooth ought to be an annual one, and constantly under the supervision of Parliament. That expression was used fourteen or fifteen years ago. We all know, that in a Committee unexpected questions often give rise to hasty or ill-considered answers; and this expression of the noble Lord may have thus been casually used. It was not meant for the guidance of Parliament, perhaps, on the occasion upon which it was used; certainly it was not meant for the control of Parliament in discussing, fourteen years afterwards, a measure of a different character. In the course of the discussion which has taken place on this occasion, a great variety of arguments have been adduced. Attempts have been made to introduce abstract subjects of discussion, no doubt important in themselves as subjects of discussion, but appearing to me not necessarily to belong to the consideration of the present subject of debate. I do not think it necessary now to discuss whether it be proper that the State should extend equal favour to all religious sects. I do not deem it necessary to ascertain whether we are bound now to take into consideration the payment of every sect that may exist throughout the country. I say, that the decision of that question has no reference to the subject immediately under discussion. If that question were irreparably connected with the grant to Maynooth, the time for considering it would have been in the year 1795, when the Protestant Parliament of Ireland unanimously assented to the establishment and endowment of the College of Maynooth; when the bishops then in Parliament did not see any objection to the course before pursued; and the Bill, passed unanimously for the first establishment of the College, received the assent of the Crown. It might then have been a question — when you were releasing the Roman Catholics from the restrictions to which they were previously subjected in a country where the Protestant Establishment was guarded by various enactments, partly penal, partly restrictive — whether you should, for the first time, admit to a participation in the public money an establishment connected with another religion? But that point was long since decided. Upon the arrangement then made, the Imperial Parliament, has up to the present moment, acted, and we now have to decide merely the simple question, whether, the principle having been departed from, as far as regarded the endowment of this particular College, we are to make the institution effective for the object for which Parliament originally established and endowed it? Before I enter into the particular objections of my noble Friend, I may be permitted to make one general observation. Much stress has been laid upon the petitions which have been presented to this House. I admit that they have been extremely numerous. But when I compare the prayers of those petitions with the speeches which hon. Members have delivered in this House, I observe a wide difference between them. What do the petitioners ask for? What is their object? And what is the argument adduced by those Gentlemen who resist this grant? I tell those hon. Gentlemen that, though opposed to me in the vote they will give, they and I are equally opposed to the prayer of the petitions presented to the House. Why, those petitions, with the exceptions so few that they are hardly worth mentioning, uniformly proceed upon the principle that Maynooth ought never to have been established — that the maintenance of a Roman Catholic Establishment like that was a sin and a crime; and they call upon us—not to vote a paltry grant instead of a reasonable one — but to put down this institution, which they regard as offensive in the sight of God, and which we ought never to have established at all. But, Sir, with the exception of the two hon. Representatives for Dublin, during the four nights' debate upon this question, I have not heard that argument urged by any hon. Members. They indeed object to the augmentation of the vote to Maynooth. They would avail themselves of the host of petitions presented with a totally different object. But they themselves are as unwilling as I am to come forward with a measure to take away the grant from Maynooth; and they see that the proposal of the petitioners is so preposterous that if brought forward, it would have no possible chance of passing. Let not hon. Gentlemen, therefore, think if they succeed in rejecting the Bill now before the House, that they can stop there. They must proceed a step further, and announce to the Roman Catholic body in Ireland that the time is now arrived when, instead of further concession to their wants and reasonable demands, they are to have withdrawn from them the privilege which they have enjoyed for the last fifty years, and to which they very naturally attach a value, because upon the maintenance of this grant depends the existence of an establishment which is interwoven with their own religion. My noble Friend has mainly objected to the Bill before the House upon the principle that we are now for the first time endowing the establishment at Maynooth. With deference to him, I beg entirely to dissent from that opinion. If the words of an Act of Parliament carry any force at all with them, the original Act as to Maynooth is itself a negative to the proposition of my noble Friend. The preamble of that Act says,—

> "Whereas, by the laws now in force in this kingdom, it is not lawful to endow any seminary for the purpose of educating persons in the Roman Catholic religion."

And then comes the enacting part in the subsequent clause, which says, "that the persons hereafter elected," who are to be the trustees under the Act, "shall be for the purpose of establishing, endowing, and maintaining, the said College;" and this word "establishing" carries with it all the strength and permanence, on account of which "endowment" has been objected to. The same words are used in other clauses of the Statute, to which, however, I do not think it necessary to refer. But, says my noble Friend, you did not mean that it should be endowed by Parliament. I deny the premises of my noble Friend. I say that it was the intention of Parliament to give a grant for this particular purpose. They did that when the Act was passed, in the subsequent year, and in every year since. But supposing there was no intention to grant the public money, I say that the Parliament which empowered those who before had no power to have an endowment, and permitted them to receive money for the purpose of endowment, did as effectually endow the College and contribute to its permanence, and assert the principle that it was not contrary to the Protestant faith to give a grant to this Roman Catholic College, as if they had proposed the Bill now under discussion, and which we are called upon to reject, because it provides for the endowment of this institution. My noble Friend, in the next place, objects to this grant because, he says, that by making this a permanent provision, instead of an annual one, you lay down as a principle that the Roman Catholic religion shall never cease in Ireland. Now, I doubt very much whether by any legislative enactment to which any Parliament of the present time would assent, we can cause the cessation of the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland. Least of all do I think that the permanency of that religion in Ireland can depend upon the fact whether the men who are intended to administer sacred offices are educated in a decent or an unbecoming manner. I think it a great stretch of imagination to suppose that because we educate a certain number of individuals in a manner disgraceful to the country that provides the means, and degrading to the individuals subjected to the education, we are at all affecting the permanency of the Roman Catholic religion; or that if we decide upon making their education more decent, more becoming the character of the country, and better calculated to raise the character of the individuals themselves, that we thereby prolong the existence of that faith. My noble Friend refers to a Report relative to certain Roman Catholic schools in London. In the Report to which he alludes it is stated that the Roman Catholics in London are utterly destitute of the means of education. Does my noble Friend mean that we are to leave that portion of the population without any means of instruction, in the expectation that by leaving them in that state, they shall of necessity be driven to adopt a faith which they do not believe to be the true one? My noble Friend says that to provide means for the education of the Catholic children is going beyond toleration. I say that the forbearing to give to them as citizens of a free State the advantages which the children of other faiths receive in matters of education, would be, in my view, to fall very far short of toleration. For whether I attempt to enforce upon them the doctrines of my own Church, by not removing the obstacles which poverty and discomfort place in the way of their education, or whether I positively prohibit their education by law, admits to my mind of very little distinction. I cannot, therefore, consent to act upon that principle with respect to the College of Maynooth, and to keep the tenants of that establishment upon their present footing of poverty, in the hope that, through that poverty, I may effect their conversion to the purer faith which I myself profess. I do not think, in the first place, that that course would answer its end. I believe that you have a better chance of reaching the hearts of the Roman Catholics, and rendering them more accessible to the purer doctrines which are taught by the Protestant Church, by treating them, whether they be laymen or priests, with the respect and consideration due to their character as the members or ministers of another religious persuasion. What is the effect of an inferior education upon them? Why, it necessarily hardens the heart against any impression that may be attempted from without. The state they live in at Maynooth forbids the possibility of their being grateful to the Government which confers the means of their subsistence at the time. It imbues them with a hatred of the religion which the Government that so degrades them professes; and in my mind raises a strong additional obstacle to the prospect of making an impression on their minds by introducing to them truths to which their aversion is necessarily increased from their association of those truths with the misery in which their earlier lives have been passed. I know it has been stated in this debate, that if we give a better education to the Roman Catholic priesthood, we shall endanger the Protestant Establishment and the Protestant religion in Ireland. Sir, I am not of that opinion —history does not justify that opinion— reason does not justify that opinion. I ask my noble Friend who alluded to this subject, to tell me when and how it was that the Reformation itself was effected? Was it in the darker ages of the world, when the Roman Catholics were less literate; when little knowledge was abroad in Europe; when men were most confined to the study of the darker pages of divinity, and remained altogether secluded from other branches of science and literature? Was that, I ask, the time when the Reformation broke forth? Quite the contrary. My noble Friend knows as well as I do, that it was not until science and literature had begun to illuminate the convents on the Continent; it was not until the period when the arts and sciences were more extensively cultivated, and the monks in the several convents became men of science and literature. That was the period when the great leaders of the Reformation burst forth—men who had previously achieved a high literary character—men, some of whom had distinguished themselves by their classical and mathematical attainments, and others by their superior knowledge of divinity. And when the light to which their studies led broke in upon them, they burst the cerements in which they had been wrapped, and came forth as lights to illuminate the world, and bestow enduring blessings upon mankind. Am I to say, then, with these glorious examples before me, that to keep Catholics in ignorance is the means of stopping the progress of their faith, and of advancing my own? Sir, I have that confidence in the truth of the religion which I profess, that I believe the more the mind of man is educated and enlightened, the more likely is he to adopt it; and therefore, I believe that whatever improvement takes place in the present system at Maynooth will be so much ultimately gained to the Protestant cause. It will soften the hostility which is now felt to that cause —more extensive learning will imbue their minds with juster feelings with respect both to religion and politics. It will be a blessing to them individually by enlightening their minds, and a blessing to the country by diffusing a greater degree of peace and contentment. Education, it is said, may make them more able in discussion, more powerful in argument; but by argument and discussion they are more likely to arrive at truth. I therefore differ from my noble Friend when he contends that the ignorance of the Roman Catholic is in favour of the extension of the Protestant faith. My noble Friend has followed the course which has been taken by many other hon. Gentlemen who have spoken in this debate. He has adverted in a very limited degree to the provisions and character of the Bill before the House, and the immediate consequences to result from it. But he has indulged largely in most dark visions as to the future; and says, if we pass this Bill, we shall be bound hereafter to endow the whole of the Roman Catholic priesthood—to establish two separate Churches in Ireland — and ruin entirely the Protestant Establishment. Now, I have been long enough in this House to know, that when hon. Gentlemen are opposed to a measure which runs counter to their particular feelings, they readily form to themselves visions of what is to come which the future has seldom been found to realize. But if such evils are necessarily to flow from endowment now, I wonder they were not foreseen by those sagacious individuals who originally submitted the establishment and endowment of Maynooth to the Irish Parliament; or by the Parliament of Ireland, who certainly felt as deep an interest in the non-endowment of the Catholic Church, and in the maintenance of the Protestant Establishment, and who were as competent to form an opinion as to the results which might flow from a measure of this kind, as—with all respect and regard for my noble Friend—I believe him to be. For myself, I scarcely need say that I, and those with whom I am associated, can be no parties to that invasion of the Protestant Establishment, its rights, its privileges, or income, which has been recommended to us by various Gentlemen on the opposite side of the House. We have uniformly and consistently contended that the property of the Established Church in Ireland was given, and must be continued to be applied, to purposes connected with that Church Establishment alone: And this is no argument against us to say, that because we wish to be liberal to a limited extent in the erection of schools where Roman Catholics may be taught, or in the maintenance of a College for Roman Catholic priests, we are, therefore, departing from principles to which we have uniformly adhered, of not permitting any appropriation of the property of the Established Church to purposes not connected with the maintenance and the welfare of that Church. But these arguments are beside the present question —these distant prospects of insecurity and danger—when we know that endowment for the last fifty years has not produced any of the awful effects adverted to—cannot have much weight. As to what may happen within the next half century, or what views the Parliament may then take upon this subject, it would be a waste of time to inquire. As far as regards the endowment of the Romish priesthood, we know that that priesthood have uniformly stated that they would not accept of an endowment from the Crown; and we know that the means derived from the contributions of the flocks which they serve, are ample for their wants, and in many cases not inferior to those which are enjoyed by the Protestant clergyman in the same district. "But," says my noble Friend, "you cannot allow these men, when educated at the College of Maynooth, to depend longer for their maintenance upon the contributions of their flocks. They will necessarily be discontented; they will be irritated against and hostile towards the Government, and you must therefore put an end to the system of permitting the ministers of the Roman Catholic religion to be so dependent." But is this system confined to Ireland? How do Dissenting congregations support their ministers? Is it not by contributions of a voluntary character? Are we on that account to suppose that Dissenters are the less attached to the State, or the less inclined to take a deep interest in the welfare of the country? There were, no doubt, great evils which resulted from the voluntary principle; but they were evils not of a political, but of a religious character: they tended to invert the relative position in which the teacher and those who were to obey the teacher ought to stand with regard to each other, making the former in a great degree dependent on the latter. That, however, was an evil which was independent of the present subject—whether it admitted of remedy, or whether the Legislature might hereafter deal with it, were questions involved in the darkness of the future, with which, while there was so much to demand immediate attention, it was neither wise nor necessary to deal. It has been stated in the course of the debate, and my noble Friend has also made allusion to the point, that they were by this grant likely to increase the number of priests to be educated in Maynooth. That was altogether an erroneous view of the subject. The proposed grant to Maynooth would make that establishment adequate to the maintenance of the number of priests now required for the religious service of the Irish people. It was notorious that up to the present moment Parliament gave them 9,000*l.*, a-year, under the impression that they were, for that sum, to educate a limited number of students; but the authorities at the College, finding that amount insufficient for the education of the number of priests annually required, had divided the sum among a larger number, adequate to the exigencies of the Roman Catholic Church: with the aid of the Dunboyne establishment, there were 470 now educated at Maynooth for the priesthood of Ireland. By the present Bill precautions were taken against an indefinite extension of the number, or any extension at all; but with a view to remedy the evils that now prevailed at that institution, it was provided that they should give to each of the 470 students an income adequate to maintain him decently during the period he remained at the College, and supply food, clothing, and books; the matter would be made a subject of strict examination, and the accounts regularly audited, so that instead of having the number of students indefinitely extended, and all of them reduced to a miserable pittance, they would secure to a limited number an adequate income, and that improvement in their condition which was the real object of the present measure. This grant, then, would not lead, as had been represented, to an indefinite extension of the number of priests who might be dispersed through every part of the Empire and the Colonies, but would merely provide the students at Maynooth with the means of decent maintenance there, and of acquiring, by access to books from which they were at present excluded, a degree of knowledge which should elevate their minds, and render them better subjects, better men, and he hoped better Christians. I admit that it is competent for those who have strong religious objections to the establishment of a college for the education of Roman Catholic priests, to say in reply to the arguments, that they were prepared entirely to abolish that establishment. There were some who would say, with the majority of the petitioners, "Withdraw the grant, abolish the establishment, get rid of the sin, and entitle yourselves to the blessing of Heaven for the virtuous act you will thus perform." I do not think, judging from the former conduct of that House, that whatever might be the views of individual Members, the House would concur in that opinion. I do not believe when the country came calmly to consider that they had for fifty years given grants of money to that particular establishment, that they would urge upon their Representatives the propriety of abolishing that grant. But if they were to make an application of that nature, in what House of Commons was it likely that such a proposition would be carried? The grant to Maynooth had been subjected to the consideration of the House of Commons ever since the time of the Union. For fourteen consecutive years it had been passed without observation, without a suggestion that it was an improper grant. It was not till about the year 1829 or 1830 that opposition to it begun. About that period a proposition was made for abolishing it. That proposition met with favour only from a very small minority, which on some occasions certainly was increased a little in number, but had never, after every exertion to raise its numbers, amounted to more than forty-eight. So strong had been the feeling and impression in this House, that to abandon the grant to which they had for so long a period contributed, would be impolitic and dangerous, that notwithstanding the circumstance of the public mind having been excited in the interval on that very subject of Roman Catholic endowment and relief, they could not find fifty Members who would consent to go the length of abolishing the grant. If that were so, was it likely that the House would now refuse the grant proposed, in fulfilment of the object originally intended? It was certainly the intention of Mr. Pitt that the parties educated at Maynooth should have sufficient knowledge in the various branches of literature to enable them respectably to fill the office they were afterwards to be called to. From the circumstances to which I have adverted, the grant has become inefficient; Her Majesty's Government propose to make it efficient; and if they were not prepared to abolish it altogether, they could not plead conscience for their refusal to adopt this proposition. With reference to those who complained of the selection of the present time for making this increased grant, I would observe, that if ever there was a time when it was desirable by some pecuniary sacrifice to gratify the Irish Roman Catholics, the present was the time. They had witnessed recently the prevalence of an agitation in Ireland. Vast assemblages had been collected together in an alarming manner; great apprehensions were entertained of confusion and disaster. The Government had been compelled to proceed against those who had violated the law, and to bring to judgment, if not to punishment, the parties principally engaged in those lawless proceedings. The law had been vindicated; a happier period had now set in; owing to the financial prosperity of the country, capital had begun to flow into Ireland, and the minds of men there were employed in occupations of industry and enterprise, in improving the modes of communication, and were diverted from those religious and political controversies which had unfortunately so long prevailed in that country. At such a moment, then, they could, without any apprehension that concession would be imputed to fear or to the result of disturbance, grant the Roman Catholics of Ireland a boon that they desired, and which in itself it was expedient to grant. I wish not to give that which would endanger any of their institutions—which would prevent the extension of that Church which my noble Friend has called the Missionary Church. That Church depended on its own exertions for the extension of its faith; and whether Roman Catholic priests were educated, or not, the intrinsic value of the doctrines of that Church might be relied on for giving efficacy to the missionary labours of its ministers. The right hon. Gentleman added that there were perhaps some other topics to which he might have referred if the debate had not been so long protracted. He should have been glad to have confined himself exclusively to the subject before the House. He regretted that he was addressing the House at a time when so many hon. Members had absented themselves from the debate, which thus seemed to have diminished in interest; and though among those who were now absent was a right hon. Gentleman who usually sat opposite (Mr. Macaulay), he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) could not close without, in some degree, adverting to the speech made by the right hon. Gentleman in the course of the present debate. That right hon. Gentleman had objected strongly to those who arrogated to themselves, in religious matters, exclusively the right to pronounce what was religious truth, and he denominated those parties religious bigots. The right hon. Gentleman might have remembered that there might be bigots in politics as well as in religion; and that he who arrogated to himself the exclusive right of being benevolent to Ireland—who denied that any Administration, except that of which he was a Member, could confer benefits on that country, was as open in his particular line to the charge of bigotry as those to whom he had addressed his objections. The right hon. Gentleman had said, in a pointed manner, that the measure introduced was good, but ought not to have been introduced by the present Ministry—that there was something in the Government which, if they had known their position, should have prohibited them from bringing the present measure before the House. Was that the proof of the friendly spirit which the right hon. Gentleman boasted of entertaining towards Ireland? The right hon. Gentleman's party were in authority for ten years, and at no period during that time had they given intimation of their intention of making an addition to the Maynooth grant. They were associated in that House with a party, which, in the course of the present debate, had been called the voluntary party. On that party they were in a great degree dependent for general support; they knew that if they proposed a grant to be paid out of the funds of the Established Church, they were sure to meet opposition from those who, like himself (the Chancellor of the Exchequer), maintained the principle that the Church property of Ireland was exclusively applicable to the wants of the Church of Ireland, and ought not to be converted to any other purpose. In that predicament they had not ventured to propose a grant which, if made in the manner they (the Government) now proposed, would have exposed them to the opposition of so large a portion of their own supporters. The thing then remained undone, because they dared not face the task. The right hon. Gentleman said that there was one party in the House who had not dared, when in power, to encounter the difficulties of this question; and there was another party who dared to encounter those difficulties, but who ought not. From what quarter, then, were the Irish people to expect assistance in support of the institution of Maynooth? If the right hon. Gentlemen opposite dared not to make the attempt, and if the present Government, who made the attempt, were to be stigmatized as persons who pursued what they ought not to pursue, who was to effect what was admitted to be just? The right hon. Gentleman was pleased also to make some personal remarks on his right hon. Friend at the head of the Government. It was unnecessary for him (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) to enter into any defence of his right hon. Friend; he was sufficiently known in that House not to require that his Colleagues or Friends should fight his battles, or repel attacks as unfounded and unjust as those made by the right hon. Gentleman. But he might remind the right hon. Gentleman that if he accused the present Government of inconsistency, he ought to have some little consistency himself. When the right hon. Gentleman endeavoured to hold up the conduct of the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government to the obloquy of those who generally supported him, he was bound to show that the statement he made was at least in conformity with what he had said on a former occasion, and not in direct contradiction of it. The right hon. Gentleman had the other night stated that his right hon. Friend professed when in Opposition principles with which he had no sympathy, and sentiments for which he entertained the most profound contempt. He had charged the right hon. Baronet with professing on the Opposition side of the House principles, with respect to measures such as the present, entirely adverse to the course of proceeding which he now pursued. He would not enter into the discussion of that subject. He would rest his right hon. Friend's vindication on a previous speech of the right hon. Gentleman himself. It was not the first time the right hon. Gentleman had made partly an attack on his right hon. Friend upon subjects of this description, mingled with so much of personal eulogium as was necessary to make his hostility more effective. On the 29th January, 1840, when discussing a vote of confidence in the late Government, the right hon. Gentleman made a remarkable speech. It suited his argument then to state that the right hon. Baronet's followers were bigots, but that he himself was a statesman; and the right hon. Gentleman then went on to say of his right hon. Friend, "It has been his misfortune—it has been his fate—to belong to a party with whom he has had less sympathy than any head ever had with any party;"—and yet the right hon. Member who had then stated that his right hon. Friend, on a subject which had a close connexion with the Roman Catholic question, had no sympathy with his party, and acted in opposition to their then feelings, did not scruple to come down to the House in 1845, and charge his right hon. Friend with having professed, in order to please that party, principles and sentiments which he held in the most unbounded contempt. He (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) would only say, that the two statements could not be correct; and if the right hon. Gentleman were present he would ask him to which of the two he adhered. To his right hon. Friend it might be matter of indifference; but if he (Mr. Macaulay) adhered to the former statement, he thought that he was bound to offer some explanation to the House. What did the right hon. Member mean when, after enumerating the various measures in which his right hon. Friend had gone beyond his followers; after stating that his right hon. Friend had chosen a part which was a humiliating one, but at the same time the true one; what did he mean by charging his right hon. Friend's conduct as inconsistent with the course and the professions which he, in the first instance, attributed to him. He (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) would now leave the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, expressing only his entire concurrence in the statement with which he had in 1840 concluded his observations, the truth of which would be acknowledged long after the present attack was forgotten. He said at that period, "The right hon. Baronet is still the same—he is still a statesman—yes, still a statesman; high in intellect, moderate in opinions, calm in temper, and free from fanaticism." He would now conclude. He trusted the House would concur in taking that course which they believed to be the best to conciliate the good feelings of the people of the sister country, without any sacrifice of principle. He trusted that the House would bear in mind, before they finally disposed of the question, that they now stood in a different situation from that in which they would have stood if that question had never been proposed. The benefit this measure offered to the Roman Catholics of Ireland had been presented to them, he would not say with a liberal hand, because he could not think that a grant of 17,000*l.* was entitled to such a description; but it had been presented in an honest and conciliatory spirit, and for an object which every man ought to approve. It was a grant which could be made without a departure from principle, or injury to the existing establishments of the country; and if they were now to disappoint the expectations which the agitation of the question had raised in Ireland, he should like to know who would be responsible for the tranquillity of that country? If the House thought that in submitting that measure to their consideration, the Government was guilty of a violation of principle, or departure from duty, they should not visit the offence of the Government on the heads of the Irish people. Let the House deal with the Government as they pleased —let it censure them—let it condemn them—impeach them even, as the hon. Member for Knaresborough proposed; but let it not, by refusing to pass this measure, disappoint so cruelly the hopes which they had raised, and create perhaps a flame in Ireland which they would not be able to subdue, and excite passions which had been often excited before, and were now allayed; but which, if again excited, might end in general confusion, if not in the ruin of the Empire.

Sir *W. Clay* said: No one could well have stronger personal motives than himself for opposing the Bill. In the large constituency he represented, there was a widely-spread feeling against the measure; and this feeling was participated in by many persons for whose steady support he felt most grateful, and with whom it was most painful to him to differ in opinion on the present occasion. He could not, however, permit himself to be influenced by such considerations. He was, on the maturest consideration, satisfied that the measure before them was in a very high degree conducive to the well-being of the Empire—essential perhaps to its security—and with that conviction, he felt that he had but one path to pursue, and that was to give it his support. He could not but think that the measure had been misapprehended by the public, and that no small portion of the existing excitement was attributable to that misapprehension. By the speakers at public meetings, and in the petitions, it was generally talked of as an endowment of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, or, at least, as preparatory to such an endowment. He denied both those positions. It was in no other or larger sense an endowment of the Roman Catholic Church than the existing grant, which had never been so considered. It should be considered in no other light than as a grant for educational purposes; as a continuation of the grant which, first by the Irish Parliament, and subsequently by the United Parliament, had been continued for the same object for fifty years. There was this only difference—that, as the existing grant had been found insufficient for the purpose for which avowedly it had been first made, they were now about—wisely, as he thought—so to enlarge it as to render it adequate to its object. They were about to substitute a good system of education for a bad one. That was the only change. The principle of both grants was identically the same, nor could one more than the other be considered an endowment of the Roman Catholic Church. If this grant were to be viewed as an ecclesiastical endowment, then he did not see why the grant made of late years in this country for the purposes of education was not liable to the same objection. Of that annual grant, a portion—one half he believed—was allotted to the British and Foreign School Society, to be distributed at their discretion, and was in fact so distributed that large classes of persons, conscientiously dissenting from the doctrines of the Church of England, derived benefit from it. It could scarcely be doubted that many individuals, educated partly through the assistance of the funds so granted, had become and would become Nonconformist Christian Ministers—had it ever been, or could it be reasonably objected to the several denominations of Dissenters deriving assistance for educational purposes from that grant, that they received an endowment from the State? It was true that Maynooth College educated Roman Catholics only, and that, as now conducted, it received only students intended for the Church; but he could not see that either circumstance altered the character of the grant, or invalidated the analogy he had drawn. It made no difference in principle whether one sum was given in common for educational purposes to several denominations, or whether a separate sum was allotted to each; and with regard to restricting the education to young men destined for the Church, it should be borne in mind, that there were obvious reasons why there should be separate and peculiar institutions for the education of the ministers of a Church which enjoined celibacy on its priesthood. But it had been said that this grant was at least preparatory to the endowment by the State of the Roman Catholic Church. He denied that it was necessarily so. There could be no doubt that the question of the Church Establishment in Ireland must inevitably, and ere long, force itself on the attention of the Legislature. The anomaly of maintaining a State Church for one-tenth of a whole people could not much longer be tolerated; but in whatever mode that question was settled—whether, agreeably to the wishes and feelings of those who advocated the voluntary principle, by the abrogation of the present Church Establishment, or by reconciling the people of Ireland to its existence by an endowment of the Church of the majority, or by some compromise between those two principles—in whatever mode that great question was ultimately settled—he repeated that the present measure neither hastened nor affected that settlement. For himself, he should not feel precluded, by his vote on the Bill before the House, from exercising a perfectly free and unbiassed judgment on that most important question; and certainly he should not feel any plan which purported to provide for the spiritual instruction of the people of Ireland, to be either just to the rest of the Empire, or likely to secure permanent peace in that country, which did not provide for the entire remodelling of the present Irish Church Establishment. It was by no means unimportant for the House to observe how widely different were the reasons for which the Bill was objected to by different classes of its opponents. On analysing the opposition to the grant, it would be found to be composed not only of heterogeneous, but of absolutely conflicting elements. The Nonconformists concurred in the opposition, because, as they stated,—

> "They entertained the conscientious conviction that the application of the public money to any class of religionists is hurtful to religion, and infringes on the rights of conscience."

They object to it, moreover, as having a tendency

> "To uphold the existence of the Irish Church Establishment, by inflicting a still greater wrong upon every class of Protestant Dissenters throughout the kingdom."

The members of the Established Church, on the other hand, petition against it,—

> "Professing their unfeigned attachment to the doctrine, discipline, and formularies of the United Church of England and Ireland, and their conviction that a blow and discouragement, inflicted upon the Establishments in either country, materially endangers the principles of an Establishment in both."

The one party objects to the proposed grant because it will tend to uphold the Irish Church—the other because it will tend to subvert it. They cannot both be right—the same measure cannot by possibility have two tendencies, the one directly opposed to the other. Of the two anticipations, he believed that expressed by the advocates of the voluntary principle to be the better founded. He believed that the tendency of the measure was to uphold the Established Church in Ireland, and that no circumstance could tend to hasten the downfal of that Establishment, or lessen the chances of a peaceful settlement of the question of the Church in that country more than the failure of the present measure. He thought, therefore, the opposition of the members of the Church of England to this grant in the highest degree indiscreet, if they really wished to preserve the Established Church in Ireland; but he also thought, and as a Member of the Established Church he had the less hesitation in expressing that opinion, that opposition coming from such a quarter was alike unbecoming and unreasonable. The objections of the Nonconformists were clear, consistent, and on their own principles perfectly justifiable. They were conscientiously opposed to all State provision for the maintenance of religion; and fearing that the grant to Maynooth College might be but the precursor of a payment to the Roman Catholic Church, they opposed the grant. But what could be said to the opposition to the grant on the part of the Established Church? On what tenable ground of principle, of justice, or expediency, did it rest? Supposing, which he denied—but supposing that the grant were but the forerunner of an endowment of the Roman Catholic Church; the Established Church, the most richly endowed Church in the world, cannot object to an endowment for the religious instruction of the people. As little can it object on the ground of the Romish Church entertaining and disseminating erroneous doctrines. No Protestant Church —no Church which asserts the right of private judgment—can maintain such a claim, as the admission of private judgment on matters of religious belief does of itself imply the possibility that the Church asserting such claim may, in the promulgation of any one doctrine, or set of doctrines, be wrong and itsopponents right. It must, he feared, be conceded that a Protestant Established Church is, to a certain degree, anomalous, not to be defended on strict reasoning or abstract principles, but only (as admitted by Paley) on the ground ol expediency, and where it is the Church of the majority. But on such grounds how could the Irish Established Church be defended, or with what decency or propriety could its advocates object to a State provision for the religious instruction of their Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen? Neither were the objections of the Nonconformist opponents of the grant such as ought to prevail with the House, nor such as it was quite fair to urge against the claims of the Irish people. The truth was, that Ireland was a peculiar case, and one to which, as was so well stated by his right hon. Friend the Member for Edinburgh, the voluntary principle could scarcely be applied. It was a case—not of dissenters from a State religion—not of a people who had left a Church—but of a people from whom a Church had been taken. But, as he had already said, the question before them was not one of endowment, but of education; and he would implore the House and the people of England—on every ground of justice, of generosity, of prudence—so to consider it. He could not say that he wholly approved of the measure. Certainly, he did not like the source whence the grant was to be derived. He did not think it fair that the money should be drawn from taxes on the people of England; and he should vote, accordingly, for the Motion of his hon. Friend the Member for Sheffield, that the grant should be charged on the revenues of the Irish Church Establishment. Still, should that Motion fail—seeing that the measure was received with great gratitude in Ireland—looking at the paramount importance of conciliating Ireland, of regaining the alienated affections of her people; feeling that this was, perhaps, the only measure to that end, which, in the present state of parties, and of public opinion in this country it was possible to take—he could not incur the responsibility of opposing it. Were hon. Gentlemen who opposed the grant prepared to let Ireland remain in its present state a state as dangerous as it was disgraceful, occupied by armies as if it were an enemy's country, retained in its allegiance by artillery and the bayonet? If they were not prepared to permit the continuance of the present state of things, what was their proposition? by what measures, what course of policy they were competent to carry out, did they propose to attach the people of Ireland to this country?—for attached they must be, or the people of England must prepare for great calamities. With the people of Ireland hostile, the Empire was not safe for an hour; nor was it only that by the disaffection of Ireland the country was shorn of half its strength—it lost among Foreign States that opinion of its strength which rendered unnecessary its actual exercise. They might feel assured there was not a petition laid on their Table which outraged by its language the feelings of the people of Ireland, which talked of the grant to Maynooth as a vote for the encouragement of idolatry, that would not render more difficult the task of a British negotiator in maintaining the right of Britain on the shores of the Pacific. And hon. Gentlemen opposite deserted the Minister of their choice, because he saw and acted upon a State necessity which no man deserving the name of statesman could longer neglect! It was wonderful that it did not occur to them that it must needs be time to concede, when the right hon. Gentleman talked of concession. They could not suppose, as was so candidly stated last evening by his hon. Friend the Member for Pontefract, that the Minister who did not concede Catholic Emancipation until the country was on the verge of civil war, would again willingly incur the reproach of desertion of principle and of friends, which he must have been quite conscious he would have to encounter, if he had not clearly seen that the state of Ireland could be tampered with no longer. For himself, though disapproving of the general course of the right hon. Gentleman's policy towards Ireland, though deploring the wretched perversity of fortune which caused us, under the guidance of the right hon. Gentleman, on this as on former occasions, to appear to give to fear what we refused to justice; yet believing this measure to be essential to the well-being of the Empire, he should give it his support. He was well aware at what risk of loss of many of his best and firmest friends he took this step, but he could not hesitate. He could imagine nothing more deeply to be deplored than the vehement opposition which had arisen to this measure—nothing that could be of more ill omen to the fortunes of the Empire than that it should be successful. Did they wish to give a double impulse to the agitation for Repeal, to afford but too good a pretext for declamation against the "Saxon," to squander millions in repressing the discontent of Ireland, rather than some paltry thousands in gaining her affections, to see the British Empire, by right the foremost of the world, paralyzed at home, and powerless abroad; then let them throw out this measure, and proclaim to the people of Ireland, that on the question on which of all others they were the most sensitive, they must expect no concession, whether on the ground of justice or of kindness from the British people, or a British House of Commons. Did hon. Gentlemen think these expressions too strong? Let them see in the accounts from Dublin the use already made by Mr. O'Connell of the feeling manifested by the public against the grant. For himself, he could only say that if the measure before them were now defeated, he should scarcely know how to blame any future agitation for Repeal; he should scarcely venture to hope for any goodwill, affection, or real union between the two great portions of the Empire, and should almost despair of the fortunes of their common country.

Viscount *Bernard* considered that all party or personal feelings were but as dust in the balance when compared with the momentous question they were called upon to decide; and he must express his deep regret that upon this subject he felt himself compelled to give a vote in direct opposition to those to whom upon all other occasions he had been able to give his most cordial support. He would, with the permission of the House, state the grounds on which he intended to give his vote against the Bill. He had, on former occasions, opposed the annual grant for the support of the College of Maynooth, and he had yet to learn on what grounds he could now be called upon to pursue a contrary course. In considering this measure, he asked himself two questions—first, "Is this nation bound by any compact to continue the grant to Maynooth?" and then, "If we are unfettered by any compact, can I conscientiously assist in supporting a religion I do not believe to be true, and in preventing the extension of one which I believe to be true?" In his opinion this country was not bound by any compact to continue the grant. He would not trouble the House by again calling their attention to the speeches of the various Lords Lieutenant of Ireland—Lords Westmorland, Fitzwilliam, and Camden—on this subject. It was enough to state that the grant was first made in 1795, to prevent the Roman Catholic priests from receiving an education abroad which might imbue their minds with principles dangerous to the peace and safety of the State. He might remind the House that at that time it was notoriously the object of Wolfe Tone and Mr. Emmet to establish a democratic university for the education of the priests. He held in his hand a pamphlet on this subject, published in 1799, which, with reference to the Act of 1795, establishing the Maynooth grant, that—

> "The Secretary represented that it was more the interest of the State to permit Romanists to found a seminary for the education of their youth at home, than, by refusing such permission, to incline them to send them abroad to Romish seminaries; and that it was becoming the liberty of the nation to give them some aid towards the institution. These representations were plausible, and no Member of either House thought it a matter of sufficient import-

ance to warrant an opposition, supposing the Romanists were to complete the business at their own costs, and that Parliament would hear no more of it."

In another part of this pamphlet it was stated that—

> "In every subsequent Session a regular charge of 8,000*l.* was made to Parliament for its annual support. The magnitude of this sum for such a purpose startled some of the Members of both Houses, and regular accounts and items of the establishment and expenditure were called for."

The writer subsequently said—

> "The Minister was very hard pushed in the year 1798 in carrying the grant of 8,000*l.* to his monastery through the House; many of his most attached friends deserted, and left the House during the debate."

Much stress had been laid on the circumstance that it was a Protestant House of Lords and a Protestant House of Commons that granted this concession to the Roman Catholics; but he would call the attention of the House to another circumstance, which had been partially overlooked, that the vote was only to be binding for twenty years. The right hon. Member for Newark (Mr. Gladstone) had called the attention of the House to a speech of Mr. Perceval in support of this grant; but the right hon. Gentleman omitted to state that that speech was made before the twenty years for which the grant was guaranteed had expired. He (Lord Bernard) found, from the *Annual Register*, that in 1807 the Whigs, who were then in power, proposed a vote of 13,000*l.* for the College of Maynooth; but, before the vote could be agreed to, Parliament was dissolved. The new Ministry, it appeared, were anxious to curtail the amount of the vote; but they found that, in anticipation of the grant, the money had already been expended by the trustees of the College. The vote was eventually agreed to; but the *Annual Register* distinctly stated that it was in consequence of a compromise made in the House. But, if the House was bound by this compact—if by any unwritten law of national honour they were bound to continue the grant to Maynooth—were they not equally bound by a compact in the case of the chartered schools of Ireland? Yet, instead of the House continuing the grant of 17,000*l.* a year to those schools, they had thrown into the other scale an annual grant of 75,000*l.* in opposition to the Protestant Church of Ireland. He had presented to the House a petition of great importance on this subject, to which he might be permitted to call their attention. It was signed, with one exception, he believed, by the whole stall of the grand jury of the county of Cork—one of the most important bodies in Ireland—praying that the House would extend the same support to the education of Protestant children as it afforded to the children of Roman Catholics; and that petition was signed by four Roman Catholic gentlemen. He thought it was evident from the fact, that when the grant was made to Maynooth, visitors of the College were appointed, it was intended that the grant should be withdrawn if it should appear that the money was improperly applied. He (Lord Bernard) would ask the House whether, looking at the position in which that College stood, the withdrawal of the grant would not be justifiable? Was it not notorious that doctrines of the ultra-Montane school were taught there? Was it not notorious that the priests educated in that institution had been the foremost leaders of agitation in Ireland? Was it not notorious that, at all the great political meetings in that country a year ago, the people were led on by the priesthood of the Church of Rome? The priests must have attended those meetings for one or two reasons—either because they approved the objects of the assemblies, and led on the people, or because they had not power to restrain them. If the Roman Catholic priests voluntarily promoted those meetings, then the House by agreeing to the measure now under consideration was holding out to them a bonus to continue this course of agitation. They had been told that if the grant now proposed were not conceded, the result would be an increased Repeal agitation in Ireland. He maintained, on the contrary, that if this Bill were passed, it would only lead to the demand of still further concessions. He believed that the main object of those who countenanced and promoted agitation in Ireland was to destroy the Protestant Established Church in that country; and if they succeeded in that object, it would not be long before the same influence would be used to destroy the Protestant Church in England. But if this measure should be adopted, it would, in his opinion, prevent the spread of Protestant truth in Ireland. Some hon. Gentlemen might not be aware that in the west of Ireland many Roman Catholics had recently begun to entertain doubts as to the truth of their religious opinions, and many of them had already joined the Established Church. Would the House, then, come forward and, by this measure, endeavour to increase the efficiency of the Church of Rome, and to stop the progress of the Protestant reformation in Ireland? The hon. Member for Montrose stated the other evening, that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners had large surplus funds in their hands. He begged to inform the hon. Gentleman that the statement was altogether unfounded. Indeed, so inadequate were the funds of the Established Church in Ireland, that at this time—and he spoke from his own personal experience—applications were made almost daily for assistance to repair churches which were in a dilapidated condition, and the Commissioners had no funds to appropriate to such purposes. In the diocess in which he (Lord Bernard) resided, there were no less than fifty places licensed for the performance of public worship in consequence of the dilapidated state of some churches, and the impossibility of obtaining funds to build churches where they were required. He had seen a letter from a clergyman in Ireland who conducted divine service in a school house, and who stated that the building was in so dilapidated a condition, that in the wet weather the rain poured through the roof. Poor as the Roman Catholics in Ireland were said to be, the Roman Catholics were raising magnificent chapels in every direction. Why, then, did they leave the students at Maynooth in the miserable state in which they were represented to be, whilst they could find money to erect extensive monasteries and magnificent chapels in that country? Another statement, utterly destitute of foundation was, that the revenues of the Established Church in Ireland had been wrested from the Church of Rome in that country. Was the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Wyse) ignorant, that in the time of Queen Elizabeth, the whole Irish Church professed the Protestant Faith, and that eleven years afterwards, those, of whom the present Irish Roman Catholics are the successors, were gained over to the Romish Faith? It had been asserted that the Protestant Church in Ireland had not properly performed its functions; but was the property of that Church to be forfeited, because it was alleged that the predecessors of her present ministers had not faithfully discharged their duties? Would such an argument be admitted with reference to the property of a private individual? Was any hon. Member of that House prepared to resign his property because his ancestors had not made the best possible use of it, while it was in their possession? He called upon any hon. Members to prefer charges, if they could, against the Established Church in Ireland, in its present state. The only charge that could now be made against that Church was, that she had too faithfully performed her duty—that the self-denying and zealous exertions of her clergy, and their firm adherence to principle, had made a strong impression upon their Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen. Such a feeling the House would effectually check, by the adoption of the present Bill. Was there no compact, he would ask, by which they were bound to support the Protestant Church in Ireland? Were they not bound by the legislative Union with Scotland to maintain an Established Church in Ireland? Were they not equally bound by the legislative Union with Ireland to maintain the Protestant Established Church in that country? He was convinced that if they destroyed the Established Church in Ireland, or sanctioned any measure which could weaken her efficiency, they would not only inflict a present injury upon that country, but they would peril the security of the legislative Union. They were told that all the Irish Roman Catholics wanted, was equality; but he wished to know what that equality was? In political matters, their equality in Ireland was supremacy; they had supremacy in the representation of the country, and in the municipal corporations, and yet they were not satisfied. But he must remind the House, that the religious equality desired by Romanists in Ireland was the ascendancy of the Church of Rome. If they endowed the Church of Rome in Ireland, how could they maintain the superiority of a Church, the clergy of which were so ill paid as those of the Protestant Establishment in that country? Did any hon. Members imagine that by assenting to the Bill now before the House they would conciliate the Roman Catholics of Ireland? He firmly believed that the effect of that measure would be to disappoint the Protestant community, without satisfying the Roman Catholics. Had they ever, he would ask, by conciliation or concession, to Romanism, benefited Ireland; and did they think they could conciliate the Church of Rome in Ireland by granting anything but supremacy in that country? It was in vain that they endeavoured to satisfy the demands of the Church of Rome. With nothing less than complete supremacy could the Church of Rome ever be satisfied. If he might paraphrase the language of the satirist, he should say that while anything remained to be accomplished, the Church of Rome would never consider that anything had been effected. In substance the language which they held was this:—

> "Think nothing gained, they cry, while aught remains;
> On Dublin's walls till Romish standards fly,
> And all is ours beneath the Irish sky."

Looking, then, at the disposition of the Church of Rome, and looking at the position in which the Protestant Established Church of this country was placed, he could not refrain from calling on the House to pause before they committed themselves to such a measure as that now before them. He knew that in the course of the present debate it had been said there were no petitions from the Protestants of Ireland against the proposed grant; but was it to be supposed that because there were no petitions, that therefore the Protestants of Ireland agreed with the right hon. Baronet in the proposition which he had made to that House? On the contrary, there was the best reason to believe that they wholly and entirely disapproved of it. Truly did the late W. Sadlier say—who had a seat in that House in the year 1829, and who at all times laboured to impress upon Parliament the necessity of making provision for the physical wants of the people of Ireland—"Ireland asks of you a fish, and you give her a serpent; she asks for provision, bread, and you tender her Roman Catholic Emancipation." The Legislature and the Government of England professed to do much for the people of Ireland in the way of conciliation; but had they produced the effect of conciliating the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Ireland? Had any of their measures been a spell which allayed the popular fever? Ireland had had a fair trial—the conciliation system had been practised for a period of twenty years, but the exercise of it had only produced a fresh stock of grievances. The noble Lord the Member for Arundel, and the hon. Member for Roscommon, had addressed the House with great mildness; but let him read a passage from a pamphlet by a noble Lord:—

> "The penal Statutes of the present day, are the Irish Church, and the whole vicious system of legislation dependent on it."

What hope could there be that the Roman Catholic people of Ireland would remain peaceable so long as language was addressed to them such as the following passage which proceeded from the Earl of Shrewsbury?

> "Recollect that the Irish people will give you no provocation, no excuse; so that the time and circumstances will not be of your own choosing; they will bide their time; they may take it when you are engaged in a foreign conflict, and when a fleet of steamers may speedily carry a friendly army to their shores —friendly to them, but hostile to you; they may take it, when they find you occupied with your own internal commotions; when the summer of '42 returns, with a return of your commercial embarrassments."

Was that language, he would ask, calculated to conciliate the Protestant people of Ireland, especially those of the north of Ireland? The Protestant portion of his fellow-countrymen did not desire to oppress or injure that class of Her Majesty's subjects who held the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church. If the Roman Catholic people of Ireland were not interfered with, then there would be found among them nothing of that seditious spirit which now unhappily prevails. He would trouble the House with a passage from the works of the late Mr. Alexander Knox, who had been secretary to Lord Castlereagh, and treasurer of the College of Maynooth:—

> "With all my tenderness for the Roman Catholic religion, I still think it a poor religion for the adherents, and a terrible one for Protestant neighbours. A devout practice of it will, I trust, fit men for the next world, but it does not qualify for this world; especially as times have been since the Reformation. I know, and I am glad to think, that a Roman Catholic and a Church of England man may, in ordinary circumstances, go on very comfortably together. * * * Where they have no power all is well. * * * Could they act according to the dictates of their religion, all considerations of a friendly and a social kind must sink before the inexorable feeling which a theological creed, so definite and so exclusive, tends necessarily to inspire."

He felt that the confidence of the Protesants of Ireland in public men, was daily declining. There was no greater injury to the Protestants of Ireland than the inconsistency of British statesmen. He could even appeal to the hon. Gentlemen opposite, and ask them what must be thought, even by the Roman Catholics themselves, when they saw those who belonged to the same united church differ among themselves? Could they trust their temporal interests to men who were apparently so indifferent to the spiritual interests of their own Church? In the course of the few remarks with which he had troubled the House, he more than once felt it to be his duty earnestly to warn that House against proceeding further in the course which they were pursuing with reference to the Protestant Church of Ireland. The advance in their present course seemed easy; but if, hereafter, they felt disposed to retrace their footsteps, they might find it impossible to repair, by any change of measures, the evils which they had effected:—

> "Facilis descensus Averni:
> Sed revocare gradum, superasque evadere
> ad auras,
> Hoc opus, hic labor est."

Sir *John Easthope* said that he stood, in common with many of his friends about him, in the position of having presented a very large number of petitions against the measure, and among the rest one emanating from one of the largest meetings which had ever been held among those who had sent him to Parliament. He had presented that petition. One of its allegations was that the present grant was the first step in supplanting Protestantism, to be replaced by Popery. Now he could not conceal from himself that the great exaggeration involved in this statement had had no slight effect on the people at large with reference to the number of petitions which had oppressed their Table. But while he regretted that any misstatement or exaggeration such as this should have gone abroad—to create anxiety for which there was no sound cause, and alarm which he believed to be totally unfounded—he gathered even from this source some comfort, which set his mind at rest on the score of the fears expressed for, and the dangers anticipated to, the Protestant cause and the Protestant Church in this country. From what he saw, he was assured that no Minister, however strong—that no party, however, formidable, would stand a moment, were they to attempt to shake the stability of Protestantism. But that really was not the question which they were to discuss. They had Catholic Ireland to govern; and the plain question was whether she was to be governed in a spirit of justice, of kindness, and of conciliation? It was not a question of whether the great Protestant institutions of this country were to be changed; but it was a question whether eight millions of people were or were not to have that assistance which their opinions gave them an imperative right to demand? And this view of the question had, he conceived, been much overlooked. It was not whether they were to go out of their way to support a religion which they did not profess, but whether as regarded a country which contained within itself the amount of population which he had stated, they were to resist the just demands of that population for the fitting instruction of their priesthood. This instruction, he believed, it was not only wise and safe to give, but those for whom it was proposed had a perfect right to demand it. What could be said of the objections raised to educating these priests in their own country? Who that knew the history of the efforts so often made to allure them abroad, but must consider it the safest and the best mode to make the required instruction attainable and as perfect as possible at home? Who could think, too, of the students within the walls of Maynooth, living in a state of comparative degradation and destitution, embittered and soured by reflecting on their privations, upon being kept down, against reason and justice, while their numbers were increasing—who, he repeated, could reflect upon all this, and not feel that the danger of refusing aid would be infinitely greater than that of according it? It had been again and again urged in this debate that the danger would not be slight of disappointing, by a refusal, the expectations now excited in Ireland. And who, he would ask, would be answerable for the consequences of such a refusal? He could not help feeling that it was indeed worthy of remark that they did not see on these benches, to support this measure, that hon. Member and those in immediate connexion with him, who had been so vehement in agitation for the repeal of the legislative Union. He could not help feeling that some very hopeful expectations might now be entertained that, were justice done, as by this and similar measures it would be, agitation would gradually cease. In what lay Mr. O'Connell's strength? In what but Ireland's wrongs? And what was adequate and fit redress but kindness, conciliation, and justice. These, and such as these, were the opinions by which he was influenced in going against the opinions of those who had sent him to that House. But holding these opinions as he did, he felt that he should be unworthy of the confidence reposed in him if he did not give a cordial support to the Government measure. And he was not afraid to meet the consequences of this act, believing that reflection and calm reasoning would have the effect of leading the people of England to perceive that the aim and object of the measure was to suppress a dangerous agitation, to put an end to complaints, and in Ireland to inspire a generous confidence towards this country. And he confessed that he shared very little in the objections which he heard sometimes made as to the source from whence the measure came. When he received a boon, he was not much disposed to complain of the giver. He would not mix up with the main question complaints as to the inconsistency of its movers. He regretted that the right hon. Gentleman (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) had so ill defended himself upon that point. It was, perhaps, a matter which the less said about the better upon both sides of the House. The great question was, how best to adopt a line of conduct which should have the effect of tranquillising Ireland without exciting the fears of England. They had begun a system, the commencement of which he was delighted to observe—a system which he for one would never attempt to make more difficult. He gave to those who had embarked in the cause all credit for being actuated by good intentions. Of motives they could only judge by acts. Of the conduct of the introducers of the measure he approved, and he, for one, would not seek to ascribe it to evil motives. There was one other point which he could not pass over in this discussion, and that was, in regard to the absence of those Gentlemen from whom they had so often heard of Ireland's grievances. It was worthy of observation that the hon. Member for Cork, and those who were immediately associated with him, were not on these benches to support this cause. [*Loud cries of* "Hear, hear!"] He cared not for mere expressions of approbation. He cared much more for action. The duty of the hon. Member of whom he spoke, and of those who agreed with him, was to be in this House, and to support the measures which he affected to approve. For himself, he did believe that the measure would contribute—and he hailed it cordially because he believed so—he believed that it would contribute in a great degree to counteract the agitation still carried on; that good and salutary influences would flow from it; and that it would tend to put the people of Ireland in a better temper with the people of England. And when he spoke of the people of Ireland, he meant the 8,000,000 of Catholics rather than the 800,000 Protestants, although he was not without hope that these 800,000 would ultimately rejoice to see the 8,000,000 more happy than they now were, taken away from the influences of agitation, and more given to improvement, less discontented, and more peacefully industrious, adopting effectively the courses most likely to develope the resources of the country. Thus proceeding, he hoped that the bitter enmities lately subsisting would be abated; and, such being the case, he had no fear that the people of this country, when they saw that such were the genial fruits of a conciliatory system in Ireland, would regard it with satisfaction and delight. The interest of the whole Empire was the good of every reflecting and honest man; and this was one of the cases in which he believed that patriotic men should forget party considerations in their regard for the common good. It was in that spirit he desired to meet this question. If the Motion of the hon. Member for Sheffield were to be brought forward as a distinct proposition, and could be supported in unison with the success of the Government measure, it should have his support; but if he found that, by entertaining it at this time, he should impede the measure before the House—a measure which he felt to be at once both practical in its application and just in its principle—he should then feel that his hon. Friend (Mr. Ward's) proposition was at this time one which he should be justified in opposing.

Viscount *Jocelyn* said, that his noble Friend who had lately spoken represented the sentiments of a large body of Irish Protestants—of a body of men for whom he had every respect, although he sometimes differed from them. The thought, however, more than once came across his mind, whilst his noble Friend was speaking, that if any stranger had entered the House, unaware of the subject of discussion, he would naturally have imagined that the measure which had been introduced was one for the abolition of the Irish Church, if not for the destruction of the Protestant religion in Ireland. For his own part, he looked upon the measure before them as one of justice and sound policy. He felt some difficulty in addressing the House after a four nights' debate, during which he knew that all the arguments bearing in any way upon the question had been adduced and applied; but he felt, considering his personal position in Ireland—connected, as he was, with those with whom it was most painful for him to differ, he felt himself called upon to state the grounds upon which he would give his warm and cordial support to the proposed grant for the College of Maynooth—a course, too, which he would be permitted to remind the House, was not inconsistent with his former conduct, as almost the first words which he had spoken in that House were in favour of the annual grant formerly made to that College. Now, in reference to the present proposition, Members of the Government were accused of having changed their opinions with their places. But it was extraordinary that, in the whole course of the debate, not an expression of his right hon. Friend at the head of the Government, for example, had been brought forward in support of the assertion. His right hon. Friend invariably supported that grant; and during the time he was Chief Secretary for Ireland, that grant was increased. Previously to the right hon. Baronet entering office, he publicly stated that his chief difficulty would be the government of Ireland. He consequently declared that he should administer the affairs of that country justly, but in a spirit of conciliation. In a short period after his accession to office, a degree of excitement prevailed in Ireland which seemed to call for strong measures of repression. Asking for no extraordinary powers, he put down that excitement and restored tranquillity; and now, in the fulfilment of the remainder of his promise, he had laid on the Table this conciliatory measure. If he had not formed his opinion long since on the matter, this debate would have brought him to the conclusion he had originally arrived at, that there was no ground for opposing this measure as a matter of principle. It was, in his opinion, a measure of justice and sound policy. He referred to any one connected with Ireland, indeed, he might appeal to the speech of his noble friend (Lord Bernard) for an illustration of his position, that the political differences and strife which prevailed there were fanned by religious differences and animosities. It was the duty of the Government, if not to assuage, at least to smooth the differences between the two parties in that country. He had always held it a wise and sound policy to endeavour to connect the people with the State by the ties of gratitude. Looking to the people of Ireland—remembering there were seven millions there who professed the Roman Catholic religion; recollecting the feelings of the Roman Catholics towards their priesthood; knowing the power which that clergy might exercise, either for evil or for good—it appeared to him, though of a totally different creed, that it was a wise policy to show our feeling of sympathy, by anxiety for the improvement of those to whom the people looked with respect; and he for one was ready to act towards them with liberality. He now came to the speech of the hon. member for Newcastle. If that hon. Gentleman had not commenced by telling them he should oppose this measure, he should be led to believe from his arguments that he was supporting it. He had brought forward no broad principle on which to base his opposition. He admitted to a certain degree there was a contract, but urged that it should not be understood as justifying an increase of this grant. He admitted that the education of the Irish Roman Catholic clergy was inadequate to their wants, but he opposed the present proposal on some theory of his own. The hon. Gentleman then attempted to draw a comparison between the education of the Roman Catholic priesthood and that of the people of Prussia. From the age of eight to twenty, he said, the people of Prussia were placed under the protection of the State, and were compelled to go through a certain course of study. But there was no analogy between the two cases. The State in this country did not stand in the same relation to the people. The people of England, Ireland, and Scotland would soon resent such an interference with the education of laymen as that referred to. The only comparison that could be justly drawn was between the education of the Roman Catholic clergy in Prussia and the clergy of Maynooth. He had it from the highest authority in this country, that there was no interference whatever with the doctrines or discipline of the Roman Catholic clergy in Prussia. The hon. Gentleman also admitted that there was no new principle involved in this Bill—that the practice adopted towards our Colonies justified its introduction. But at the same time the hon. Gentleman put forward what appeared to him (Lord Jocelyn) a most dangerous statement. He said that, in order to maintain our Colonies, it was necessary to give a State support to a religion which we believe to be erroneous. What was this but saying to the Irish people, "Agitate, agitate: make it necessary to our safety to establish the Roman Catholic religion, and you shall have the grant necessary for that purpose." He should next say a word as to the brilliant speech of the right hon. Member for Edinburgh, from one passage of which he must dissent. The right hon. Gentleman charged his right hon. Friend at the head of the Government with having deluded his followers. He charged him with having worked up the feelings of the country by an appeal to prejudices with which he had no sympathy whatever. But he would ask that right hon. Gentleman and the noble Lord the Member for London, whether they would be willing to hold themselves responsible for the opinions of those who generally supported them—whether they could defend every word uttered at the Corn Exchange or the League? He should give his support to the measure of his right hon. Friend, because he found no new principle involved in it, and because he believed the Roman Catholics required that some improvement should take place in the education of their priests. He had had within the last two years an opportunity of visiting the institution of Maynooth, and he could vouch for the accuracy of the statement made by his right hon. Friend. It did occur to him, as he went through the institution, with what feelings must those brought up within these walls look on the State which provides them with such paltry means of education. In this measure he saw no danger to that religion which he believed to be true. He believed so fully in its truth, that he could not apprehend danger to it from the addition of 17,000*l.* a-year to the College of Maynooth. I shall support heartily (said the noble Viscount) the measure of my right hon. Friend, and though the vote may be a painful one, yet I trust the measure, in whose favour it is given, will have the effect of conducing to the feelings we have all at heart—those of kindness and sympathy between the Protestants and Roman Catholics.

Mr. *Bright* was anxious to make a few observations on the principle on which he should give his vote; because he believed he should be obliged to pass into the lobby along with a number of Members of the House from whose principles he entirely dissented; and, after the speech of the noble Lord the Member for Bandon, he thought that any one who voted with him had need to explain why he voted on his side, for anything more unlike the principles of the present day, more intolerant, or more insane with respect to the policy to be pursued towards Ireland he had never heard; and he could not have believed that any man coming from that country could have used such language in addressing that House. He did not think that this question was to be looked at in a favourable or unfavourable light because of the party from whom it came. Some hon. Members had charged the right hon. Baronet with inconsistency, and had in some degree thrown the blame of his conduct on the measure which he had introduced. The right hon. Baronet had, from unfortunate circumstances, been connected with a party in Opposition of such a nature, that he could never promote any good measure whilst in power without being charged, and justly, with inconsistent conduct. But he would look at the measure as a measure by itself, and, if it were a good measure he would vote for it as willingly, coming from the present Government as if it came from the Government which had preceded it. But he objected to this measure on the ground, that it proposed to vote some of the public taxes for the purpose of maintaining an institution purely ecclesiastical, and for the rearing and educating of the priests of a particular sect. He was the more strongly against the Bill, because, from all that had been said on both sides of the House, and from all that he could learn from the public papers, and even from the organs of the Government, he was convinced that there was no argument which had been used in defence of this measure, which would not be just as valid for the defence of further measures, not for the payment of Catholic priests of the College of Maynooth only, but for the payment of all the priests in Ireland or in England. He admitted that the principles and the arguments which had justified the original vote were good to some extent to justify this vote. The right hon. Baronet in his opening speech had stated that the principle was conceded, that it was but a matter of a few thousand pounds. But if the principle were conceded now, ten or twenty years hence some Prime Minister might stand up and state that in 1795 the principle was conceded, and in 1845 that concession — or rather, that principle was again sanctioned; and then arguing from the two cases, it would be easy to demonstrate that it was no violation of principle whatever to establish a new church in Ireland, and add thereby to the monstrous evils which now existed there from the establishment of one in connexion with the State. The right hon. Baronet had paid no great compliment to the Irish Catholics in the possession of means and property, when he had said that the 9,000*l.* now voted was just sufficient to damp the generosity of the people of that country. If 9,000*l.* were enough in some degree to check their generosity, he should think that a sum of 26,000*l.* was sufficient to destroy it altogether. When he considered that the gentry of Ireland paid no Income Tax and no Property Tax, and no assessed taxes, he did not think it would be a thing altogether impossible, or to be unlooked for, that they should have supported an establishment for the rearing of priests to teach that religion to which they professed to be so much devoted. But the object of this measure was to him just as objectionable, when he learned that it was intended by this vote to soothe the discontent which existed in Ireland. He would look at the causes whence this discontent arose. Did it arise because the priests of Maynooth were now insufficiently clad or fed? He had always thought that it arose from the fact that one-third of the people were paupers—that almost all of them were not in regular employment at the very lowest rate of wages—and that the state of things amongst the bulk of the population was most disastrous, and to be deplored; but he could not for the life of him conceive how the grant of additional money to Maynooth was to give additional employment, or food, or clothing to the people of Ireland, or make them more satisfied with their condition. He could easily see how, by the granting of this sum, the Legislature might hear far less in future times, of the sufferings and wrongs of the people of Ireland than they had heard heretofore; for they found that one large means of influence, possessed by those who had agitated for the redress of Irish wrongs, was to be found in the support which the Irish Catholic clergy had given to the various associations for carrying on political agitation; and the object of this Bill was to tame down those agitators — it was a sop given to the priests. It was hush-money given, that they might not proclaim to the whole country, to Europe, and to the world the sufferings of the population to whom they administered the rites and the consolations of religion. He took it that the Protestant Church of Ireland was at the root of the evils of that country. The Irish Catholics would thank them infinitely more if they were to wipe out that foul blot, than they would even if Parliament were to establish the Roman Catholic Church alongside of it. They had had everything Protestant—a Protestant clique which had been dominant in the country; a Protestant Viceroy to distribute places and emoluments amongst that Protestant clique; Protestant judges who had polluted the seats of justice. [" No."] Protestant magistrates, before whom the Catholic peasant could not hope for justice. [" No, no."] They had not only Protestant, but exterminating landlords, and more than that, a Protestant soldiery, who at the beck and command of a Protestant priest, had butchered and killed a Catholic peasant, even in the presence of his widowed mother. [" No."] All these things were notorious; he merely stated them. He did not bring the proof of them: they were patent to all the world, and that man must have been unobservant, indeed, who was not perfectly convinced of their truth. The consequence of all this was, the extreme discontent of the Irish people; and because that House was not prepared yet to take those measures which would be really doing justice to Ireland, and to wipe away that Protestant Establishment which was the most disgraceful institution in Christendom; the next thing was, that they should drive off the watch dogs, if it were possible, and take from O'Connell and the Repeal Association that formidable organization which had been established throughout the whole country, through the sympathies of the Catholic priests being bound up with the interests of the people. Their object was to take away the sympathy of the Catholic priests from the people, and to give them more Latin and Greek. The object was to make the priests in Ireland as tame as those of Suffolk and Dorsetshire. The object was that, when the horizon was brightened every night with incendiary fires, no priest of the paid establishment should ever tell of the wrongs of the people amongst whom he was living; and when the population were starving, and pauperized by thousands, as in the southern parts of England, the priests should not unite themselves with any association for the purpose of wresting from an oppressive Government those rights to which the people had a claim. He was altogether against this system for any purpose, under any circumstances, at any time whatever. Nothing could be more disastrous to the best interests of the community, nor more dangerous to religion itself. If the Government wanted to make the priests of Ireland as useless for all practical purposes as the paid priests of their own Establishment, they should not give them 26,000*l.* merely, but as much as they could persuade that House to agree to. Ireland was suffering, not from the want of another Church, but rather because she already has one Church too many; for with the present Church having a small community, overpaid ministers, a costly Establishment, and little work, it was quite impossible to have peace and content in that country. If you give the Catholic priests a portion of the public funds, as the Government gave the *Regium Donum* to the Presbyterians of the North, they would unite with the Church as the Presbyterians did against any attempt to overturn the old system of Church and State alliance in that country. The experience of State Churches was not of a character to warrant the House in going further in that direction. In this country there was a State Church, and he did not deny that there were many excellent ministers in it; but from time immemorial it had been characterized by a most deplorable and disastrous spirit of persecution, which, even at this hour still existed; for that Church was persecuting a poor shoemaker at Cambridge for nonpayment of church rates, and pursuing him from court to court. That Church had been upheld as a bulwark against Catholicism, and yet all the errors of Catholicism found a home and a hearty welcome there. In Lancashire and Yorkshire, and other places, that Church was found to be too wieldy a machine, and altogether unfitted to a population growing in numbers and intelligence like that of those neighbourhoods. Even in Scotland, where there was a model of the most perfect Establishment which perhaps could be raised, there were the Secession Church, the Relief Church, and the Free Church; that which the State upheld being called by the complimentary name of the Residuary Church. After the experience of such State Churches, which had done so little good, and so much evil, was this a time for establishing another Church? If he approved of church endowments by the State he would vote for this Bill with all his heart, because it was calculated to create a kinder feeling towards this country amongst the people of Ireland. Two parties opposed to the Bill were represented by hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House. They stated that the Roman Catholic religion should not be established or helped by the State. But when their Church was absorbing millions of the public money, while millions of their countrymen refused to enter its doors, how could they for a moment object to the passing of a measure which would give some sort of show of assistance to that Church to which millions of the Irish people belonged? The Nonconformist or Dissenting party in this country were opposed to the measure; but by some of them a spirit was mixed up with their agitation of this question which showed that they did not understand, or did not value, the great principles of Nonconformity for which their forefathers struggled and suffered. He alluded more especially to a portion of the Wesleyan body, which, he believed, did not altogether repudiate the principle of endowment. But, with regard to the rest, he was persuaded that their agitation against that principle was honest. If the Dissenters looked back to all that their forefathers had suffered, aye, even within a late period, they would be recreant to their own principles, and merit the contempt of the House and of the world, if they did not come forward manfully to uphold their own principles, and dissent from and oppose the measure under the consideration of the House. For himself he should oppose the measure in every stage, simply on one ground, that he believed the principle of endowment to be most unjust and injurious to the country, and whatever might be the effect on any Government, whether that of the right hon. Baronet or any that had preceded or would succeed him, no strength of attachment to party or Government would induce him to tamper with what he held the greatest and dearest principle which any man or any body of men could take up. When he looked back to the history of this country, and considered its present condition, he must say, that all that the people possessed of liberty, had come, not through the portals of the cathedrals and the parish churches, but from the conventicles, which were despised by hon. Gentlemen opposite. When he knew that if a good measure was to be carried in that House, it must be by men who were sent thither by the Nonconformists of Great Britain; when he read and saw that the past and present State alliance with religion was hostile to religious liberty, preventing all growth, and nearly destroying all vitality in religion itself, then he should hold himself to have read, thought, and lived in vain, if he voted for a measure which in the smallest degree should give any further assistance to the principle of endowment; and, in conclusion, he would only tell the Dissenters of England to act in the same way, and to stand upon their own great pure and unassailable principle; for, if they stood by it manfully, and worked for it vigorously, the time might come, nay, it would come, when that principle would be adopted by the Legislature of the country.

Lord *J. Manners;* Sir, the hon. Member for Durham has applied epithets to the speech of the noble Lord the Member for Bandon, which, had they come from any other hon. Member of this House, I should have considered rather strong. That speech was characterized by a knowledge of ecclesiastical and civil history; and as the hon. Member agrees with the noble Lord in the conclusion to which he came, I was at a loss to understand why "insane" should be applied to the reasoning on which that conclusion was founded until I heard the hon. Member appeal to English history himself, and then, Sir, all my surprise was at end. The hon. Gentleman said, it is to the conventicles that we owe whatever we possess of liberty: to which of them, I ask the hon. Gentleman, are we indebted for Magna Charta? I can't, Sir, congratulate my hon. Friend the Member for the University of Oxford on his new ally. But, Sir, passing away from the hon. Gentleman and his readings in history, I will consider the question now at issue before the House. I was one of those Tory Members who, in the summer of 1843, when the affairs of Ireland were discussed at great length, and under circumstances of no ordinary gravity in this House, expressed a strong opinion that there were remedial measures which a Tory Minister, such as Strafford, or Tyrconnel, or Mr. Pitt, would not have hesitated to propose; and who, when Her Majesty's Ministers declared in reply, that "concession had reached its utmost limits," backed that opinion by a vote hostile to those Ministers. I feel it now, therefore, to be right and just towards the Government, labouring as it is under the odium of proposing a measure which I then approved, and still approve of, to come forward publicly, and not shrink from bearing my share, humble as it may be, in that odium, and vindicating to the best of my power this proposal of Her Majesty's Ministers. In this wreck of parties, this general confusion of men and principles, when you, as you fix your speech-permitting eye on the Member who is fortunate enough to catch it, know not on which side he is about to speak; I know and feel that it is a most difficult matter to shape out a clear, distinct course of action, and to carry it out consistently; but though difficult, it is not impossible, and I will apply myself to elucidating the course which I think Churchmen may take on this subject, and to combating some of the arguments which are used to induce them to oppose the proposition of Her Majesty's Ministers. I say some of the arguments, because, Sir, with that one great assertion which combines the otherwise inharmonious forces of Protestantism, in one compact phalanx of opposition to the measure, I have no concern—the assertion, namely, that the Roman Catholic religion is Anti-Christian, and that consequently any support given by the State to Maynooth is treason against Christianity. All those, Sir, who believe so, are not only right, but are imperatively called upon, to wage the war they are waging against this grant, and as no reasoning could have any effect upon such a belief, so I shall pass at once from this ground of opposition, contenting myself with saying, that the Church of England nowhere imposes so tremendous a belief on her members, and that I come to the consideration of the question totally unmoved by such arguments, unless it be to pity those who are conscientiously compelled to use them. It is said, then, by the noble Lord the Member for Bandon, and by others, that the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland is in a schismatical position, and that to endow the seminary from which her priests are to come, is consequently to endow and perpetuate schism. But, Sir, admitting that position to be one of schism, I say it is impossible for any one paying respect to history, to lay the blame entirely upon her. It is we, the English people, the Puritans of Elizabeth and Cromwell, we who invented the Penal Code, and gave the Irish peasants an English speaking clergy, and an alliance with Scotch Presbyterianism, who are, at least equally with them, responsible for that schism; and I look in vain through the annals of the Church for a precedent that can justify us now in regarding the Roman Catholic Irish Church as guiltily schismatical: nor when I come to consult the standards of our Church, and the works of her holiest and most learned divines, can I find anything which would lead me to think I am acting disloyally towards her in sanctioning this grant. The English Church acknowledges the validity of Roman Catholic orders, acknowledges that Church as an authorized administrator of the sacraments, and as a true, though not altogether blameless portion of the Church universal:—

"Speak gently of our sister's fall,
Who knows but gentle love
May win her, at her patient call,
The surer way to prove."

This, Sir, has ever been the language of the English Church since the Reformation; and as a loyal son of that Church, I do not consider myself bound to withhold my support from this proposition. But then it is argued this endowment of Maynooth is fraught with danger to the Irish Church, and will ultimately occasion her downfall. The cry is raised, "The Church in danger." Yes, Sir, I admit that it is; but it is not from this grant to Maynooth, nor yet from the Vatican, nor yet from the Jesuits, that the Irish Church is in peril. It is from herself, from her own self-willed and disobedient laity, that she suffers and is in danger: they, who would have her discard every note of a church, and, isolating themselves from the rest of Catholic Christendom, fraternize with the Puritan, and denounce priestcraft with the Presbyterian. No, Sir, when I see sons of that Church joining with the Presbyterian ministers to subject, in the words of that venerable Prelate who now so worthily fills the see of Jeremy Taylor, addressed publicly to the Primate of all Ireland, their faithful clergy to slander, insult, and persecution; when I hear the complaints of such among the clergy as endeavour to fulfil their ordination vows; when I see and hear all this, and then listen to the outcry raised of "The Irish Church in Danger," I admit it indeed to be in danger, but am irrisistibly reminded of the dying words of the martyred Laud on the scaffold, "Poor Church of England. It hath flourished and been a shelter to other neighbouring churches, when storms have driven upon them. But, alas! now it is in a storm itself, and God only knows how or when it shall get out. And, which is worse than a storm from without, it is become like an oak cleft to shivers with wedges made out of its own body. And that Church which all the Jesuits' machinations could not ruin, is fallen into danger by her own." These, Sir, are my reasons for thinking that, as a Churchman, I am free in conscience either to support or oppose this grant; and it is as a statesman, therefore, that I must come to a decision upon it. And here again, Sir, as on the church argument, I refused to be concluded by an assertion of the Anti-Christianity of the Roman Catholic Church, so now when we consider the question on grounds of State policy, do I set no store by the declarations and oaths which the political Protestantism of the last 150 years has engrafted upon the English Constitution. They may, who list, trace all the glory, and renown, and magnificence of the old English monarchy to the Dutch conquest of 1688, which subverted it, and see in the Penal Code and Protestant Ascendancy the safeguards of the Empire: but for myself, Sir, I claim a liberty to mount higher, and to act in 1845, as though William the Third had died Stadholder of Holland. Under what aspect, then, is the present position of Roman Catholic education in Ireland presented to us? We find, to begin, six or seven millions of Roman Catholics, whose priests were once educated abroad, but who for the last fifty years, at the express desire of the State, have been educated at Maynooth. I have said at the "desire" of the State; I might have used a stronger word, and said by the compulsion of the State. By the Penal Laws it forbade them to be educated abroad, though to be sure it took equal pains to prevent their being educated at home; and those funds which the piety and charity of English and Irish Roman Catholics had managed to devote to educational purposes in France, it deliberately handed over to confiscation by the French Government, when compensation was awarded to all other English claims: the Returns which have been moved for by the noble Lord the Member for Liverpool will show, unless I am greatly misinformed, that £160,000 was thus sacrifised to the then policy of the State. Such were then the laws of the country, such the policy of the State; and what is the conclusion which I draw from these facts? Why, that they who argue now in favour of Irish priests receiving their education abroad, should have taken care to prevent such monstrous injustice from being perpetrated, and should be able to show that the fury of revolutions and the iniquities of restorations have left funds applicable for that purpose. The State, then, by all means, good, bad, and indifferent, has for fifty years settled that the Irish Roman Catholic priests shall be educated in Ireland; and this is the actual position of things. "Now," say they who argue against this grant on grounds of State policy, "we have had experience enough of the Maynooth educated priests to see that this experiment has failed, and we therefore say, give it up!" It is very easy, Sir, to cry out "a failure;" to brand a rural priesthood as ignorant, turbulent bigots; to exclaim against the dirt and disloyalty of Maynooth; and to draw a touching comparison between the manners of the old foreign educated priests, and those of the existing race: nothing easier; but I own, to my mind this failure, in the first place, is not so palpable; in the second, if it be such as you describe it to be, I think it probable that the right hon. Gentleman is right in laying the blame of it rather at the door of St. Stephen's than at that of St. Patrick's; and in the third place, I am disposed to agree with him rather than with you in the proposed measures for remedying it. As to this failure, what is it? Why, that this seminary, at which you board and educate 400 young men for £9,000 a year, has not given them the accomplishments of Padua, or the graces of Paris. Very likely not; did you ever imagine that it would? But worse than this; it has not turned out a loyal and an enduring clergy, who should preach passive obedience and Christian non-resistance to their flocks your fathers persecuted; and you, according to your powers, still persecute such of the English clergy as hold those doctrines. But, Sir, after all, is this accusation just? I greatly suspect not. I do believe that loyalty of an exalted kind is taught at Maynooth; that loyalty which dictated those pastoral letters which this winter came from the titular archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, and which might be engraved in golden capitals with no bad effect on the conspicuous parts of Conciliation-hall and Covent-garden. But it is the practical lessons of after life; the struggles, and the contumely, the keen sense of undeserved inferiority, and the bitter anomalies to which they are subject, that beat down the theoretical loyalty they had learned in that poverty-stricken cloister, and supplies its place with a passionate and blind anxiety to work out the political regeneration of their country. To this extent then, Sir, I may admit the alleged failure; but on the other hand, can these rustic priests, these uncouth pastors be said to have failed in their most real, most important Christian duties? Has the morality of the people diminished under their tutelage? Are the men less sober, the women less chaste than under the old régime? Do they live idle and careless lives, performing their sacred functions mechanically, and as seldom as they may? or are they still to the Irish people, in the words of my hon. friend the Member for Canterbury—

> "The priests, those gentle priests and good,
> their fathers loved to hear,
> Sole type below, midst work and woe, of the
> God whom they revere;"

discharging their awful duties with a zeal and a self-denial which the clergy of another communion need not be ashamed to emulate. If, Sir, they be such, in spite of all the circumstances of penury and meanness in which you have educated them; though their manner may be rustic, their address uncouth, their accent provincial, then let me have liberty to entreat Protestant Gentlemen in this House to pause before they in a contemptuous sentence condemn the priesthood of a religion which their language leads me to believe they neither esteem nor understand. But perhaps the strongest argument against an endowment of Maynooth on grounds of State policy, is that urged with great force and vigour in the remarkable pamphlet called "Maynooth, the Crown, and the Country," from which I may be permitted to say many of the arguments in this debate have been drawn. It is there urged that whereas in all other countries, Catholic or Protestant, which acknowledge and patronize the Roman Catholic Church, the most careful safeguards are devised, the most stringent conditions enforced to secure the supremacy of the temporal ruler, as against the Roman power; in this Empire alone no such precautions are taken; here alone is total free trade with Rome. "The British nation," it is said, "pays for Maynooth, and the Pope governs it; and may it not now be justly required that either the nation should cease to support, or the Pope cease to rule it?" I cannot deny there is force in such an argument; the premises are well and clearly drawn up. The priests on their ordination swear true obedience to the Roman Pontiff; the bishops at their consecration swear to defend and maintain the papacy and the royalties of St. Peter against; all men the archbishops may not exercise their functions before they receive the pallium from Rome. Priests, bishops, and archbishops are thus all ubjects of Rome, and Maynooth is placed exclusively under their direction. These are the premises: I admit them; but in the conclusion to be derived from them, the learned author and myself differ. He would have us renounce all dealings with such a body: the conclusion to which I, on the other hand, am irresistibly impelled by these premises is—acknowledge frankly and at once that power which you thus admit to be so great, and which hitherto you have, with a childish and fatal obstinacy, pretended to ignore. Accredit a Minister to the Vatican, receive a Nuncio at St. James's! You complain that you have not the securities which Austria and Russia, France and Prussia possess; but it is yourselves you have to thank for that want. Common sense, Christian charity, political necessity all call upon you to take this course; and yet, endowing Maynooth, acknowledging a Roman Catholic hierarchy throughout the whole of your vast Colonial dominions, using even your Post Office to ward off danger from the Papal States, you still refuse to acknowledge the existence of that monarchy which was great before England was a kingdom, and which possesses, according to your own statements, such tremendous power in every part of your Empire. I have thus, Sir, endeavoured to combat the chief objections I have heard made against the Ministerial proposal; permit me now to express my entire agreement in the repudiation of my right hon. Friend and Colleague (Mr. Gladstone), of the great argument in vogue out of doors to reconcile Exeter-hall to the measure: like him, Sir, I do not vote for it because it will Protestantize Ireland. No, Sir, I vote for this grant in that generous, confiding spirit to which the First Lord of the Treasury invited us. I join him heartily in this: but will he permit me, in return, to remind him that the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland is not the only ecclesiastical body towards which the State may be expected to manifest a generous, confiding spirit? He may believe me, Sir, that the opposition he is now encountering from so large and so respectable a portion of the English Church, is none the less strong, none the less sustained, because they feel that the conduct of the Government has been the reverse of generous and confiding towards that Church, which it is still a pleasant fiction to designate as allied to the State. In Canada and Ireland, in Australia and England, and above all in Wales, does the Church complain of wrong, and insult, and contempt; and while, Sir, I cordially join with the right hon. Gentleman in dealing thus generously towards the Roman Catholic Church, I hope we may augur from this magnanimity to Maynooth, a return to a more generous and confiding bearing on the part of the State towards the Church of England: and I will venture to believe, that this grant to Maynooth will not only prove an olive branch to Ireland, but the pledge of a recurrence to sound Church principles in England. With every feeling, then, of confidence that as a Churchman I am not acting disloyally towards the Church in sanctioning this measure, and as a statesman that I am promoting the best interests of my country, I give my vote for this Bill of permanent endowment to the College of Maynooth. I vote for it because it is an act of kindness and justice towards the Irish people whom we have so long persecuted and oppressed; and because it may, however remotely, hasten the advent of that blessed day when, with mutual confessions of pride and hard-heartedness, and with April tears of contrition and of joy, we and they shall kneel before the common altars of our common faith—a consummation which alone can effectually avail to Christianize the expanded and expanding empire of commerce and manufactures; to give to toil its just reward, and hallow it with a Christian benediction; heal the sores and bind up the wounds of bleeding, distracted Ireland; and render England what she once was, and may be yet again, the queen of the nations, the glory of Christendom, stretching her roots down into the richest soil of antiquity, and spreading her fruitful branches into the measureless expanse of unseen futurity.

Mr. *Rutherfurd* thought that the arguments in favour of the grant were unanswerable. In what position did they find the question? They found the College of Maynooth established in 1795, when Ireland was under the government of an exclusively Protestant Legislature and Executive—a Legislature and Executive certainly extremely jealous of the rights and interests of Protestantism. They then found this College continued, by Acts of the Imperial Legislature, for fifty years, and made the subject of annual grants by the House of Commons. The hon. and learned Gentleman then argued, with respect to the question of compact, that there was no compact to prevent Parliament from interfering, if Maynooth were an establishment dangerous to the safety of the realm. The question, as it appeared to him, became narrowed into a very small compass, when it was found that no section of the House, nor, as he believed, any individual in it—certainly not any individual of great authority and weight—had ventured to propose that Maynooth should be abolished, or the Parliamentary grant withdrawn. The question, then, he conceived, must be argued upon the admission that the grant must not be withdrawn, but that it must continue to receive that public support which, for fifty years, it had obtained from that House. Next, it was to be considered whether a case had been made out for the grant now proposed. Upon this part of the subject, he was not inclined to concur with the right hon. Member for Perth, in quoting the testimony of a Mr. Grant in regard to the condition of the College of Maynooth; but relied with the most implicit credit upon the official statement of the right hon. Baronet. The facts which that contained clearly called upon the House to increase the grant, and to rescue the establishment from its ruinous, dilapidated condition, and its straitened accommodation; a state utterly unbecoming any national institution. He could scarcely think that there would be any opposition to an increase of the grant, and to make the College worthy of its founder and its purposes. As regarded the permanency which it was proposed to bestow upon it, he was opinion that they had arrived at the time when it would be of great advantage to get rid of the heartburnings which the annual discussion was sure to create, and to avoid the renewal year after year of the bitterest feelings upon a topic of immense importance. But, above all, he thought it would be advantageous, because he was of opinion it would be an earnest to Ireland that she was at length to reap the fruits of the Union, in its letter and spirit, which was that of her equal adoption in every sense. That he considered was a most important view to take of the question; and he trusted she would take this grant as an earnest not only from the present Government, but from the Legislature, that she was now about to experience the benefits of the Union. What were the purposes for which the Union was carried? Surely not to strengthen the hands of party for any purposes of oppression and degradation, but to protect the people, and to raise them to an equality with their English brethren in all their rights and privileges—to elevate their intellectual character, to secure Protestant interests without injury to Catholic claims—and, to use a word so much and frequently abused—by securing Protestant ascendancy, to enable them to govern Ireland without exclusive reference to Protestant or Catholic views. He was convinced that that grant would produce a great change in the feeling of Ireland towards England, and that it would form a consolidation of sentiment throughout the Empire. It was utterly impossible to continue in the same course they had pursued towards that country, and he trusted that it would also be impossible to proceed in the plan which they had now adopted, without cementing the feelings and interests of the two countries, and enabling Government to carry measures which would enlighten the people of Ireland, improve their social condition, and establish a sound system of religious instruction, which would not endanger or injure Protestantism. He knew that he was delivering an opinion against the sentiments of many of his constituents. He knew that he might be called to account for his vote; but his reply would be, that the question was one with respect to which he must act on his own convictions; and he must not rely on the opinions of the hour or of the day, because he was sure that many years, perhaps that many months might not pass over the heads of his constituents, without their coming to the opinions and according in the sentiments he had that day expressed, and which he must entertain when he knew that the true interests of a great empire were at stake.

Mr. *Smythe:* I remember to have read, Sir, a remark made by the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury, when he proposed a measure somewhat analogous to this — I mean when he brought forward the Catholic Relief Bill—when he stated, that one of the reasons which induced him to anticipate that the measure must, sooner or later, be carried, was the fact that all the young men of the day who had recently come from the universities, were in favour of Catholic Emancipation. I think it rather strange that in the course of these debates, and in the right hon. Gentleman's own Government, we may remark the same distinctions. We see the right hon. Gentleman, who has upon this occasion pursued a liberal, a wise, and a conciliatory course, followed in that liberal, and wise, and conciliatory course by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary at War (Mr. S. Herbert), and by my noble Friend who has addressed the House this evening, the Member for Lynn (Lord Jocelyn), whilst at the same time we find the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer still so true to his ancient reminiscences, that he cannot speak of the Roman Catholic priests, even in bringing in a measure of grace and of concession, without saying that the education at Maynooth was as disgraceful to the country which affords the means of sustaining this education, as it was degrading to the priests who receive it; and the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for Ireland speaks of the measure as an act of charity. Now, feeling strongly that the subject is most important, it is on no such grounds that I can bring myself to support it. I remember that, two years ago, as has been stated by my noble Friend, I, in common with him, anticipated the right hon. Gentleman's suggestion. Unfortunately my watch was upon this, as upon other occasions, five minutes too fast. And I need not tell the House that there is a considerable difference between going before or going in company with the right hon. Gentleman. I remember upon that occasion to have incurred much odium and some misconstruction from those who believed, with too fond a credulity, that "concession had reached its utmost limit." And I particularly remember an attack of the noble Lord the Member for Liverpool (Lord Sandon)—and I can assure the noble Lord I do not remember it for its severity—upon the rashness and forwardness of youth! I think I might now retort upon the rashness and forwardness of riper age, on the proverbial extragavance of young conversions, and protest against the principle of restitution, which, if the noble Lord means it, he ought to vote against this grant as an absurdity, and which, if he do not mean it, it is a wanton insult of the Member for Liverpool against and to the Irish Protestant Establishment. But the noble Lord is an hereditary waverer. However, if I was a worse courtier than the noble Lord, I was a better judge. I never doubted that the right hon. Gentleman, who has been characterized by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield as the great doer of his age, as he had done Emancipation so would he do Maynooth. I was not deceived by the extreme Protestantism of the right hon. Gentleman's adolescence—he was then the Member for the University of Oxford. Nor am I among those who believe that the right hon. Gentleman is the enemy of Ireland; although it is susceptible of some doubt whether Ireland is not the enemy of the right hon. Gentleman. He treats it so considerately, so caressingly—almost as caressingly as if it was an Opposition: he carries all the measures that it wants, and among them none was ever wiser, or juster, or more necessary, than the present Bill. And among the many contrasts which the right hon. Gentleman's long career affords, there is none which history will record more favourably than the contrast between Mr. Secretary Peel and Sir Robert Peel the Prime Minister of England. The young and proscribing partisan has become the clement and beneficent ruler—the young Octavius of intolerance is merged in the Augustus of conciliation and of grace. The right hon. Gentleman may in this matter rely on the sincerity of my congratulations, because I know full well how much they will cost me. I know full well what odium I incurred by my suggestions in a former year among an archiepiscopal constituency, not to be well aware that I shall again be at issue with that same archiepiscopal constituency. But, although I prefer my own convictions to theirs in this matter, I am not surprised that theirs are so strong, considering the pains that have been taken to excite them. The pamphlets, the tracts, the speeches, the itinerant lecturers, trading on their own imaginative crapulence; even a Member of this House has condescended to string together a bead-roll of indecencies—a rosary of abominations. Suppose the Irish were to retaliate; suppose they were to compile a cento from the class books of our own colleges and schools; suppose you take the celebrated line of Euripides,—

> "My tongue has sworn it, but my mind is unsworn."

Suppose we take a passage from Terence, an ode of Catullus about Mamurra, a sentiment from the symposium of Plato, or a morality of Paley, it would be quite as easy, I suspect, to alarm the Wesleyans, and affright the Independents. Away, then, with this pharisaical hypocrisy, which objects to books of examination, catechetically distributed, but which flings its Lempriеres broadcast among children; which strains at the calendar, but swallows the mythology! But whilst the means are thus glaringly unfair, I am far from underrating their effects. I believe it would be as easy now to raise the No-Popery cry as it was in 1807, or 1827, or 1829. Would that it might be under the control of such as the noble Lord the Member for the county of Dorset (Lord Ashley), whose speech of this evening was characterized by that great ability, and that grave sense of responsibility, which always mark the speeches of the noble Lord; but this will not be. Would, also, that these No-Popery enthusiasts—and I do not mean there are any enthusiasts in this House—would, in their calmer hour, if they ever have one, look back for the last 200 years, and pass in review all the men they have believed in, from Titus Oates down to Lord George Gordon, and from Lord George Gordon down to our own time; and then I think they would agree with me, that the superstition is not all upon one side. If, at the same time, they should take a retrospective glance at their literature, their architecture, and their taste, I think they will be less satisfied than they now are that they, and they alone, are the providential instruments of England's greatness. They will, at any rate, find out that they have always been, as they always will be, betrayed by their own leaders. The moment a great Protestant champion enters this House, still flushed with the plaudits of Exeter-hall, with the doxology perhaps still ringing in his ears, determined to carry all before him, somehow or other I observe common sense acts upon him as religion acts upon a Dervish; he goes round—he kicks a little—but still he goes round; it is a Parliamentary polka, now practising by the whole of that Bench, from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Cambridge, down to the hon. Member for the county of Selkirk. And this it is—this going round of the great Protestant champions—which renders this "No-Popery" agitation, notwithstanding all its zeal and all its respectability—to my mind synonymous — despite all its numbers, null and inefficient. But of late years another opposition has arisen to this grant, which, for want of a better name, I will call the "Anglican opposition." This party was weak in the House; but it was strong in dialectitians—strong in the universities—strong among young men; and it was supposed, up to Friday last, to have been represented by the right hon. Gentleman my right hon. Friend the Member for Newark (Mr. Gladstone); and it also claimed illustration from his retirement from office: "*De civitate decedere maluit quam de sententia.*" He left the Cabinet; but he kept his theory. And now does any hon. Gentleman believe the right hon. Gentleman has really abandoned his theory? Abandoned his theory!—yes, Sir, as a certain society abandons a country—to return to it on the first convenient opportunity. In that cloud of variegated phraseology in which he, as usual, the other night wrapped and shrouded his mysterious divinity, there was only one phrase which was intelligible to vulgar mortals like myself. He said, that notwithstanding his most cherished convictions, he would vote in favour of this Bill. So, then, it is most clear that his most cherished convictions and his votes are at issue. But about the mere vulgarity of voters, the right hon. Gentleman cares little; for upon this very question he has voted all ways. He voted first against, then in favour of the grant; he then went out of office because the grant was to be increased; then the measure involving the increased grant came to a first reading—he did not vote at all; we are now at the second reading—he is prepared to vote in favour of it. And is any hon. Gentleman—is the right hon. Gentleman himself—quite sure, that upon the third reading he will not find equally good reasons for voting against the measure? But, with regard to "his most cherished feelings," I must be permitted to say one word; and that is, that these feelings are cherished, not by himself alone, but by many converts whom he has convinced, and by many fanatics, whose reason his eloquence has helped to fascinate. And what is their position? What is the principle laid down by them? It is an old enemy with a new face; it is the worst principle of absolutism, disguised in the worst language of the Jesuits; it is the principle of Alva, and the language of Escobar. It begins in a fiction—that because the State has once placed its affiance to a particular system, it is bound to perpetuate that system, to the exclusion of all others to all time. This, to be true, should be universally true; and if it were to prevail at this moment in this country, we should still have the Ptolemaic system in our observatories, and Sir Isaac Newton might only be known somewhat as the right hon. Gentleman may be known—as a crotchetty theologian, but a capital Master of the Mint. But if this principle begins in fiction, it ends in pains and penalties; if it begins in sophistry, it ends in persecution; it is, in one word, the old, vicious, cruel, effete principle of uniformity. Sir, whether the right hon. Gentleman argued against or in favour of this principle, I think his position is equally untenable. The right hon. Gentleman, as an author, wrote in favour of the principle of uniformity; but the argument made use of by the First Lord of the Treasury, in the introduction of this measure, was unanswerable. That argument, characterized by an hon. Member as "the Colonial argument" was this—that the State has for 150 years endowed Presbyterianism in Scotland, paid Presbyterianism in Ireland, and acted as we heard last night from an hon. Member (Mr. Hume,) throughout the whole of our vast peninsula of India, and elsewhere in our dependencies. But the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone), or rather the right hon. Author, had a vision of his own; he was dazzled by the recollection of eleven years in our history, when, to use his own phraseology, many gentlemen of "the Church had exclusive possession of the precincts of Parliament." And when do you suppose were these eleven years?—In the reign of Queen Elizabeth?—In the reign of Queen Anne?—In the reign of that Consul Plancus King George III., of whom we have heard so much? Not so; but in the reign of Charles II., at that happy period when England was the minion and hireling of France; when Ireland was treated as a conquest, and the Irish as savages; and when a very energetic member of the very energetic family of Grahams was sabring Cameronians, and dragooning Scotland into Episcopacy. These were the *anni mirabiles* of the right hon. Gentleman; I am sure the right hon. Home Secretary will not wish for their recurrence. But the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone) on Friday last advanced his reasons in favour of this measure; and I must say, if ever a good cause was defended by a bad apology, it was upon that occasion, because the right hon. Gentleman again came forward with the old principle of "a compact and a pledge." A pledge! and what was Catholic Emancipation? What was the abolition of ten bishoprics in Ireland? What, the Charitable Bequests Act, the other day? What! you will not hear the trumpet-tongue of the Legislature, year after year, and session after session, proclaiming toleration, but you pretend to be guided by the whisper of a Minister, and the hearsay of an engagement as old as the eighteenth century! But upon these refinements I would fain address the right hon. Gentleman in language made use of by a great trade Minister to a great theologian with a theory. Colbert said to Bossuet—when he was urging some of those arguments which eventually ended in the revocation of the edict of Nantez—"All this belongs to your conscience of the Sorbonne; there is another conscience within you—let that speak." So now I would fain say to the right hon. Gentleman, "All this belongs to your conscience of Oxford; there is another conscience within you—let that speak. It will tell the right hon. Gentleman to put things before him more broadly and to the purpose; it will tell him that an ardent and a susceptible people, whose alliance with their priesthood was solemnized in a time of tribulation and misfortune, is not to be divorced from them in the first dawn of a happier era. Not open violence—not "the vicious perfection" of the law—not arms bills, not coercion bills, not laws of mortmain by which you harrassed them, not *cy-pres* constructions by which you robbed them—none of these things have been able to "put asunder" those whom persecution "had joined together." And, Sir, this more insidious design will also fail, which is lisping with all the insolent euphonism of an old proprietary, that you will disarm the Irish priest by making him a gentleman. A gentleman! that is, something more of an abbé and something less of a curé—something more of a chaplain, and something less of a priest—one who will look more to the patron, and care less for the poor; in a word, "a man of the world," but not of the next world. This design will also fail; or, if it succeed, I pity your short-sightedness. Elevate the Irish priest from the sphere in which he moves, and acts, and has his useful being, and you destroy his influence. It is because he is of the commons that he leads the commons. I know that upon this matter I am at issue with nearly the whole of the House; but I know that a greater legislator (with all respect be it said) than any in this House—that that Napoleon, of whom it will be said that not the least of his many miracles was that he gave back Christianity to France—has recorded his opinion that a priesthood for the people should be of the people. Besides, Sir, I have myself seen the prelacy of Ireland. It was on the day of a great solemnity at Maynooth. Plain men they were, poor men; the same euphuism might brand them as vulgar men. There was about them none of that splendour and array for which the Church of Rome is so rebuked; no pomp, no representation. But I am wrong; there was representation; but it was not the representation of so many thousands a year, but of so many millions of souls. It is these men that the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Peel) makes his friends. They will remember that, notwithstanding a powerful opposition, he brought forward a measure of conciliation without restriction and without conditions; and in that hour of emergency and crisis, which those who look at nations and not at Cabinets know cannot be distant—in that hour of emergency and crisis, when your *entente cordiale* with France shall fail you (as it surely will fail you), you will have an *entente cordiale* with Ireland to supply its place. In that day, when the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Peel) shall be called upon to rally round him the energies of this mighty Empire—for he alone, notwithstanding all this temporary clamour, represents its requirements—he will be able to adopt to the enemies of England, be they at Washington, or be they at Paris, the solemn and beautiful language of the noble Lord the Member for London,—"Our Queen reigns over a united people."

Mr. *Redington* could not, as one of the Representatives of Ireland, give a silent vote on the present question. Maynooth had not had a fair trial, and it was time that some justice was done to that institution. It had been asked in the course of the debate why the Roman Catholics of Ireland did not come forward with the necessary funds, and themselves endow the College of Maynooth, where their clergy were educated and trained? He would tell those who asked this question, that England had banished the priests from their native shores, and compelled them to seek refuge abroad; she had also prohibited the Roman Catholic worship in Ireland, and had enforced heavy penalties against those who professed that faith. Mr. Pitt came and established the College of Maynooth; and let him ask was it to be expected, that with an endowment of 9,000*l.* a-year bestowed by the State upon that establishment—was it to be expected that the people of Ireland would impose upon themselves the burden of defraying that expense, and of educating the community, in addition to the voluntary payments which they made to their priesthood? Besides, he might remind the House that there were large Roman Catholic seminaries at Tuam and Wexford, and in other places in Ireland, for the purposes of education, the cost of maintaining which was borne by the Roman Catholics, without any assistance being given to them by the State. It had been objected in the course of the debate, that it was impossible to grant an endowment to the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, because there was already an Establishment there supported by the State, and consequently it was inconsistent to endow another. He did not think this argument would hold good with respect to Scotland, where the State recognised and supported a Church at variance with the religion recognised by law in England; and he must say, that the objection appeared to him to afford a sound reason for refusing all endowments whatsoever. The argument as to a State religion was denied to Ireland, for there the religion of the people was different from that recognised by the State. He could not see why the principle should be applied in one part of the kingdom, and be rejected in another. For his own part, he thought there was less danger in paying no religion than in paying only one. What was the case in the Continental States? In Prussia, France, and Belgium, all religious professions were placed upon the same footing of equality. But in Ireland Protestantism was attempted to be forced upon the people, without success, for the vast majority retained the faith which had first struck root in the minds of the community. The endowments of the Church were all of them of Roman Catholic origin; and the people not having departed from their original religion, were compelled to resort to the voluntary principle to support their priesthood. Was the House prepared to adopt that principle? Was the House prepared to say that the tithes levied in that country—which according to all the rules of equity were Roman Catholic endowments—was the House, he repeated, prepared to give up the tithes and the Church property in Ireland, and to apply it to national purposes?—for if so, then they would have the voluntary principle in action to-morrow. He would now turn his attention to the Bill before the House. He thought that the state of the College of Maynooth was a disgrace to any institution bearing the name of college; and he believed that the right hon. Baronet opposite had taken a straightforward and honest view of the subject. By his proposition he had dealt fairly and generously with the College. The right hon. Baronet opposite, when he introduced Roman Catholic Emancipation, confessed that he bowed to a moral necessity which he could not control; and he (Mr. Redington) must now be allowed to say that he saw in the present proposition the triumph of those principles which had been ever consistently supported by the noble Lord the Member for London and his party. He could not forget old friends for those who offered new favours. He would offer the right hon. Baronet opposite this advice—to persevere in the principles he had now entered on. Let him, in legislating for Ireland, bear this fact in mind, that out of its population of 8,000,000, there were 7,000,000 of Roman Catholics, and then his legislation, whether it regarded Church or State in that country, would, ultimately, be successful.

Debate again adjourned.

House adjourned at a quarter ast twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, April 17, 1845.

Minutes.] *Sat first.*—The Lord Maryborough, after the Death of his Father.

Bills. *Public.* — $1^{a.}$ Sugar (Excise Duties); Auction Duties Repeal.

$2^{a.}$ Sheriffs (Wales).

$3^{a.}$ and passed:—Mutiny; Marine Mutiny; Glass Duties; Customs (Export Duties).

Private.—$1^{a.}$ Birmingham and Staffordshire Gas Light Company; Manchester Stipendiary Magistrate; Forth and Clyde Navgation; Amicable Society Assurance.

$2^{a.}$ Kingston-upon-Hull Docks; Ellesmere, Birmingham, and Liverpool Canals Union.

Reported. — Birkenhead Company's Docks; Birkenhead Commissioners Dock; Thames Navigation Debt.

$3^{a.}$ and passed:—Sparrow's Herne Road.

Petitions Presented. From Clergy and others of Llangorwen, and several other places, against the Union of St. Asaph and Bangor.—By Earl of Powis, from Tangmere, and numerous other places, against the Union of St. Asaph and Bangor, but in favour of the Appointment of a Bishop of Manchester.—By the Bishops of London, Worcester, Chester, and St. David's, Earls Huntingdon, Eglintoun, Falmouth, Eldon, Malmesbury, and Powis, Lords Feversham, Kinnaird, and Redesdale, and by the Marquess of Breadalbane (45), and Viscount Combermere, from Vicar and others of Holne, and a great number of places, against Increase of Grant to Maynooth.—By the Earl of Ripon, from Legislative Council of New South Wales, praying the Privilege of Importing Wheat and Flour into the United Kingdom at a nominal duty.—By Bishop of London, from Cannock, and several other places, for the Suppression of Intemperance, especially on the Sabbath; and from Becclesin, and 5 other places, for the better Regulation of Beer Houses.—

From Easton Mandit, and several other places, for the better Observance of the Sabbath.—From Maghemfelt, for Encouragement of Schools in connexion with Church Education Society (Ireland).—By Earl of Eldon, from Landowners and others of Wareham, for Protection to Agriculture.—By Lord Monteagle, from Tradesmen and others of Manchester, for Repeal of Insolvent Debtors Act Amendment Act.—By Bishop of St. David's from Convil-in-Elvit, and several other places in Wales, for the Establishment of Local Courts. — By Lord Wharncliffe, from Presbytery of Dunkeld, for Improving the Condition of Schoolmasters (Scotland).

RAILWAYS.] Lord *Brougham* said, that he had been intrusted with a petition to which he must beg the attention of the House. It was the petition of five individuals who were the creditors of certain turnpike trusts in England, and the prayer was, that Parliament would make some provision for the protection of their interests, as in consequence of the introduction of railways, the securities on which they had embarked their money were daily becoming depreciated in value. No less than 8,000,000*l.* were embarked in the different turnpike trusts in this country, 500,000*l.* in Wales, and about the same in Scotland, making altogether an aggregate of not less than 9,000,000*l.* sterling; and the misery which had been occasioned by the depreciation of this property was alarmingly great. In one instance which he would mention, in the course of one year, the receipts from the trusts had fallen from 1,800*l.* to 800*l.* He had before him the two Railway Clauses Consolidation Bills, the Bill for England, and the Bill for Scotland. In the Scotch Bill there was a clause giving compensation to the owners of this description of property, but there was no clause of the kind in the English Bill. He envied the Scotch the success which they had obtained in this respect; but he trusted this same measure of justice would be extended to England. There was another case relating to the oppression of landowners by railway companies, which he would mention to the House. He would only mention this one case: in fact, he received so many cases of this description, that he was obliged to make a selection from them. Two ladies, and a gentleman who had married the third sister, were the owners of an estate in Essex of 200 acres, which was a flourishing concern. A railway already run through it. Of that they did not complain, for it might perhaps be a benefit; but now came six other railways—the first railway had taken to itself six others more wicked than itself, and then these petitioners were under the dread of having seven or eight railways passing through their little estate—at the rate of two to each lady, and one over. These seven or eight railways were to cut through this unhappy farm of 200 acres, and to cut it up into pieces about the size of the table at which he was standing. How was the farm to be managed? How could any farming operations be carried on? He did not make any charge against the Railway Board, for that Board, he believed, had reported against several of these railways; but the projectors said, "We do not care for the Board, we will beat the Board in the House of Commons, which will pass our Bills." There might be some truth in this, for the House of Commons might be called the "Railways" House as well as the "Commons" House of Parliament. Under these circumstances, the petitioners came to the House asking for protection. Railways were encouraged on the ground of the public good; and if they were all established voluntarily, and not oppressively and tyrannically, let them all succeed. But that was not the case. Nothing could be more advantageous to the people than good farming, and above all, the support of agriculture; the increase, and certainty, and abundance of food. He should always support his noble Friends in their reasonable demands—their reasonable demands. Much depended upon the construction put upon the word "reasonable." He was encouraged to try an experiment himself, seeing how easily Railway Bills got through Parliament. He would establish an Agricultural Joint-Stock Company, with all the customary machinery of proprietors, shareholders, directors, chairman, and deputy-chairman, surveyors, and a number of practical farmers as assessors. He would be very liberal of shares to their Lordships. In some parts of the country the farming was abominable; nine-tenths of it were not properly cultivated for want of that capital and skill which a company could apply. His company, therefore, would be a public benefit, because it would improve agriculture and increase the stock of wheat out of which the people were to be fed, and thus give them cheap bread. What would signify the interests of a few landowners? Were they to be allowed to keep possession of land which they farmed badly—land which, properly speaking, was public property, and not the property of the individual? Ought they not to be compelled to give up the land to a company which would apply more capital and industry to it, and produce a great deal more food for the sustentation of the people? He was certain he should have all the friends of humanity on his side as well as all the agriculturists, certainly all those whom he should put in his schedules, for he would have schedules with the names of the parties, and the description of the land, whether arable, pasture, or meadow. He should call upon some of his noble Friends to part with their lands for the good of the people. If they did not part with it voluntarily, he would say, as was said in the case of Lady Georgiana Fane, which he mentioned the other night, "it will be all the worse for you, for I shall treat those the worst who venture to oppose me." And if you talk about compensation, he would say, "you must take what I choose to give you after I have got my Act of Parliament passed." This may be very oppressive to some hundred individuals—to some few individuals—but what is that in comparison with the interests of the public at large?—and the benefit which would accrue from the employment of capital, and the application of an improved system of agriculture, and of better drainage to the cultivation of the soil? More wheat will be produced, and what signifies the driving a man away from his family mansion? The railroad is the point, and these things are every day done by railway companies. But to speak seriously, he must express his deep regret that this matter had not been taken up many years ago. The Government should have laid down the great lines that they meant to have—one to the north, one to the south, one to the north-east, and so on. These private companies might be afterwards permitted to bring in bills in conformity with the great lines laid down by the Government. In concluding, he should say that the statement of these petitioners who affirmed that they were able to prove their case before their Lordships' House, ought to be taken into consideration. There was another subject which he wished to mention. If a man went into a Court of Law and proved his case, he obtained costs against the wrong doer, and he (Lord Brougham) thought that the same principle ought to prevail with regard to railways. And he should, therefore, beg to lay an Order on the Table of the House which would compel railway companies to pay costs to the parties aggrieved, who came before the Committees of Parliament to establish their rights. This was a third additional Standing Order, and he should now lay it on the Table of the House for future consideration.

The Marquess of *Clanricarde* said, that he entirely concurred in the observations which had been made by his noble and learned Friend. It was now impossible to remedy the evil with regard to English railways, but, with respect to Ireland, they had a *carte blanche.* The Government, if they chose, might point out what lines would be most advantageous for the country, and they might thus prevent that system of gambling which had been so injurious not only to individuals, but to the public. He hoped also, that the Government would not compel parties in that country, who proposed a railway which was likely to pay to a certain distance, to carry it on to a terminus where it was sure not to pay.

The Marquess of *Lansdowne* said, that though he was as anxious as his noble and learned Friend to put an end to this gambling mania of which he had made so much complaint, yet he trusted that he would not, as he proposed, throw an obstruction in the way of forming railways. He had several years ago suggested that Government should follow the course then recommended; but the reason why this was not done was the fault of Parliament itself, as it did not contemplate the vast speculations which were now under their eyes, and which so deeply affected the property and means of communication throughout the country. He repeated, that at an early period he had expressed an opinion that Government should indicate the several lines; but for various reasons this course was not taken, and the railways were allowed to go on to an immense extent without control. With respect to what had fallen from his noble Friend who spoke last, he could hardly think that the state of Ireland was the same as England on this subject, for before one railway was formed in Ireland he had moved an address for the appointment of a Commission, composed of the most able and eminent men, to investigate the subject, so as to point out which lines were the best. These gentlemen had made their report, and although it did not receive the sanction of Government, still it had been so generally accepted by both Houses of Parliament and the public, that all the railways in Ireland had been adjusted in reference to the principles laid down in the Report. As for the Standing Order suggested by his noble and learned Friend, that all costs of proceedings before a Committee on a railway should be paid by the company, it would be nothing more nor less than a bounty on litigation. He also thought that, as in France, the framers of a railroad should only have a temporary and not a perpetual tenure of it. He thought that it would have been only fair that at the end of a certain period the railroads should become public property. This was the case in most of the Continental nations, and no difficulty was found in raising capital for their formation. He would not mention any particular period, but some of the lines in France were held for ninety or seventy years, while one was held only for forty-five years. It was now too late to do so with existing lines, but they should make regulations with respect to future lines.

Lord *Brougham* said, that he only proposed the payment of costs should rest on the discretion of the Committee.

Petition read, and ordered to lie on the Table.

PARISH OF UPPER CHELSEA.] The Earl of *Cadogan* then rose to bring forward the Motion of which he had given notice respecting the new church erected in the parish of Chelsea. The noble Earl was understood to say that he had never attempted to address their Lordships under circumstances of more painful embarrassment. The difficulties which he felt were of no common character; in the first place, because he deeply felt his own inadequacy to address their Lordships on any subject; and, in the next place, because the question he had to bring before them was of a nature so complicated as to require greater powers of reasoning than he possessed to bring it fully and fairly before their Lordships' view. He regretted also that he should be obliged to appear in opposition to a right rev. Prelate, whose powers of mind and whose general character stood so deservedly high in the House. He had hoped that the right rev. Prelate would have entertained this Motion favourably; but he could not help mentioning to the House the observation with which he was met by that right rev. Prelate, when he mentioned to him, as he was in duty bound to do, his intention to bring this subject before their Lordships. The observation of the right rev. Prelate was, that this was a Government question.

The Bishop of *London*: That is quite a mistake. Such an observation never crossed my mind.

The Earl of *Cadogan* begged the right rev. Prelate's pardon. His right rev. Friend might not remember the words, but assuredly his words were, when he (Lord Cadogan) intimated his intention to bring forward this question, "You know this is a Government question."

The Bishop of *London* again repeated that he had not used those words. What he did say was, when the Government chose to bring forward this subject he would meet it.

The Earl of *Cadogan* was very sorry if he had misunderstood the right rev. Prelate. The question which he was about to bring under their Lordships' notice was one which had been reported in other places out of the House to be a question of no importance—that it was a question affecting only a private individual, and not of interest to the public in any way whatever. But, in his opinion, the question which he was about to submit did involve a very considerable public principle—it involved no less a principle than the administration of a public fund by a public Board. It also involved a question of what he conceived to be an encroachment on the rights of one party by concession on the part of another; and, from the peculiar situation in which he was placed, he now felt it to be his duty to stand forward to protect their rights. The grounds on which his complaint was founded were, that the Commissioners for building new churches did, under the Acts 58 and 59 Geo. III., and 3 and 4 Vict. with consent of the Bishop of the diocese, assign over to the rector of the parish of Chelsea the surplus of the pew rents of a new church built there, which ought, in his opinion, by Act of Parliament, to have gone to build a house for the rector. [Having read in full the clauses in the Acts to which he had alluded, the noble Earl proceeded]:—When he had formerly brought forward this matter the right rev. Prelate made a statement which he supposed contained the whole of his case; and though he did not feel himself entitled to reply to that at the time, yet he would now take the opportunity of making a few remarks on it. The right rev. Prelate stated to the House that this was simply a question of accounting for the surplus pew rents. That if the Commissioners under the Act of Parliament 58 and 59 Geo. III., which provided that all the surplus pew rents should be appropriated to the building of rectory houses, when they found, as the Commissioners did, that that surplus was not sufficient, then they had come to Parliament for fresh powers; and accordingly, the Act of Victoria authorized them to give the whole of the surplus pew rents to the rector of the parish for his own use and benefit. The right rev. Prelate also stated that it was this which had excited his (Lord Cadogan's) displeasure. Displeasure was not the word; but he would show the right rev. Prelate the grounds on which he objected to it. With regard to the assertion that the funds were not sufficient for building a rectory house, he found that the surplus pew rents amounted to 135*l.* a year. Now he thought the best course to take in ascertaining whether that sum would be sufficient for the purpose, was to have the present residence of the rector valued; and he found that it was worth from 1,400*l.* to 1,500*l.* But there was a site for a rectory which he could point out, much more convenient in every way, and much nearer the church, the cost of erecting a rectory on which would be at the outside 1,100*l.* or 1,200*l*, Now he had made a calculation on the subject, and he found that instead of requiring twenty years before the sum would accumulate sufficiently to build the rectory, which it must be admitted was a hopeless case, it would not be seven years before they would be ready to build. He appealed to their Lordships whether or not that would be the case; and even if there were a deficiency, the Commissioners might have come forward in aid in this case, as he knew they had done on former occasions. [The Bishop of *London:* Not in any one case.] Not, perhaps, in building houses, because he did not believe that any had been built, but in building churches. With regard to this parish, he would ask the right rev. Prelate to bear testimony whether the parishioners had not always shown readiness to come forward in support of any object for the spiritual benefit of the parish. Here the fees had been so assigned to the rector, who had been for seven years in the parish, a subscription had been entered into for building a rectory, which amounted to between 300*l.* and 400*l.* Now what was the reason assigned for this conduct? Was the population of the parish increased? Because by the Act of George III., the stipend was to be apportioned according to the numbers and the population of the parish. But he did not see that this reason could be assigned, because, in point of fact, the population attached to the mother church had decreased in consequence of the two new churches having been built in the parish, which considerably diminished the duties of the clergyman. Now, he would ask if it was consistent that they should increase this rev. gentleman's salary while the population of the parish was decreasing? He thought it was a great hardship, and he also believed that it was illegal, as it was in direct contravention of the Act 58th of George III., with which the Acts of 3rd and 4th Victoria were in perfect harmony; and the rector was well able to afford its loss; he was a person otherwise of good income, and for five years after he had been inducted to the parish he never received it, and never complained of wanting it; but so soon as the Act of Victoria was believed to give the Commissioners the power, he went before them and said, could they allow this irregularity to go on any longer? There was one other point connected with this question which he wished merely to state to the right rev. Prelate. He had already alluded to what passed between him and the right rev. Prelate; and he had also strong reasons for thinking that a correspondence must have passed between the right rev. Prelate and the rector; and he wished to know whether there would be any objection to laying the correspondence upon their Lordships' Table? He had now pretty nearly stated all he had to say on the present subject; and he felt grateful to their Lordships for the attention they had given him while he had so inadequately brought the case before them; but he had done the best he could. He might state further, that when he had an interview with the rev. gentleman on this subject, he thought that the rev. gentleman might have treated him with more courtesy. He was told by the rev. gentleman that this fund was his own private income; he would not even allow the sum to be called public. He asked, why would you take 135*l.* from me to build a rector's house for my successor? He had then appealed to the right rev. Prelate; and though he had certainly been treated with every courtesy, yet he had been unable to obtain satisfaction. Under these circumstances, he had no alternative but to bring the case before their Lordships; and he begged now to move for the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the assignment of surplus pew rents by the Commissioners, and whether or not it was expedient that those funds should be invested in the hands of trustees for the purpose of building a rectory house, pursuant to Act 59 George III.

The Bishop of *London* said, he would not occupy much of their Lordships' time with this subject, for if he were fully to enter into the subject it would occupy much time. Before he proceeded, however, he wished to answer the question which the noble Earl had put to him, whether or not there had been any private correspondence between the rector of Chelsea and himself, and whether he would have any objection to produce it. Now, that was a question which he was certainly not bound to answer; but he had no hesitation in answering it, for the sake of removing any misapprehension that might exist in the noble Earl's mind. He had no objection to produce any correspondence that might have passed between the Commissioners and Mr. Burgess; but letters might have passed between Mr. Burgess and himself which were of a strictly private nature, and which could not be produced. Of course he could not state all that might have passed between a clergyman and his bishop during the last seven years. The noble Earl was incorrect in saying that he had no alternative but to take the course he had adopted. The Commissioners had acted under the express authority of the Act of Parliament; and there was, therefore, the alternative of submitting to the necessities of the case, and taking no further notice of the matter, which, in his (the Bishop of London's) opinion, would have been decidedly the most prudent course. The noble Earl had told their Lordships that he did not intend to trouble them on matters relating to his private concerns; but really, if the noble Earl had acted in the spirit of that declaration, he (Lord Cadogan) would not have introduced the subject at all; for the matter concerned the noble Earl's private interests far more than the welfare of the public or the Church. He (the Bishop of London) did not think the Commissioners had acted illegally. If they had done so, there lay an appeal to the Court presided over by the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack. But the truth was, that they had not; and whether they had acted indiscreetly or not, was quite another question, that affected, not the public at large, but merely the private interests of the noble Earl. The whole question was, whether the incumbent of a living in the noble Earl's gift was to have 600*l.* a year without a house; whether out of that income the incumbent should be obliged to find a house, or whether he should have 700*l.* or 730*l.* yearly, the surplus above 600*l.* being allowed him to provide himself with a residence. Now, the alternative between the clergyman getting only 600*l.* and his getting 730*l.*, did certainly, to some degree, affect the noble Earl's prospective interests; for if the surplus above 600*l.*, instead of being given to the present incumbent, were laid by for the purpose of accumulating into a fund for the building or purchase of a residence, this would no doubt improve the value of the advowson. The choice between the two curacies was left by law to the discretion of the Commissioners and the Bishop. They exercised their discretion accordingly; and it would hardly be denied that they were likely to be better judges, generally speaking, of the true interests of the Church than a lay patron, whose interference for objects of private interest might often be productive of great inconvenience and mischief. As the case stood in the parish of Chelsea, Mr. Burgess, with the surplus above the 600*l.* a year, hired a house at a rental of 140*l.*; and he (the Bishop of London) would maintain, without fear of contradiction, that the house in question was by no means too ample or convenient for a gentleman of Mr. Burgess's position and character, and for the incumbent of such a parish. It would be fifteen or twenty years before the 130*l.* surplus from pew rents, &c., would accumulate into a fund large enough to erect a house of such a class; and the Commissioners thought, under all the circumstances, that it was much better to give the clergyman the present means of having a house, than to let the fund accumulate for the contingent benefit of a successor, who might, possibly, be as worthy as the gentleman who was now the incumbent of the parish. The arrangement they had adopted gave some part of the benefit of his zeal, talent, and exertion, to the clergyman who, by these qualities, had raised the income from pew rents; whereas if the fund had been allowed to accumulate, the benefit would be given to, perhaps, a less worthy successor, or to a patron who may have an intention of hereafter selling the speculation to greater advantage.

The Earl of *Cadogan* rose to appeal to the House whether the right rev. Prelate's insinuations were fair or justifiable. But the noble Earl was interrupted by cries of "Order," and resumed his seat.

The Bishop of *London* proceeded to say, that he meant no allusion to the noble Earl's individual intentions; and had only wished to show in general what might happen under such circumstances as those he had described, and to show how unfair it would be to deprive the present incumbent of the benefit of a surplus produced by his own exertions, for the sake of some future incumbent who might not possess the same claims to respect. The Legislature had granted to the Church Building Commissioners and the Bishop the power of appropriating the surplus; they had exercised that power, and, as he was fully satisfied, had exercised it discreetly. It was true that a contrary arrangement would be more beneficial to the private interests of the noble Earl; and if not the noble Earl, at least other patrons might, if they had the power of resisting the Commissioners, object, for the sake of increasing the future value of the advowson, to the steps now likely to confer spiritual advantage on a parish. The noble Earl was really somewhat ungrateful to the Commissioners. Greater church accommodation having been very much needed in Chelsea, the Church Building Commissioners offered the parish to build a church, or take measures for erecting a second parish, if a site for the church were offered. The site was purchased with money raised by subscription, to which the noble Earl contributed 100*l.* The Commissioners created a living, with an income of 700*l.*; and now, after the Commissioners had placed the whole advowson in the hands of the noble Earl, instead of merely reserving his 100*l.*, he (Lord Cadogan) complained of being hardly dealt with. Their Lordships would recollect that there were many peculiar circumstances in this case, arising from difficulties connected with the imposition of a church rate. The inhabitants of the old parish having refused to impose a rate for the maintenance of the new church, the churchwardens wished to apply the pew rents to the purpose of repairs, to the necessary expense of celebrating divine service, &c. The Commissioners, on being applied to, stated that, having consulted with their law advisers, they found they could not sanction such an arrangement, except in certain specified cases. The next best thing, then, was to give the money to the clergyman, to enable him to defray as much as he could of these expenses. Mr. Burgess had thus contributed much towards the maintenance of divine service, the expense of which ought to be defrayed by the parishioners; and this showed that the rev. gentleman in question was not actuated by the motives of personal interest that were ascribed to him by the noble Earl. The right rev. Prelate then proceeded to give the strongest eulogistic testimony of the piety, the zeal, the learning, and great activity of the rev. Mr. Burgess. That rev. Gentleman was held universally in the highest respect which his conduct and qualities deserved, and he (the Bishop of London) could, if he wished, read to their Lordships a series of Resolutions passed by the parishioners assembled in vestry, expressing entire confidence in Mr. Burgess, and regretting that anything should have occurred to diminish the confidence entertained for him by the noble Earl at the time when he (Lord Cadogan) presented him to the living. A letter had been sent to the noble Earl, acquainting him with the purport of these Resolutions. He (the right rev. Prelate) would reiterate his own testimony to Mr. Burgess's high character and merits. He had always found that gentleman a zealous and useful auxiliary; and in attacking one whose character was so fenced and guarded by the established opinion of those who had the best opportunity of forming a judgment upon it, the noble Earl had manifested but little of that virtue which was considered to be the better part of valour. He (the Bishop of London) hoped he had now said enough not only to vindicate the character of Mr. Burgess (which really needed no vindication), but the conduct of himself and the Commissioners, who had only exercised their discretion in direct conformity with the law. He, therefore, entertained the strongest hope that their Lordships would unanimously reject the Motion.

The Earl of *Cadogan* rose to reply, labouring evidently under very excited feelings. He said that he could hardly trust his own feelings with an answer after the manner in which the right rev. Prelate had thought proper to address the House. The right rev. Prelate had begun his speech with what he must call the most unfounded and unwarranted aspersion against his character that it was in the power of any man to utter against another. The right rev. Prelate had stated that his principal motives in bringing the question before the House were self-interested ones—motives which he thoroughly despised—and their Lordships might depend that the man who suggested such a motive was the person who would be the first to practise it. He again would appeal to their Lordships whether the right rev. Prelate had acted fairly or justly in putting the question on the footing that he had brought forward this subject, because the arrangement now existing injured the prospective value of the advowson held by him. The right rev. Prelate had not even stated with perfect accuracy the circumstances under which the church had been built; for when he advanced the 100*l.*, the proposal was only for a chapel of ease. As to the letter written to him by the vestry, it was so worded as to be a direct insult, and he had treated it as it deserved. It was, in short, a very impertinent letter, adopted at a meeting of seventeen or eighteen persons, with the rector at their head. For his own part, he would rather not trouble their Lordships with any more observations on this unpleasant subject.

Question put, and resolved in the negative.

AGRICULTURAL IMPROVEMENTS — ENTAIL.] The Duke of *Richmond* rose, pursuant to notice, to move the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the expediency of a legislative enactment being introduced, to enable the possessors of entailed estates to charge such estates with a sum, to be limited, for the purpose of draining and otherwise permanently improving the same. The noble Duke said, he had brought forward the Motion in accordance with his often expressed conviction, that they were bound to do all in their power to encourage agricultural improvement. By the formation of societies and the exertions of the wealthier classes of the tenants, much had been lately done; and his object was to carry out as far as possible the advantage to be derived from thorough draining. He was not asking for the establishment of any new principle, for the Montgomery Act allowed the holders of entailed estates in Scotland to expend money on the permanent improvement of the land, and charge on the estate three-fourths of the money so expended. In 1840, Mr. Pusey's Act gave facility for the expenditure of money in draining on English entailed estates; but that Act had, unfortunately, not been found as efficient as it had been hoped it would prove. Its partial failure had in great measure arisen from the facts, that persons, before raising money for improvements under it, must carry their application to the Court of Chancery; and the landlords of England so dreaded that Court and its Masters, that nothing could induce them to go before it. If the Select Committee were now granted, he believed that in Committee much advice and suggestion could be given, that would have the effect of promoting better cultivation, and encouraging the expenditure of large sums of money on the soil, instead of capital being wasted on railway disputes and contentions, either at home or abroad. If they would induce parties to advance large sums on the security of entailed estates, to be laid out in permanent improvement, much benefit would be conferred on the country at large. For instance, as matters now stood, if a man succeeded to an entailed estate, he could not afford to spend much of his income on improvements, for he had only a life interest; he knew not how long the property would continue in his possession; and out of his income he was naturally anxious to provide for his wife and children. The holder of an entailed estate had, therefore, not the same means of improving that he whose estate was unentailed had. On a former occasion when a Bill of this kind was introduced, it had been stated that if they passed it they would get rid of entaied estates; but he (the Duke of Richmond) thought the contrary would be the effect of this Bill. He believed that by taking proper precautions against fraud, and giving the power asked for to the holders of entailed estates, they would be taking one great step to strengthen and maintain entail, by removing one of the inconveniences alleged against it. One great advantage of giving encouragement in the way he proposed, to the investment of money in improving entailed estates, without making it necessary to go before Chancery, would be that of providing employment for that large and meritorious class, the agricultural labourers, many of whom were now in the distressing situation of seeking for work without being able to get it. His proposal tended to carry out the healthy and rightful principle that every honest and meritorious labourer should be always able to have a good day's pay for a good day's labour. The Report of the Commission of which his noble Friend (Lord Devon) was at the head, relative to the agrarian condition of Ireland, contained, he believed, a recommendation that facilities of the kind he asked for should be given to the holders of entailed estates in Ireland; and he did hope that England would not be excluded from participation in these advantages. The noble Duke, after again dwelling on the importance of removing the delay and expense involved in the necessity of going before Chancery for power to raise money, concluded by submitting the terms of his Motion.

The Duke of *Cleveland* seconded the Motion. He thought the noble Duke had chosen the best course in moving for a Select Committee, instead of proceeding by Bill in the first instance. He had no doubt that when the inquiry was entered into, the measure would be found to be of the greatest practical utility. They were all aware of the low ebb to which agriculture had sunk at this time, and such a measure would tend to relieve occupiers and labourers from their present distress. The only way permanently to better the condition of the agricultural labourers was to improve the land, and one method of doing that was by drainage. But to be of any value the drainage must be effectually performed, and this was a most expensive operation when properly and thoroughly effected. Indeed, so great was the outlay required, that it could not be expected from a mere life-tenant of an entailed estate. The class of improvements to which the noble Duke's Select Committee referred were altogether of a permanent character, and therefore they ought to be charged on the estate itself, and not to be defrayed, save in a fair proportion, by the life-tenant who made them. He had no doubt right would be done in the matter; and as the projected alterations had in view by the noble Duke would be highly beneficial to land in general, he willingly assented to the appointment of the Select Committee, and hoped that a Bill would ultimately be brought in on the subject.

Lord *Ashburton* said, that when the Bill to which the noble Duke had referred was in progress through Parliament, he had expressed his apprehensions that the effect of the restrictions, compelling the landowners to have recourse to the Court of Chancery before they could commence a drain, would be to throw insuperable obstacles in the way of this class of improvement; whilst, on the other hand, he had been of opinion that without some such check as that, estates would be loaded by their life-tenants with heavy charges for improvements, the money for which might possibly be applied for other purposes than effecting such improvements. On the whole, however, if proper precautions were taken to insure the application of the money charged for permanent improvements, and likewise if care were taken not to jeopardize the rights of property, he saw no objection to the measure which was likely to result from the noble Duke's proposition to appoint a Select Committee. He, however, must warn him to provide proper securities against charging estates permanently with the expenses of a thorough system of drainage on the land; and the best way of effecting this would be to provide a clause by which a power, similar to that conferred by the Gilbert's Act for constructing glebe-houses, would be given to life-tenants, to carry the sums expended in improvements over a given number of years, the charge becoming extinct by liquidation at the end of that period.

Lord *Beaumont* said, that the last observation of the noble Lord induced him to say a few words on the present subject. Their Lordships, perhaps, were aware that there were in existence what were styled Land Draining Companies, the operations of which were conducted upon scientific principles. These companies undertook the drainage of estates upon the principle of advancing the sums necessary for the purpose, and of repaying themselves gradually out of the increased rental which the land thus improved brought in; and so successful had their operations been that the surplus had very soon wiped off the incumbrance thus imposed on the land. The Bill which was in prospect would thus come in aid of the views of these companies, and enable them more effectually and generally to carry out the principle upon which they were founded. Persons having a life-interest in estates would thus be encouraged and enabled to treat with the draining companies, and at the same time avoid charging the land with a permanent debt, whilst at the same time they would not be deprived of the fair enjoyment of their property during their life-tenancy. As the matters to which he referred rather belonged to the details of the Bill than to the question of the appointment of a Committee, he should say no more at present than to express his cordial concurrence in the proposal of the noble Duke.

On Question, agreed to; and Committee appointed.

Their Lordships adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, April 17, 1845.

Minutes.] Bills. *Public.*—1°· Colonial Passengers.

Reported.—Calico Print Works.

Private.—1°· Lady's Island and Tacumshin Embankment; Epsom and Dorking Railway; Eastern Union and Bury Saint Edmund's Railway (No. 2); London, Worcester, and South Staffordshire Railway (Dudley and Sedgley Branch).

Reported. —Shelsley Road; Paisley Gas.

3°· and passed:—Forth and Clyde Navigation.

Petitions Presented. By Mr. F. Maule, from Free Church of Peebles, complaining of opposition to building Free Churches (Scotland).—By Mr. Maule, Mr. Ellice, and Sir J. M'Taggart, from several places, for better Observance of the Lord's Day.—By several hon. Members, from an immense number of places (335 Petitions), against the Grant to Maynooth College.—By Captain A'Court, Mr. Adderley, and Mr. Hughes, from a great number of places, against the Union of St. Asaph and Bangor.—By Mr. Stewart, from New Zealand, for Inquiry (New Zealand).—By Mr. Herbert, from New Sarum, for Relief from Agricultural Taxation.—By Mr. Burroughes, and Sir W. Heathcote, from several places, for Repeal of the Duty on Malt.—By Mr. Vernon, from East Retford, for Alteration of Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons Bill.—By Sir J. Hanmer, from Hull, complaining of the Inadequate Remuneration of the Extra Tide Waiters.—By Viscount Howick, from several places, in favour of the Ten Hours System.—By Mr. S. Wortley, from several places, in favour of Field Gardens.—By Mr. Stewart, from Pollockshaw, against Infeftment and Heritable Securities (Scotland) Bill.—By Mr. Berkeley, Mr. Broadley, Sir P. Egerton, Mr. P. Egerton, Mr. Entwisle, Sir W. Heathcote, Sir W. J. Jolliffe, Mr. Vernon, Mr. Whitmore, and Mr. S. Wortley, from a great number of places, against Justices' Clerks and Clerks of the Peace Bill.—By Mr. T. Duncombe, from Northumberland, for Inquiry respecting the Cause of Accidents in Mines and Collieries.—By Mr. C. Bruce, from Clackmannan, for Alteration of Mines and Collieries Act.—By Viscount Adare, Mr. Adderley, Mr. Brotherton, Mr. M. Gore, Sir C. Burrell, Mr. Cardwell, Sir H. Halford, the Earl of March, and Mr. S. Wortley, from a great number of places, against Parochial Settlement Bill.—By several hon. Members, from a great number of places, for Diminishing the Number of Public Houses.—By Mr. Buckley, and Mr Welby, from several places, for Regulating Railway Charges.—By Captain Dalrymple, and Mr, Fox Maule, from several places, for Ameliorating the Condition of Schoolmasters (Scotland).

Maynooth College—Adjourned Debate (Fifth Night).] Mr. *Cumming Bruce* had felt it to be his duty, when this measure was first introduced, in compliance with what he knew to be the feelings of his constituents, not less than from his own convictions, to record his protest against it. Not having had the fortune to catch the eye of the Chair till a late period in that debate, and till the House had arrived at those small hours when it was accustomed—not unnaturally—to display what, on such a question, he would venture to call an ignorant impatience of discussion, with which fourteen years' experience had taught him it was useless to contend—he had merely stated the conclusions to which he had come, without attempting to explain the grounds on which he had come to them. His conclusions were against the Bill, both on principle and on expediency. His right hon. Friend the late President of the Board of Trade—and why he should have compelled him to address him as the late President, he was utterly at a loss to imagine—was unable to find any principle on which to rest his opposition to this measure; and on that system—he would not call it principle—of compromise, which he had adopted as a necessity of nations—of man in his collective and social capacity—his right hon. Friend had determined to give his support to the Government on grounds of expediency. For himself, he (Mr. C. Bruce) could never believe that true principle was opposed to sound expediency. As we might always find the principle of a Bill in its details, so, he believed, that you might always discover the expediency of every measure really involved in the correctness of its principle. But his right hon. Friend could find no principle on which to rest his opposition to this Bill in a thing so vague, so indefinite as Protestantism. And yet, facts sufficiently determinate—things and circumstances sufficiently palpable—seemed to him (Mr. C. Bruce) to rest on this principle of Protestanism. The title to the British Crown rested on it—our rights and liberties, in a great measure, rested on it—they had grown up under its shade. Under its protection our national greatness and prosperity—our pre-eminence in learning and knowledge—in arts and science—in manufactures and commerce—in all that rendered us the first nation in the world—had attained their present glorious proportions. Its roots were deep and living in the free and firm soil of English hearts—in the settled and abiding convictions of Scottish conscience and Scottish integrity. Like the oak of England, the storm of passing events—of domestic turbulence or foreign aggression—might rage among its thousand branches, and scatter its green leaves to the wind; but the storm passes, and it stands in the majesty of its strength, in the glory of its beauty. Like the pine tree of his native glens, the torrent of the mountains may swell against it in its fury; but its roots are entwined round, and anchored on the living rock, and the flood beats against it in vain. Like the meteor flag of England, its banner had braved, for 300 years, the battle and the breeze—because the favour of God—the alone Ruler of the destinies of nations—was upon it; and because greater was He that was for it, than all—and that all at one time comprehended the world in arms—than all who were against it. And in this Protestantism his right hon. Friend could find no principle, nothing save an abstraction. Alas! he feared that his right hon. Friend had sought it in some misty recess of the academic groves of their common *alma mater;* and in that atmosphere, darkened for the moment by the exhalations of antiquated tradition and exploded error, he wondered not that his right hon. Friend had sought it in vain. The accuracy of his vision had been damaged in the search. Time was—not a very remote time—when he took a juster and a truer view, as it seemed to him, of this grant to Maynooth. From his right hon. Friend, he might once have learnt—if he had not previously learned it from other and higher authority—that, "in its principle, it was wholly vicious, and that it will be a thorn in the side of these countries so long as it is continued." Such was the teaching of his right hon. Friend. His reasoning convinced him—he retained his convictions; but his right hon. Friend had now discovered that the principle was "wholly vicious," only because we had not carried it into more extended and practical operation, and that the thorn might be extracted if we would only drive it farther in—if we would only increase the grant, and follow it to its legitimate consequences, by a permanent endowment to the whole Romanist priesthood of Ireland. His right hon. Friend, he was glad to see, did not hold the Romanist doctrine of venial and mortal sin. In regard to theft, for example, that doctrine taught that a small theft was a venial sin, but a more extended one was mortal—if you stole 9,000*l.* it was venial, but if 30,000*l.*, it would become mortal—that was the Romanist doctrine; but his right hon. Friend reversed all this. 9,000*l.* with him was mortal sin; but make it 30,000*l.*, and it became venial; or rather it lost its character of sin altogether, and actually became a virtue. Then his right hon. Friend told them that we had no right to plead against this grant its palpable failure in effecting the objects contemplated by Mr. Pitt, till we had also tried what he declares to have been part and parcel of the plan of Mr. Pitt—the endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy universally. To use a homely phrase, his right hon. Friend had fallen back on the principle—not likely in this case to find favour with the people of England—of "in for a penny, in for a pound." He had satisfied himself that in politics, as in some other sciences, two negatives made an affirmative; and that, as a statesman, acting in the spirit of an enlightened wisdom, he was bound not to make two bites of a cherry, but to take the whole at once, and return to office. He regretted that his right hon. Friend had ever thought it necessary to leave office. He regretted that the country, even for a short time, should have been deprived of the services which his ability and habits of business so well qualified him to render. And he regretted his retirement still more for the consideration, that by thus calling especial notice to the change in his opinions and the change in his principles, he had raised up unnecessary difficulties in the way of his future services to the country; for these sudden and unlooked for changes in the opinions of those whose uprightness and integrity were above all question, were, above all things, calculated, if not to shake the confidence, yet to bewilder the public judgment of public men; and the House might depend upon it, that the mind of England—which had manifested itself with sufficient distinctness in that flood of petitions which had poured in, and was still pouring in upon the House—though it might find among the present statesmen of the House no exponents of its sentiments and convictions—and this had been used as an argument in this reformed Parliament for the measure—even if it were so barren of ability as not ere long to find them, is not so inert or inactive as to rest satisfied till they are found. As a strong and attached supporter, from long habit and conviction, of the present Government, he must deeply regret any circumstance which, though it might not at present shake, might weaken the respect, and confidence, and attachment which hitherto they had so fully enjoyed; and his earnest hope was that they would yet see it right to abandon a measure opposed alike to the judgment, the feelings, and the consciences of those whose affairs they had been called on to direct, and which hitherto they had directed with so much ability and success. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Edinburgh, who addressed the House the other night, divided his speech—distinguished, as all his speeches were, by great ability—into two parts; the first in praise and support of the measure before the House; the last dedicated to a bitter party attack on those by whom it had been proposed. Of the last, he should only say that it was just what he should have expected from the right hon. Gentleman; and the conclusion which it succeeded in establishing in his mind was simply this—that the right hon. Gentleman was very tired of being on those Benches; very much bored by the literary leisure to which he has been consigned by the national opinion of the official incapacity of the party to whom he belongs: and very anxious, if possible, again to change seats with his right hon. Friends below him, to whose measures he gives his support, like many others who sit around him, in the belief that it may facilitate that operation. Thinking, however, that for all purposes of the practical conduct of affairs, the present Government has showed itself to be the best, as th last showed itself to be the most inefficient, which this country has for many years seen, he could not think that the nation would be gainers if the right hon. Gentleman's longings were gratified. The other part of his speech was divided into three parts. In the first he had endeavoured to prove, that those who had supported the annual grant to Maynooth could not fairly plead any principle on which to rest their opposition to the measure before us. He thought his right hon. Friend entirely failed in his endeavour; but he was careless of following him in that part of his argument, for he had always opposed the grant in times past; and if he opposed this measure he should not be under the necessity of reconciling his past and present votes regarding it. His right hon. Friend next addressed himself to those who opposed the Motion on grounds of conscience, feeling that it is not permitted to them to promote the teaching, in matters of religion, of what they believe to be error. The ingenious sophistries by which his right hon. Friend supported this part of his argument seemed to him every way worthy of the eloquent panegyrist Ignatius Loyola. In the time and study which the right hon. artist dedicated to his masterly portrait of that remarkable man—that magnificent embodiment of indomitable courage and enthusiastic fanaticism—of indifference as to the means, but devotedness as to the object—it was not to be wondered at if the right hon. Gentleman had imbibed something of the great original. Of that great original, whose spirit rules the Maynooth priesthood from its urn, it may indeed be said that—

"His was a noble mind in a rude state
Of wild, distorted virtue—'cross the fancy
It stalks a gloomy, dark, majestic shade,
Angel or fiend, we know not."

He was far from wishing to insinuate that the right hon. Gentleman partook of the nature of the last of those spirits; but the temper and motives of the concluding part of his speech made him hesitate to rank him among the number of the first. Before he sat down, he should have occasion to state in what respects, and to what extent, he differed with his right hon. Friend. The third division of his right hon. Friend's arguments was addressed to gentlemen holding what are called voluntary principles. With them he should leave the right hon. Gentleman to settle their differences the best way he could. He had with them no sympathy—he asked from them no co-operation. His hon. Friend the Member for Perth took a different view of the matter. He had voted for the annual grant; he voted against the permanent endowment. He thought him wrong then; he thought him right now. He was glad they were for once in a way to go into the same lobby. This House, like misery and Maynooth, made men acquainted with strange bed-fellows. However, he did not say this with any feeling of disrespect to his hon. Friend. He respected both his character and talents, and was gratified to think that on this question they should vote together. But he could not agree in the attack made by his hon. Friend on the Government in respect to their treatment of the new Secession Church in Scotland. The Government had never sought to interfere with the spiritualities of the Kirk. They merely did what they were bound to do, maintained the law, which a party in the Church sought to overleap, in regard to its temporalities. In acting as they did, the men acted in accordance with the sentiments and judgments of nineteen-twentieths of those best qualified to form an opinion on the subject in Scotland. If the Free Churchmen had had their way, they would have established in Scotland a power above the State, an ecclesiastical tyranny, harsher and more revolting than that of Rome itself. He regretted the secession, because some able and many good men had been carried away by it; and because, in support of a distinction without a difference, a blow had been struck against that unity which, as Christians, they were bound to cherish by every means save by a connivance in error. With regard to the 600 new churches of which his hon. Friend boasted, it was part of the tactics of the party to build a church in every parish, if possible, in the close vicinity of the Established Church, and that, whether it were required or not. He knew that in many of them they preached to not very crowded benches; and the excellent appointments made both by the Government and individual patrons to the churches which had been vacated was, in his part of the country, every day, bringing the people back to their communion. He opposed this Bill on principle and expediency. Although, since the passing of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, it may have been competent to individual Members to have proposed it without a violation of principle, he did not think this applied to the Government as the Ministers of a Protestant Crown, acting in accordance with the principles which should regulate their conduct. He did not think it competent for them, with the whole weight and authority of Government, to recommend a measure which was the first step towards the establishment of a religion essentially hostile to Protestantism. When the Roman Catholic Relief Bill was passed, Parliament, in conceding that measure to those principles of toleration and justice, which pleaded powerfully in its favour—asserted also the claim of Protestant principle and character of the Constitution to be recognised in certain very important particulars. It abolished civil disabilities, but it maintained the Protestant Church as that which alone should be entitled to the support of the State, and be venerated as the Established Church of the United Kingdoms of England and Ireland. These were among the securities retained in deference to the Protestant principle which opposed those concessions. No one will say, that without these the Roman Catholic Relief Act would have obtained the sanction of this House, much less the people of Britain. But a permanent grant of public money expressly limited to the support and encouragement of the priesthood of a religion which holds that Protestantism is not only a great error, but also a great crime, and as such to be discouraged, put down, extirpated, not by reason and argument alone, but by force, where circumstances admit of its employment—of a religion which itself recognises no toleration save at the bidding of an irresistible necessity — the granting of a permanent endowment by the State to educate the priesthood of such a religion, seemed to him not only the height of infatuation, but to involve the adoption of a course at variance with, and throwing discredit on, all their past assertions of a determination to maintain the Protestant Church, and the Protestant character of the Constitution. Nor could he find any justification of this proposal in the fact that the establishment of the College of Maynooth was the act of an exclusively Protestant Parliament. On the contrary, having conceded to the Roman Catholics what you have conceded, it appeared to him doubly incumbent on them not to concede any thing more not called for to carry out in a full and a fair spirit the principle of the Roman Catholic Relief Bill. That principle was the removal of civil disabilities. No one would pretend that the permanent endowment of a college for the education of the priests was the removal of a civil disability; and, while he thought that the institution of Maynooth by the Irish Parliament was a violation of principle, he apprehended that the present measure, under the actual and changed circumstances of the Constitution and of the Established Church, was a violation of a still more marked and, practically, of a still more dangerous character. He thought that in 1795 the Irish Parliament had been guilty of a violation of principle. It had borne the fruits which such violations naturally bear; but they at least had had the benefit of that experience, and it might well have deterred them from this exaggeration of their error. But what had been those fruits? Let them look at the expediency of this proposal, as we may gather it from experience of those fruits. Maynooth was instituted to remedy an alleged inconvenience, arising from the war then raging in procuring a foreign education for the priests; but chiefly to conciliate the gratitude which it was assumed would follow this Act of Protestant liberality. Now it was conceded in 1795; the rebellion followed in 1798. No one ever pretended that the priests were not zealous in promoting that rebellion. So much for the first fruits of gratitude. He did not wish unnecessarily to say anything offensive to the feelings of Roman Catholics in that House or out of it; but in coming to an opinion on the measure now proposed, we must take into consideration the past and present character of that priesthood, and the truth, so far as we learn it from history and existing facts, must be spoken. Now, let any one call to mind the professions of gratitude, the promises of tranquillity and loyalty which accompanied the passing of the Relief Bill, and then let him look at, he had almost said, the actual condition of Ireland, and then let him say, whether an illustrious Duke, who, he thanked God, was still spared to the gratitude and admiration of a country to which he had rendered services so vast and so inappreciable, if after he had been mainly instrumental to the passing of that Bill, could be accused of using exaggerated statements, if he applied to the subsequent conduct of Dr. M'Hale, and the Roman Catholic priests generally—there might be exceptions—the very language which another Duke, the Duke of Ormond, applied to the conduct of the priests of his time 200 years ago. His words were these, as handed down to us by Walsh, himself a Roman Catholic:—

> "These twenty years I had to do with these Roman Catholic bishops, I never found any of them either to speak the truth or perform his promise to me, laying at the same time his hand on his heart, and adding, 'as I am a Christian'—of which action and asseveration I took indeed the more especial notice there, and now again do here, that I never observed him before or after to have averred or denied anything in that manner."

Why, a year had scarce elapsed since Ireland was believed to be on the very verge of rebellion; and he would ask, whether the priests, the priests educated at Maynooth—who, by the way, had had fifty years to form and change the character of the people—and this was actually used as an argument for this measure—had not been the main instigators and fomentors of that? Without them Mr. O'Connell, who was merely their instrument, could not have raised the storm which he did raise, to the great and imminent peril of the State. Lord Castlehaven, himself a Roman Catholic, speaking of the origin and causes of the commotions and atrocities of the period, had said, that—

> "Chiefly the titular bishops, and the superiors of regular orders, took an effectual course, under the specious colour of religion, to add continually new fuel to the burning coals, and prepare them for a flame on the first opportunity."

The same thing might be justly said of the priests in 1843. The truth is, that the whole of the pupils of Maynooth were imbued with an inveterate hatred of the Protestant Establishment and Protestant connexion, and endeavoured, on being intrusted with the care of souls, too generally to imbue their flocks with similar sentiments. There was no want of living testimony as to the education taught, and sentiments imbibed at Maynooth. Mr. Crolly, Mr. O'Burrie, Mr. Inglis, and

Mr. Noel, sufficiently attested it. He would not cite these and other living authorities in proof of the strange morality —he would not use a harsher word—taught in that College. But this he would say, that it was no wonder, if such books as these class books were taught, and such doctrines inculcated, it was no marvel to him that you in vain looked for those peaceable fruits of righteousness which might secure obedience to the law, or regard for the properties or even lives of their fellow subjects. And you proposed to remedy this state of things by an increased grant of 20,000*l.* to carry out the same system, without the check of any responsible visitation—that it seems would spoil the grace of the concession. But his right hon. Friend had not always been of that opinion. In 1840, on a Motion of his hon. Friend the Member for Kent, that the annual grant should cease, his right hon. Friend thus expressed himself:—

> "He could not, however, concur in an observation of the noble Lord (Lord Morpeth). He did not think there existed such a compact as ought to prevent the interference of the Legislature, if the grant should be perverted to evil purposes. He could not agree in the opinion that the system of instruction pursued at Maynooth ought to be a matter of indifference to the House. He had not heard that observation made by the noble Lord, but he had heard it imputed to him, and he had not seen, on the part of the noble Lord, any energetic denial of it. Now, the system of education was a legitimate matter for the consideration of Parliament; and the House would abandon its duty if it were to avow the doctrine, that because the grant had continued for thirty years, it was therefore pledged to say to Maynooth, 'you may inculcate what doctrine you please, however injurious to the supremacy of the law, and destructive to the Established Government and Monarchy of the Empire.' If an opinion of that kind were put forward, he for one would never concur in it; and he thought it should be repudiated by every Member of the House. A misappropriation of the grant would form a very proper subject of inquiry, and if it were proved, the question might be submitted to the House, whether on that ground the vote ought not to be discontinued."

Now he had inquired, and, referring to the Eighth Report of the Commissioners for Irish Education, he found that by all the authors used as class books at Maynooth, doctrines were inculcated subversive of all moral and social obligation. He believed the educated Roman Catholic laity knew nothing about them, and that if they did, they disavowed them; but, as regarded this grant, the question was, what the priests were taught to hold? He would not say one word of what might be considered purely religious teaching; but, among the class books of Maynooth, were the dogmatic theology of Delahogue, the moral theology of Bailly, and the controversies—the, as Dr. Wiseman called them, magnificent controversies of Bellarmine. They all held the doctrine of venial sin, measuring its character by the offence against man, not by the offence against God, thus destroying the great sanction and restraint on moral conduct. They all taught that heretics, even though they had never been in communion with Rome, ought to be extirpated; that it was charity to put them to death; and that the want of power alone justified the abstaining from using force against them. They all thought that the Church had the power of absolving from oaths whenever its interests called for it; and that, in any question regarding the justness of the cause for such absolution, the Pope alone was the judge. Dr. M'Hale had expressly given evidence to the same effect. But you say these doctrines were exploded. Why then are the books which teach them retained as class books at Maynooth? But you think all this will be remedied by improving the pecuniary circumstances of the College, and rendering the pupils better scholars and finer gentlemen. Why, the Jesuits were the best scholars and the finest gentlemen in Europe; but they were found so mischievous as to be expelled from every country in Europe, and put down by the Pope himself—though in an evil hour they had been resuscitated. Your 20,000*l.* will fail to change the character of the Maynooth priests. It may whet their appetite for increased grants; but so long as any thing remains to concede—so long as the Protestant Establishment is maintained—so long as duty, and conscience, and consistency, and a regard for the most solemn obligations, and your experience of the effects of the influence of the priests of that religion, on the character and prosperity, on the liberties and happiness of nations, hold you back from making the Romanist the dominant religion in Ireland—so long as they deter you from acceding to the proposal of the hon. Member for

Sheffield, which, however, seemed to him, nothing more than a legitimate carrying out of the principle of the measure now proposed—so long that appetite will remain unsatisfied. As he said the other night, you are about to try the method followed by the Roman Empire in the hour of its decay—when the life and energy of that proud imperial queen of nations was spent —when the last accents were upon the wind—when she had but one voice more to utter, and then was heard no more among the nations, of buying off the enemies by whom it was assailed. History has told you with what result. Do not neglect the warning, or follow that example, while other and better means are open to you for overcoming the difficulties which the condition of Ireland presents. Confer on the people, as well as the priests, a sound, moral, and Christian education. Carry out fully and freely the principles of the Relief Bill—maintain the law—punish its violators—show your determination to protect efficiently the peace of the inhabitants of the country, of whatever religious denomination; and above all, to protect them from the intrigues and tyranny of the Romanist priesthood; and you will attain the end you seek. You propose this measure as a concession which may be grateful to the feelings of the Roman Catholic priests and people of Ireland. Is nothing due to the feelings of the Protestant clergy and people which are outraged, and trampled on, by calling on them to contribute to such a grant? The petitions which have flowed in upon the House from all classes and denominations of Protestants sufficiently show what those feelings are; and he should like to know, if this measure be carried, on what grounds they could pretend to withhold a similar assistance from every other sect separated from the Established Church, by differences far less essential. It may be said that the principles of many of the Dissenters would induce them to reject any offer of assistance from the State; but there are in Scotland two religious communions who profess principles not adverse to such assistance. Both of them are at this moment engaged in the endeavour to found colleges of their own, principally to educate young men for their Church. He did not believe that the funds at the disposal of either are so abundant as to make them indifferent to a Parliamentary endowment. Those communions are the old Protestant Episcopal Church, and that recent and large secession from the Established Church of that country, calling itself the Free Church. The first, already recognised by Act of Parliament, as in communion with your own Church, has long been distinguished for every quality which should entitle it to your favour. The second, whatever may be its future course, professes and is guided by those orthodox and scriptural views of Christianity which are entirely in accordance with the genuine Protestant principles of the Constitution. Are you prepared to follow up this measure by a proportionate grant to their colleges? That would give to your proceeding something like consistency; not that he asked for such endowment, or believed that it would purchase their approval in this proposal; but it would be carrying out, and in cases less liable to objection, the principle which you would appear to be borrowing from Napoleon and from France, of endowing all religious persuasions alike. For himself, he rejected that principle; it emanated from a spirit of indifference and latitudinarianism which he disavowed. He thought that nations, as well as individuals, are bound to ascertain what is truth in matters of religion; and, having ascertained it, to confine their public support to the communion which appears most purely to teach and maintain it. But it was said that this House is not a place for discussing what in matters of religion is according to truth. Composed as it now is, he very readily granted that proposition; but they were not called on to discuss it. Our ancestors have done that for us. They have decided on grounds both religious and political, that the Protestant religion and the Established Churches, as now existing, should be part and parcel of the Constitution, the maintenance of which were essential to the existence of the civil as well as religious liberties of all classes of the people; but believing, as he did, that they were right, seeing that the blessing and favour of God, as manifested in the greatness and prosperity of this great and glorious country, have followed their decision, he must oppose a measure which, more than any other yet proposed by any Government since the Reformation, seemed to him calculated to overthrow and subvert it.

Mr. *Gladstone* wished to offer a brief explanation with regard to a few words which had fallen from him in a speech in this debate, and which appeared to have been misapprehended. Those words referred to the important question of the payment of the Roman Catholic clergy. What he had said on that subject, he believed to have been this, that he felt that the acceptance of this measure would put out of the way and dispose of the religious objection to the further measure of the payment of the clergy. He could not conceal from himself that if he voted for that Bill in the present Session, he could not in a future Session profess, on the ground of a religious scruple, to oppose the payment of the clergy of that Church; and the same, he thought, might probably be the case with others. At the same time he stated, that it appeared to him that other great questions would arise in connexion with the subject of the payment of the Roman Catholic priesthood, and that objections other than religious would be made to it, which might or might not prove insurmountable. Although what he either said or meant was unimportant in itself, he wished to exempt the Government from the supposition that he had revealed some covert intention which they entertained. He ought to say, in justice and in common fairness to them, that he had no knowledge or recollection which led him to suppose that they entertained any intention of this sort. He had no knowledge of their intention other than that which was possessed by every Gentleman who heard him at that moment; and nothing, as he had stated, which he had either recollected or had heard, justified him in supposing that they had any view of the sort which seemed to be suspected.

Sir *G. Grey* said, that notwithstanding the length to which the debate had been protracted, and notwithstanding the number of Gentlemen who naturally, from the excited state of the public mind, were anxious to address the House upon this question, he was desirous of being allowed an opportunity, before the debate was brought to a close, of stating as briefly as might be the grounds of the vote which it was his intention to give on this occasion. And he was the more desirous of doing so, because that vote would, in common he believed with those of many other hon. Gentlemen, be in opposition to the conscientious opposition and the strong remonstrances of the friends and supporters whose confidence he had enjoyed on public grounds, the loss of whose confidence, from the support of this measure, he should much regret; but from whom, consulting his own conscience, and having regard to his own consistency in considering a measure of so much importance to the good government of Ireland, the general welfare of these dominions, and the security of the British Crown, he was compelled to differ. But before he proceeded to the question itself, he could not forbear saying, with respect to the speech the House had just heard, that he deeply regretted the tone and spirit with which the hon. Gentleman had spoken of the Roman Catholic clergy. He believed the hon. Gentleman's speech was the first which presented a marked contrast to the abstinence during that debate from every topic which could create angry feeling or asperity; and he sincerely hoped that his example, in raking up from past records subjects which tended to exasperate and give pain, would not be imitated by those who might follow him. He had spoken of his consistency as influencing the vote which he was about to give on this question; but he did not say that in reference to the votes he had given on previous occasions in favour of the smaller grant of 9,000*l.* annually voted for Maynooth. If he thought there was nothing in the measure presented to the House by Her Majesty's Government beyond the mere increase of the grant from 9,000*l.* to 26,000*l.*, he should feel then that no question of principle could by possibility be raised on the second reading of the Bill which could justify him in refusing to vote for it. The question would then have been one entirely of degree; and the principle of the second reading he should have considered as a matter of course, and should have thought it had been settled by former votes. His votes on former occasions showed that he did not participate in the opinion which was entertained, he believed, by a very small minority in that House, that we were precluded by our duty to God, and in obedience to Divine will, from contributing to the support of a religion whose tenets we might consider to be erroneous. But he freely admitted to the opponents of this proposition, that there was more in it than the increase of the grant from 9,000*l.* to 26,000*l.* He agreed with his noble Friend the Member for Dorsetshire, who spoke last night, that it involved a distinct principle—ay, and a very important principle, too—the principle, namely, of the recognition of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland; the Church to which the great body of the inhabitants of that country were warmly attached, and in whose communion they lived; that it was a recognition of that fact, and of more than that fact, namely, that in matters of this kind it was unjust, impolitic, and unwise to disregard the opinions of the great majority of the people, and exclusively to maintain in a Catholic country a Protestant Church. In former debates which had taken place in that House on Irish ecclesiastical affairs, he had avowed the opinion—and from the repetition of that avowal he did not now shrink—that the exclusive maintenance of a Protestant Church in a Catholic country, which had been tried and acted upon for three centuries in Ireland, was opposed to sound principles of justice, and to the obvious dictates of policy. He had pointed out that it was at variance with the practice and the example of every country in Europe, and that Ireland was the only country where the experiment had been tried, and he was perfectly willing that its wisdom should be judged by its results. He should say the same of an attempt to maintain an exclusive Catholic Church in a Protestant country, or an Episcopalian Church in a Presbyterian country; and on this point he must say that he felt some shame, or at least regret, at finding Scotland raise her voice against the proposition, when he recollected how the illiberal attempt made by this country to impose Episcopacy upon Scotland had been defeated by the stern and independent spirit of our northern countrymen. He might be told, and indeed it had been already argued, that if he admitted the principle that by the religion of the great body of a people he was bound to determine the character of a Church, he might be driven by his principle to the endowment of Hindooism or heathenism. He denied that that was a legitimate inference from the principle he had laid down. That was not the only answer which he had to give to the inference attempted to be drawn from what he conceived to be a just principle. Had they acted with regard to the Roman Catholics in Ireland as they had acted with regard to the Hindoos in our Indian Empire? One province in India after another had been added to the British dominions, and it had never been thought safe, practicable, or politic, to withdraw from any religion which we found to prevail in those countries the revenues which we found connected with it at the period of our conquest. No one could be more desirous than he was himself, in common with the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of Oxford (Sir R. H. Inglis), that the Government of this country should be disconnected with the idolatrous rites which were prevalent in India. At this moment, however, in India, they were appropriating to the maintenance of heathen worship, and to the promotion of rites at which the common sense and feeling of civilized men might, in some instances, revolt, the revenues which, at the period when the provinces successively fell under the jurisdiction of the British Crown, they had found appropriated to them. He would ask them, what was the case in Ireland? How had they acted towards the religious practices in that country? How had they dealt with its ecclesiastical resources? At the time of the Reformation in this country—a reformation which was in every sense complete, and which, there was every appearance to believe would be permanent—they had found large and extensive revenues in the possession of the Irish Roman Catholic clergy. What was the course which, under these circumstances, had been pursued? By an act of arbitrary, and, he would call it, of unjustifiable force, they had deprived the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland of the revenues which they had then found in their possession, and transferred them to another faith—a faith in many particulars, perhaps not unessential, differing from that professed by the men whom they had despoiled; and, by a strange misnomer, called that iniquitous proceeding in Ireland, where the people still remained attached to their ancient faith—they called that the Protestant Reformation in Ireland; and, by an equally strange misnomer, and by a gross contradiction in terms, called the clergy of the reformed faith, to whom had been transferred the ecclesiastical revenues of the country, the Church of Ireland! He hailed the present measure proposed by Her Majesty's Government on account of the principle which it involved. He regarded it as virtually the first great legislative measure which broke in upon the exclusive principle which had been too long pursued in the ecclesiastical government of Ireland. On this subject he had before expressed his opinions, and the opinions formerly expressed he still entertained; and could not, therefore, hesitate for a moment to give his cordial assent to the second reading of this Bill. He cared not what might be the present intentions of the Government—he cared not what might be the answer of the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Peel) with regard to his immediate intentions—he looked only at the Bill before them as it was in itself; he looked only at the obvious principles involved in it. He saw in that measure a most important step taken on the part of the Government—a step which the Irish people looked upon as an earnest that their Church, so dear to their hearts from all the associations which hallowed it, was no longer to be persecuted—was no longer to be stamped with the mark and superscription of degradation and of inferiority; but that their religious feelings were henceforth to be consulted by those administering the government of these kingdoms, however deeply they and he might deplore, as Protestants, the errors in which they believed their Irish Roman Catholic fellow-subjects to be involved—however much they and he might desire that the Irish Roman Catholics should become united with them in one common faith. He would be the last to disregard the blessings which this country had derived from a truly Protestant Reformation. He agreed in many respects, nay more, he sympathized to a great extent, with the petitioners who had approached the House on this subject. He sympathized in the zeal which they had, one and all, displayed for the Reformation which they prized, but could not prize more than he did; and he cordially and sincerely joined his wishes to theirs, that nothing should transpire to the injury of that reformed faith which had brought in its train not only political liberty, but intellectual enfranchisement. He must say, however, to them and to the House, that he believed that the way in which to advance the principle of the Reformation, was not by pursuing a system of unworthy and illiberal exclusion—was not by attempting in vain to coerce a whole people into a communion which we might here believe to be the most scriptural in its tenets and practices, and most in accordance, in every way, with the will of God — but by respecting the religious feelings of our fellow-countrymen, while we held fast to our own. He was certain that the petitioners to whom he referred could not, however, dispute with him the principles which he held on this subject. There was one class of petitions to which he must here allude. Many petitions had been presented to the House, signed by parties who did not undertake to say that the Roman Catholics should be excluded from all endowments, but who founded their opposition to this measure on the general principle that all State endowments were objectionable; and if all State endowments were objectionable and repugnant to the Word of God, they were prepared to refuse to the Roman Catholics what they were not ready to concede to any other sect or denomination of religion. He might say, with regard to these petitions, that the petitioners would have reason on their side if, within any reasonable time, they had any good grounds for hope that they should be able to carry out their principle of withdrawing all State provisions from all systems of religion; but when they reflected that from the earliest ages, from the period at which the Christian religion had been introduced into this country, and from the remotest periods of the Christian history of Europe, State endowments had been the universal practice and custom; when they saw that State endowments had thus taken root in, and had become gradually interwoven with, the constitution in every country throughout Europe, it was truly chimerical to hope for the speedy carrying out of their favourite principle; and if so, it was unfair, impolitic, and unjust, to invoke that principle now in aid of intolerance—in aid of those who, influenced by a narrowness of views which he could not comprehend, and an illiberality which he felt compelled to despise, would, on Protestant grounds alone, withhold the benefit of a State Endowment from the Roman Catholics only. If, indeed, there was any hope of carrying out their principle, then it might be fair now to invoke it; but thinking, as he did, that it was purely chimerical to indulge at present in any such expectations, he regretted much to hear the hon. Member for Durham (Mr. Bright) resting his opposition to the measure on this abstract principle, and stating, at the same time, his conviction that the measure itself was one of a salutary tendency, calculated to revive the confidence of an outraged people, and to win back to us the affections of the Catholics of Ireland. Having stated the grounds on which he agreed with the principle involved in the Bill, he would only say that he was not prepared now to maintain, nor did he think it necessary at present to maintain it for his present purposes—that the mode in which the Bill proposed to carry out that principle was the best which could have been prescribed. It was objected to by some—who were not averse to a State provision for the education of the Roman Catholic clergy—that it was proposed to educate them in an exclusive manner. But did they not know—were they not told on the floor of that House, by those well acquainted with the fact—that the Roman Catholic clergy were always educated at exclusive colleges, and, in his estimation, that for the present purpose settled the question. It was unnecessary for him to enforce the maxim in that House, that they must deal with men as they found them, and not as in our opinion they ought to be. It might be said, if we could mould men's minds, and influence their opinions as we pleased, that it would be much better at once to make some State provision for the clergy who ministered to the spiritual wants of the people, than merely to provide for their education, leaving them afterwards without that provision—a provision which it might be desirable to see established. The course which the Government had on this occasion chosen to pursue, it was open for him to say was not the only practicable course. He would not, however, accuse them of having voluntarily overlooked or disregarded those better courses of policy which lay open before them. There might be great difficulties in their way at the present moment. It was not for him to say that such was not the case. He had nothing in common with those who dreaded the effects which might accrue to Protestantism from the improved system of education—from the more enlarged and liberal instruction, which it was now proposed to confer upon the Catholic clergy of Ireland. As a Protestant, he would blush if he thought that Protestantism required that the truth, which it professed to hold, and which it believed to be the truth, required to be placed upon vantage-ground —required to be artificially sustained, in order to wage a successful conflict with that which he believed to be error. He could not believe that Protestantism, founded as it was on truth, and, as he believed it to be, upon that volume from which all Christian sects professed to take their source, could sustain any injury from the meed of justice which they now tardily proposed to dole out to the Irish Catholics. He could not believe that the seminary in Dublin, in which the Protestant youth were instructed, would relax its efforts because the other seminary was put in a state of greater efficiency—would send forth less able men, men less devoted to their cause, and less able to preach the truth with energy, perseverance, and power, than those educated priests who would be sent forth from the classes at Maynooth. The truth had nothing to fear from the spread of general intelligence. He could not forget, looking back upon the history of the past, that the Reformation itself was ushered in by the general diffusion of letters, by the general spread of useful information. He had now stated briefly the chief reasons which induced him to give an unhesitating support to the Bill. But there were other reasons of a more general and comprehensive character, which, if not equally clear as regarded the merits of the Bill proposed, should still make him greatly hesitate before he concurred in its rejection. He could not forget that since the period when he first had the honour of a seat in Parliament, there was no subject on which party debates had been fiercer or more acrimonious than the subject involving the policy of the successively existing Governments in regard to the government of Ireland; nor could he overlook the serious and lamentable consequences which had attended these party ebullitions, or the tone of the language in which they had been carried on. He now, for the first time within his Parliamentary recollection, found the leading men of both the great parties which divided between them the hopes and the fears of this country, instead of being arrayed against each other in a state of uniform and unvarying hostility, concurring cordially with each other, and being of one mind as to the policy which should be pursued, he had almost said as to the only policy which it was now competent for a statesman to pursue, with regard to the government of Ireland. In all this he saw the dawn of a brighter day—the beginning of a more auspicious course for the sister country. He would, on this account, hesitate long before he agreed with those who opposed this Bill, however much he might differ with others as to the details of the measure. He would hesitate long, with such cheering anticipations before them, before he joined with them in their unfortunate opposition; and before he took with them any steps which might tend to overcloud that bright and auspicious day which, he believed, was about to break upon Ireland; and before he would mar the prospect which was opening upon them, of the speedy establishment of a sounder policy. They might be told that even if they concurred in the principle of the Bill, they on that side of the House might oppose it, on the ground of the inconsistency of those who now brought it forward. They had been told already that because they (the Government) had now adopted a policy contrary to the policy which they had for so long a time pursued—that the Opposition should at once mark their sense of the inconsistency of the right hon. Gentleman opposite by rejecting this measure, without reference to its merits. Such a course would well accord with the illiberality and selfishness which dictated the recommendation. They (the Opposition) could not stoop to such a course. They proposed to themselves, with reference to Ireland, but one object—its conciliation and tranquillity—and would consider it their bounden duty to support any measure which proposed to secure it, without reference to those from whom it emanated; without reference to their present policy, or their past conduct and inconsistencies. In the speech delivered the other night by the hon. Member for Shrewsbury (Mr. Disraeli), there was much in which he could cordially concur. He agreed with that hon. Member entirely in all that he had said with regard to party and Parliamentary government. He quite agreed with him that a Government should act upon a settled and definite principle. It should be by a clear and distinctive principle that the conduct of a Government should be influenced, on which their measures should be based, and by which their policy should be regulated. It was certainly not desirable that a Government should exist in this country, with regard to the measures of which the most varied speculations should be from day to day afloat, without the slightest knowledge on the part of the speculators of any clear and distinct principle which might serve as a proper index to the nature of their measures. He also agreed with the hon. Gentleman in what he said about a constitutional Opposition, and of its paramount value in Parliamentary government. But he felt that there were other duties which it became such an Opposition to perform, than those of displacing, when it was in their power to do so, and by whatever means were within their grasp, the Government to which they were opposed. He felt that if they were to adopt the advice of the hon. Member for Shrewsbury, if they were to respond to his appeal, and unite with the hon. Baronet the Member for Oxford, as they might do, in deference to what might be regarded as the popular feeling on this subject, and all this for the purpose of placing the Government in a minority—if they answered his appeal in that respect, they would run counter to their own convictions of what was demanded at their hands in behalf of Ireland, and would disappoint the expectations expressed by his noble Friend near him (Lord John Russell), who would indeed disdain to climb to power by taking advantage of such a juncture as the present for the purpose of driving the right hon. Gentlemen opposite from the benches which they occupied. He could neither overlook nor forget the effects of the feeling which had been excited in Ireland by the tone of the debates which had, in times past, taken place within these walls; and, by the unhappy results of the party contests which had been waged upon that floor. He could not forget the feeling which was entertained in Ireland, and which was so deeply seated in the minds of its sensitive people, with regard to the Irish Corporation Act, and with regard to the Conservative opposition which was then so strenuously offered to that Act. He well remembered the fierce struggles which, year after year, had taken place in reference to that subject. He well remembered how, with a very few honourable exceptions, the combined force of that party which then followed the right hon. Gentleman, now First Lord of the Treasury, as its avowed champion and leader, was but too successfully directed to the delaying of that measure, in order that they might carry out their policy of ultimately defeating it. Nor could he readily forget how, when their hopes in this respect were happily disappointed, they had succeeded in paring it down to the smallest compass, and reducing it within the very narrowest limits; and how they had afterwards accorded it to Ireland, not in a generous spirit, and as a boon to which the Irish people were entitled—not in the spirit in which he was happy to believe the present measure was tendered to them. He could neither forget that measure, to which hon. Gentlemen opposite could not be surprised if frequent reference were made in that House—he meant the Irish Registration Act. He could not forget the spirit in which that Bill had been proposed to the House by Gentlemen not only connected with the Conservative party, but by some of those who were now in the Government — he could not forget the spirit which was then manifested, and the arguments which were then pressed upon the House, nor could he forget that that measure was carried a stage by the cheers and votes of the hon. Gentlemen opposite. He now heard from the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for Ireland sentiments which every one must be persuaded were in accordance with his well-known kindliness of disposition; he was rejoiced to hear from that right hon. Gentleman that the only principles on which Ireland should be governed were the principles of justice and conciliation. He was delighted at so frank an announcement coming from such a quarter. It was also to him a source of unmixed satisfaction that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newark had stated, in a still more marked and emphatic manner, that it was unjust and erroneous to assert that conciliation was futile in winning the affections of men. That right hon. Gentleman recommended that the measures which should be adopted should be measures of conciliation, such as would put a stop to the alienation of the Irish people, and were eminently calculated to win the alienated affections of that country. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department had not yet spoken in this debate; but he was sure that the right hon. Gentleman was anxious, before the debate closed, to show his cordial concurrence in the new spirit which had lately come over his Colleagues. The right hon. Gentleman would not stand in the way of the adoption of the liberal policy towards Ireland, which they (his Colleagues) were now prepared to carry out; and he was sure that the right hon. Gentleman would take the opportunity now presented to him of retracting the unfortunate and ominous expression which had formerly fallen from his lips, and which had sunk so deeply into the feelings of the Irish people, "that concession had reached its utmost limits." When he looked at the new spirit which had come over the minds of the Gentlemen opposite, and when he considered the generous and confiding spirit in which the measure tendered had been accepted by the Roman Catholic Members of that House representing, as he believed them to represent, the feelings and sentiments of their Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen, and the true spirit of generous forgetfulness which they had manifested in regard to much that was past, he could not help thinking that a better day had at length dawned upon distracted Ireland. Nor could he but believe that the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury, however much the party opposed to him, and however much the party generally supporting him might be broken down into minute divisions, still possessed the power, if not of moulding the opinions of his fellow Members of Parliament, at least of controlling the votes of the House, and securing the support to any measure which he might see fit to introduce, of a large section of those who followed him. He could not feel himself exercising the high trust reposed in him did he concur in rejecting the measure, and by so doing in risking the perpetuation of a system of government towards Ireland which was unjust to that country, and eminently dangerous to the security and best interests of the Empire.

Colonel *Sibthorp* hoped he should receive the kind indulgence of the House in trespassing for a very short time on their attention. He felt some difficulty in presenting himself at that moment, as he was in some measure disarmed of those weapons which he hoped to have wielded effectually. If the Motion of the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. Colquhoun) should not be carried, and the proposition should take its place for giving the old grant to Maynooth, he would now, as he had done during eighteen years already, give it his most decided, his most determined and most unchangeable opposition. He was reared in Protestant principles, and had never treated any subject relating to the Church with which he was connected, or to any other Church, with that levity in which other hon. Gentlemen saw proper to indulge. It was not a part of the religion in which he had been brought up, to disregard the plainest decencies and proprieties. There was an hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr Sergeant Murphy) whose powers of mind were great, whose talents and eloquence were also great, but at whom he (Colonel Sibthorp) felt astonished—nay, more, felt disgusted—when he saw the hon. and learned Gentleman step forth, and, in the early part of his speech, on matters totally foreign to the subject then before the House, introduce a book which he (Colonel Sibthorp) had never read, and more, which he never intended to read. He was astonished and disgusted when he heard the hon. and learned Gentleman introduce his quotations—and they were, no doubt, introduced to please and tickle the fancies of those who could be so tickled—and when he heard him utter his jokes in that House, which were more suitable to other places where he was wont to go, and where he had the reputation of generally setting the table in a roar. His powers of humour were, no doubt, great —he sometimes elicited laughter from the bench, and changed the gravity of the judges into something like levity, for judges have their weaknesses like other men. It would, however, have been more befitting in him to have read his quotations where he understood the learned Member was very entertaining and very agreeable—at the Beefsteak Club; or where, as he was told, he sometimes visited those societies got up for temperance, but from which, as he understood, he sometimes returned a true specimen of what he (Colonel Sibthorp) had often thought these societies to be. His jokes and quotations would have been more in place there than within the walls of that House. He might there, too, find fitter subjects on which to crack his jokes than on a matter touching the religion for which the learned Member professed to entertain—as did he for the religion which he professed—the greatest respect. Such quotations were unbecoming so grave a subject, and should not have been uttered in earnest on such a subject. Being a man eminent in his profession, he should not make of himself a merry-andrew. Never would he, on occasions when duty, reverence, and respect—duty to his Sovereign, reverence to his God, and respect for himself—all called on him to do otherwise—act such a part as had been acted by the hon. and Learned Gentleman. The hon. and learned Gentleman thought proper, in quoting from that book, to touch first upon the person of the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury. The hon. Gentleman had then fallen on him; but he would not quarrel with the hon. Gentleman for that. He trusted that he could stand up within the walls of that House, and he trusted elsewhere also, regardless of whatever quotations that hon. and learned Gentleman might make, or of the remarks which he might choose to make. He might, from such exhibitions, be led to suppose, nay more, he felt sure, that the hon. and learned Gentleman would be the most proper person in that House, if he had it not already in contemplation, to edit a new edition of that book which, as a boy, he had read in school—he meant *Joe Miller*. He expressed his deep regret that a Protestant Minister of the Crown, the confidential adviser of a Protestant Sovereign, should have dared to bring forward such a measure as that now before the House, so repugnant to what he should say was the duty of that right hon. Gentleman, professing the Protestant faith, and at the head of a Protestant Government. He had no hesitation in saying that he regarded the measure as a very pernicious one. If anything were wanted to confirm him in that opinion, it was the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer—and he and the other right hon. Gentlemen were *par nobile fratrum*—when he stood up and said that he must give his cordial support to such a measure as this, and treated the numerous petitions which had been presented to the House in a manner in which they should not have been treated by any Minister of the Crown. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to think that these petitions demanded the annihilation of the Catholic institution which they were now proposing permanently to endow. No petitions which he had presented indicated any such wish. Numerous petitions, however, had been presented directly against this measure. This was one step, not only towards the establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland, but also towards the demolition of the Protestant Church in that country. It was a measure replete with future difficulties. They were told frankly by the right hon. Member for Dungarvon (Mr. Sheil) that the measure now proposed would not give satisfaction to the Irish people. He entertained the same opinion; and he had not a doubt but that the First Lord of the Treasury was only making this attempt in order to effect at a future period a yet greater change. Such, he was sure, was the design of the right hon. Gentleman. If he had not seen the right hon. Gentleman take the oath at the Table, he would have doubted whether he were a Protestant, a Roman Catholic, or a Mahometan: nor should he be surprised if the time should yet come when they saw him sitting cross-legged as a Mahometan, or embracing the Pope. He must say that he had lost all confidence in that man Sir R. Peel. He well knew the disgust which the country entertained for his hasty and inconsiderate legislation. He was sorry that hon. Gentlemen on both sides of the House were so much taken in by these measures. Many of these he saw buzzing about and shaking their wings, stretching eagerly out for the honey of place, and almost fancying it already within their grasp. He would repeat it, that he was utterly disgusted with the line of policy which the Ministry had chosen to pursue; however much the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary might smile, and pretend to take the announcement with all the complacency which his countenance seemed so well fitted to evince. It had been his intention to introduce many quotations bearing upon the opinions that he still entertained—that he had long entertained, and that he would continue to entertain, and from which no circumstances could ever change him. With these quotations he should not now trouble them. He would content himself with saying that nothing could shake his opposition to the measure. Seeing the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Sergeant Murphy) still sitting opposite to him, he would tell him that he entertained no malignant feeling towards him. That hon. and learned Gentleman had said that what he had said with respect to him (Colonel Sibthorp) he hoped would be taken in good humour. Probably the hon. and learned Gentleman would also take in good part what he had said with respect to the hon. and learned Gentleman. He did hope that the hon. and learned Gentleman would recollect that, whenever he entered that House, there were men there who felt it to be one of their dearest privileges to maintain their Protestantism. This, Sir, is no time to indulge in ribaldry—which the hon. and learned Gentleman has done. This is not the time, Sir, for any such thing, when the people of England are looking to the House of Commons to defend their rights, to defend their liberties, and to defend their faith. This, Sir, is not a time to turn into ridicule their petitions and their feelings; and I tell the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Peel) I will never support him. I'll never support any man who acts contrary to the duty that he owes to his Sovereign, to the people, and, last of all, and greatest of all, to his God. I never will support any man who does this; and though the hon. and learned Gentleman told me that I would sooner sacrifice my principles than I would be shaved,—I tell that hon. and learned Gentleman that I had rather not only be shaved, but have my head shaved off, than forget I am a Protestant; born a Protestant, bred a Protestant, educated a Protestant—and God grant that I may die with similar feelings, and in that faith!

Mr. *Blackstone* said it was with considerable pain that he rose to address the House on this question, because he felt that it had become his duty to differ from those with whom he had usually acted, and from some of his dearest friends and most intimate associates. He could assure the House that he was not prompted by any personal feelings or considerations, and that the course he was about to take was a straightforward and an honest one. He made no complaint against Her Majesty's Ministers for having taken the country by surprise; for it was well known that the Speech of Her Majesty on the first day of the Session announced that there was an intention to alter the existing academical institutions of Ireland; and the speech of the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel) had opened the eyes of the public to the fact that this grant must come under consideration. Possibly, however, the Government might have been taken by surprise when they witnessed the strong Protestant spirit that was exhibited in the country. He confessed that he himself was astonished, for he had thought that that Protestant feeling was almost extinct. He had heard with great pain the sentiment uttered by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Edinburgh, who, in the course of his speech, stated that no human ingenuity could twist any principle out of the opposition to the measure now under discussion; which opinion was echoed by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary at War (Mr. S. Herbert), and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newark (Mr. Gladstone). But he thought the people of England must be a most perverse and benighted people, if they could be united in this way, and not upon a principle. Now he thought there was a principle involved; and it was that declared by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Coventry (Mr. Ellice), who stated that Parliament was about to embark in a new course, whilst the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Devonport (Sir G. Grey) said that we were now going for the first time to recognise the Roman Catholic religion. Well, was not that a principle? Before this debate closed, the Government would be obliged to admit that there was a principle, and that that principle was not consonant with the views of a majority of the people. One expression which was used the other night by a noble Lord on his side of the House (Lord Sandon), and which had been re-echoed on the Opposition benches, would not easily be forgotten—he alluded to the word "restitution." Now he asked the statesmen who sat in this House if that word "restitution" did not comprehend some new principle that was embodied in the measure before the House? The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary at War stated that the opposition had emanated chiefly from the Dissenters. The sentiment, he was sorry to state, had been repeated by his noble Friend the Member for Newark (Lord J. Manners), in language that he did not consider becoming in the present day. Our Dissenting brethren were men of great influence, of energetic spirit, and warmly devoted to their religious duties. He was glad to find that the Protestant Dissenters of the country could meet and co-operate with that Church from which they had been so long estranged. He was glad to find that one common bond of union subsisted between them; and that that bond was the faith which was founded upon a truly scriptural education. That union, unharmonious though it might be, would prevent the revival of measures similar to those of James II. They had been told they were bound to support a grant like this, which had been acceded to for so long a time. He denied that such was the case. Session after Session, when opposition had been offered to that grant, they had been asked to agree to it on the ground that the money they were called on to vote was to cover expenses that had been incurred the year before, and on that ground he had given it his support, though of late he had refused to accede to it. With respect to the Amendment of the hon. Member for Sheffield, he could not support it, as he did not understand the plunder of one Church to pay for another; nor could he understand their having two State Churches. He should oppose the measure.

Mr. *E. R. Rice* said, many of his constituents having expressed their opinions strongly in opposition to this measure, he was anxious to state in a few words the reasons which prevented his acting in accordance with those opinions. He could understand the course adopted by those hon. Members who had always opposed this grant in refusing now to consent to its augmentation; but as to those who had either supported it in former years, or—which he considered the same thing—had suffered it to pass the House without adding their names to the small minorities by which it was opposed, he confessed he was at a loss to understand on what principle they now, for the first time, opposed it, when it was proposed to make it efficient for the purposes for which it was originally intended. But there was another class of opponents whose objections were founded on conscientious religious scruples. He would not now repeat the arguments that had been so frequently urged in this debate to show that no new principle was involved in this measure; but he fully concurred in the opinion expressed on this point by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary at War. Neither would he argue the question of compact; it was sufficient for him, on this point, that for upwards of fifty years Ministers and statesmen of all parties had not only not opposed, but had recommended the renewal of this grant, on the grounds of an equitable claim to it being established. He would not yield in attachment to the Protestant Church to those who opposed this question on religious grounds; but while he respected the opinions which they conscientiously held, he could not at the same time entirely disregard the feelings and opinions of so large a body of his fellow-subjects and fellow-Christians as the Roman Catholics of Ireland. It was feared that the effect of this measure would be to increase the Roman Catholic religion, and discountenance the extension of Protestantism in Ireland: he totally denied that it would have any such tendency. In the first place, he would ask whom it was proposed to educate? Were they not young men, members of the Roman Catholic Church, so attached to its doctrines, that they were disposed to devote their lives to its ministry; and whose parents, influenced by the same feelings, were anxious to see their sons among the number of its priests? Would this be making converts to Popery? Would it not be rather the means of rendering the character of the priesthood less bigoted, as they became more enlightened? And would not these advantages be extended to the millions that would look to them for guidance and instruction? Then, as to the Protestant Church in Ireland, he believed nothing could be more injurious to its best interests than the course adopted by the noble Lord the Member for Bandon and other hon. Members, who maintained that so small a boon to the Roman Catholics was a grievance to the Protestant Church. He believed nothing could tend more to increase the feeling of hostility of the great body of the Irish population than to find, that when anything was proposed in their favour, it was opposed on the ground that it would be injurious to the Established Church. The hostile feelings thus produced were, he believed, the greatest obstacles to the extension of Protestantism in Ireland. He differed from the noble Lord the Member for Dorchester, who had said that Members on his side of the House, who opposed the grant, approached the consideration of the subject under circumstances of greater difficulty than those on this side of the House who supported it; who did so under a painful sense of duty, in opposition to the expressed opinion of many of their constituents. For his own part, he believed that this measure was an act of justice and sound policy towards Ireland, which, by diminishing the feeling of hostility between the two creeds, would afford a fair field for the extension of religious truth in that country. Trusting, also, that when time was given for calmer consideration under less excited feeling, many of its opponents would arrive at the same conclusion, he should, by giving his vote in favour of the second reading of the Bill, take that course which his conscience and his judgment alike told him was the right one.

Mr. *Plumptre* said the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down had stated his determination to vote contrary to the opinions of his constituents on this subject. He (Mr. Plumptre) was sure the hon. Gentleman's determination would give much dissatisfaction to his constituents, and he was sorry any thing should happen to weaken the confidence which they were disposed to place in the hon. Gentleman. He (Mr. Plumptre) had come to the consideration of this subject with much pain and anxiety. He was in the habit of hearing many remarks directed against himself, under the title of the Member for Kent, which certainly were not of the pleasantest description, and which, perhaps, might be intended to act as "a heavy blow and a great discouragement" to him in the humble yet hearty defence he endeavoured to make of Protestant principles. Though those remarks might be unpleasant, they had not yet had the effect of crushing the feeling or diminishing the desire which he still entertained, and should entertain, deeply, yet honestly, to maintain the course which he had ever maintained in that House. The hon. Member for Lambeth the other night had said that, judging from the number of petitions sent to that House on the subject, the movement out of doors must lead to the conclusion that the question was looked on as one of vital importance. That was the view the people of this country took upon the subject. They considered it a subject of vital importance —and why? Because their dearest feelings—their feelings on religion—were bound up with the consideration of the subject. His hon. Friend the Secretary for Ireland, speaking of this subject, had said that he proposed to set aside the religious considerations of the subject; and the hon. Member for Montrose had said that religion had nothing to do with the question. Why, that very feeling of religion which those hon. Gentlemen were disposed to set aside was the very last feeling which he (Mr. Plumptre) was disposed so to treat, for he believed that the people of this country would not lay aside any feeling of that description on the question. It was a matter of no moment to him, comparatively speaking, whether he was called on to vote a certain sum of money or not towards a certain college in Ireland. But when he viewed this subject as one with which the religion of this country was intimately connected, he was not astonished at the movement out of doors, and he thought that such a view of it justified that movement. A great number of the petitions laid on the Table against this measure had no doubt emanated from persons who were opposed to any Church endowment; but many had also been presented from persons who supported the connexion of Church and State. They had had but a few days ago a large meeting in the city of London, over which the chief magistrate of this great city presided, surrounded by our principal merchants and bankers, and the heads of our various religious denominations. And what were the resolutions adopted on that occasion? Was religion excluded—or did it not in fact take the chief place in those resolutions? Again, they also had a large meeting in one of our public theatres, which had exhibited the strong feeling of the people on this question. And what, he asked them, was the leading feature in that large assembly? Was any party feeling displayed, or was any question of politics the predominant question? No; the religious aspect of the question was that which seemed mainly to influence that large assembly. If they regarded the tone of the numerous petitions sent to that House, they would find that, generally speaking, they were all of a religious character. He would take the liberty of referring to one or two of those petitions which the Committee to whom this department was intrusted had thought fit to have printed *in extenso*, and which had, consequently, become Parliamentary papers. Of these he would beg leave to read to the House the following, which was from members of the Free Church in Scotland. The petitioners said,—

"That whereas Great Britain is, by its constitution essentially and pre-eminently a Protestant country, is bound by many public deeds to recognise the supreme authority of the Word of God, the pure doctrines of the Reformation from Popery embodied in the standards of the Established Churches, and to repudiate the whole system of Romanism as full of deadly error, and directly inimical to the interests of civil and religious liberty; and whereas the rapid progress Popery has made of late years in almost every region of the globe, the degree of countenance and encouragement it has received, and is now receiving, from the Government and Legislature of this country, have excited the liveliest apprehensions of the Christian community; and whereas the proposed endowment of the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth will, if carried into effect, involve this nation in the guilt of supporting a false religion, and prove in its issue as disastrous in policy as it is indefensible in principle; therefore your petitioners hope your honourable House will take the premises into your serious consideration, and refuse the proposed measure of endowment of the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth, or any other measure tending to recognise or perpetuate the principles of Romanism."

He could read many other extracts from similar petitions, which had been printed by order of the Committees, varying in terms, but all breathing the same spirit, and testifying, beyond all controversy, that the petitioners regarded this as a religious, and not as a political movement. The hon. Member for Newark (Mr. Gladstone), the other night, in talking of the Reformation, used the phrase "that indefinite idea called Protestantism." If he were to admit that it was difficult to define what Protestantism was, he might be supposed to conform to that expression, but he maintained that at the present time Protestantism was not an indefinite but a well-defined idea, and a living, active, and potent agency. Mixed up, as he had been, with this question, and called on, as he so frequently was, not only to present petitions respecting it, but to support their prayer, he had felt it his duty to state thus much, that this question was viewed by the vast majority of the people of this country as a religious, and only as a religious question. But, to pass for a moment to another consideration, he could not understand why, if the Government were determined to carry this measure to endow the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth, and thus lay the foundation for ulterior proceedings with regard to the Roman Catholic clergy—proceedings which he did not understand had been formally disclaimed by any Member of the Government who had addressed the House since the idea was propounded—if, in a word, the Government had determined to endow the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland, he could not understand why a different course was to be pursued there than in any other country. It was notorious, and no one would venture to deny it, that, wherever elsewhere that religion was endowed, whether in countries Roman Catholic or not, control was invariably exercised by the civil power over the Roman Catholic religion. It was notorious that this was the case in Prussia and Russia, and in the Roman Catholic countries of France, Spain, and Austria. It seemed to him, therefore, that we should stand stultified in the eyes of the world if we undertook to endow the Roman Catholic religion, and yet retained no control over it. He hoped that on this subject he might allude to a work which, although anonymous, he had seen in the hands of many Members, and which contained many statements of great importance on this subject. It was entitled *Maynooth, the Crown, and the Country*, and contained on this subject the following passages:—

"We do not deny that the Governments of France, Austria, and Spain, and those likewise of Russia and of Prussia, afford support to ecclesiastical institutions of the Roman Catholic religion. Indeed we might observe, it has not yet been shown what benefits they derive, in their civil character, from the encouragement of Romanism as such. We have heard, for instance, something recently of collisions at Cologne between the temporal and spiritual power, and we have seen in the last year that the same ecclesiastic, who resisted his Sovereign on the banks of the Rhine, was soon after received by the Pope with marked honour and public commendation on those of the Tiber. But we do not pause to inquire further into cases of this description, but proceed to ask why, if Russia and Prussia, two of the States enumerated, are satisfied that the system of ecclesiastical polity which we have established, and are still maintaining in unrestrained liberty and in uncontrolled energy at Maynooth, is inoffensive and innoxious to the public weal, have they taken such pains to exclude it? But are not, then, Roman Catholic priests and bishops educated and maintained in Russia and Prussia at the public charge? Doubtless they are; but let us observe under what restrictions they enter upon and exercise their functions. They are bound hand and foot by civil laws; they cannot undertake their office without the approval of the Government, and are generally nominated by the Crown; and when appointed to their ecclesiastical functions, they cannot hold any commerce with Rome except through the medium of the civil Government. These things are all in evidence before Parliament, and it is since the foundation of Maynooth that they have been made public; and whatever may have been the case with our predecessors, we at least cannot be excused if we are ignorant of them."

The writer then went on to show the usage of those countries "who loved Rome more and knew her better"—of Spain, Austria, France, and other Catholic countries; and that in all respects "the measures taken by these Governments against the exercise of the Papal power in their dominion were distinguished by as much caution and vigour as they were even in Prussia and Russia." Now, he could not conceive why, if they were to be endowed, the State should not exercise similar control over this College and the Roman Catholic clergy. The hon. Member for Dublin had referred to the bull *Cœnæ Domini*, with respect to which Dr. Doyle had alleged, before the Committee of the House of Lords, April 25, 1825, that it was not in force. Dr. Doyle was asked, on that occasion—

"Is the bull *Cœnæ Domini* now in force?" He replied, "The bull as a bull is not in force, nor ever was in force, in Ireland, and has been rejected from nearly all the Italian countries of Europe. If that were in force there is scarcely anything could be at rest amongst the Catholic States of Europe; but they have been as solemn and earnest in protesting against it as we have been in any period in England or Ireland." "We have never received it, and surely never will."

Now this very bull *Cœnæ Domini* had since been published; and in 1831 or 1832 was set up among other bulls, canons, and decretals, for the regulation of the Roman Catholics in Ireland. This might, by some, be deemed a matter of no consequence. He hoped, however, that at least Her Majesty's Government would satisfy themselves on this subject; but if it were a matter of consequence, and any evil should arise from this unrestricted endowment, warned as Her Majesty's Ministers had been, and he knew they had been warned from more than one quarter, the responsibility must rest on those who, being made acquainted with these things, had yet disregarded them. The noble Lord the Member for Newark (Lord J. Manners) said last night, that he, for one, did not consider the religion of the Church of Rome as that of Antichrist. Nothing could be further from his (Mr. Plumptre's) wish than to give pain to any individual; and if he did so on this occasion, he hoped it would be considered that he only did so in the discharge of a paramount duty. But he was sorry he could not agree with the noble Lord in that sentiment. He did not mean to say that the religion of Rome was exclusively that of Antichrist; but he believed that it was so completely and prominently. And, entertaining this opinion, he entertained this further opinion grounded upon it, that it was a fearful and national sin to endow, as they now proposed to endow, such a religion. The noble Lord appeared to have learned some of the sentiments as well as the poetry of some master of that school of which he was a member. He had called upon them to "speak gently of our sister's fall." But, though he might be deemed harsh and uncharitable, he could not respond to the noble Lord's sentiments; on the contrary, he warmly shared in the religious view which the people of this country took of this question; and it was for this reason that he so much apprehended the result, and so openly expressed his sentiments on the present occasion. The hon. Member for Canterbury (Mr. Smythe), who followed the noble Lord in a speech of no less ability, was pleased to refer to him. He supposed, because he was a public man, he was deemed a fit butt for public arrows. That hon. Member represented what he was pleased to call an archiepiscopal constituency. But he (Mr. Plumptre) did not think that on that account he was obliged to resort to the hon. Gentleman for counsel or advice as to the public course he had to follow. He had humbly, but earnestly, endeavoured to ascertain elsewhere what his duties were, knowing that as an immortal being he should have to give an account of the discharge of those duties; and, above all things, he had desired that instead of being turned aside by the dictates of an ever-shifting expediency, he might always be actuated by the principle of doing all he did to the praise and glory of God.

Mr. *Trelawny* felt bound to explain the grounds of his vote on the question before the House, because he had avowed himself to be a firm supporter (as a general rule) of the voluntary principle as the only legitimate source of ecclesiastical revenue, and an enemy to all Church Establishments, in so far as they depend upon taxing any persons for the support of religious opinions from which they conscientiously dissent. He was, too, well aware that his constituents felt very strongly on this question, and that they would very naturally expect that he should give convincing reasons for his departure from a principle to which they knew him to be strongly attached. He could assure the House that it was only after much reflection that he had made up his mind to support Her Majesty's Government, under the very special circumstances under which the increased grant had been proposed. He was well aware of the strength of the reasoning by which it may be opposed. First, it might be said that the proposed endowment was only creating a new impediment to the ultimate abolition of all establishments, and to the absorption, as State property, of all the property now held unjustly by the Church of England (after payment of existing incumbents, and the lay tithe-owner). It must be admitted that there is much force in the argument; and if the grant were larger, and if the case of Ireland had nothing peculiar in it, it would be conclusive. Secondly, it might be contended that the measure was only preliminary to the provision of regular benefices for the Catholic priesthood. Undoubtedly, much of the argument would be as good for the one purpose as for the other. What was a part of the object of the grant? To elevate the character of the religious instructors of the Irish peasantry. But what, also, would be the end sought by paying the priests? The same. It would be adopted as a mode of raising their character, by rendering them independent of their parishioners, whose prejudices they were now obliged to foster in order to secure the means of existence. To this length, however, he was not prepared to go. He was not prepared to depart further from the rigid principle, that every sect should support its own clergy and its own establishment. There was a third ground of opposition to the grant. It may be called a premium upon disaffection. It would seem to proclaim that thenceforth a sect had only to become troublesome enough to insure itself a State endowment. This argument possessed less cogency. There was a vast difference between a sect making itself troublesome with a good case, and a sect becoming troublesome, but having nothing to complain of. Ireland had been shamefully misgoverned (with one or two exceptions) for centuries. The revenues of the Catholics had been confiscated—her priesthood had been treated like felons, with a price fixed upon their heads. Very great distrust of this country still existed, and even much bitter feeling; but though the Dissenters in England were compelled to pay church rates, and had other grievances, yet at least their case, were they to claim State endowment (which is very far from their views), would stand in a very different position from that of Ireland. For his part, he could not forget entirely the special circumstances of that country; the fact that something conciliatory must be done, and that immediately; the consideration, that had an Irish Parliament still existed, there would, probably, have been a splendid provision for the education of the priesthood. Ireland would have ground for saying this country refused to look with a generous eye at her distressed condition; that the Union had placed her in a worse position than she would have had under a native Parliament, if this grant were, in deference to a principle somewhat inflexibly carried out, sternly refused. The grant, moreover, existed. Dare the Government, or any Government, abolish it? Was not the existing grant more mischievous than the proposed one—being merely enough to create a feeling of inferiority in the Irish people? Many good measures might be introduced for Ireland; but what use was there in paper reforms, which, owing to the balance of parties, could not be realized? It was a time when a Liberal Member ought to risk something for peace, to sacrifice popularity, to render government possible; and it would seem most ungracious in a person professing to be guided by measures only, not to come forward and support those who also risk much, from a belief that something must be done for Ireland, that the present measure would tend to conciliation, and that, under all circumstances, no sounder measure would be successful. The reasons of the hon. Member for Shrewsbury for opposing the grant are more candidly admitted than logically sufficient. The hon. Member complains of the right hon. Baronet's inconsistency. I think, on the contrary, he has shown great consistency, in his uniform contempt both for the hon. Member's past adulation and present abuse. The hon. Member complained of the hon. Member for Newark settling so great an account by the small change of circumstances. The complaint was a natural one for a person who has in this discussion so studiously disseminated irrelevant matter, such as, for example, mortified vanity or personal pique. For my part, Sir, I must be excused if I regard the intrinsic merits of public questions as even more significant than the position of the hon. Member; and those merits induce me, in this instance, rather to gratify the wishes of seven millions of fellow subjects, than to soothe the disappointment of a particular individual.

Lord *Courtenay* would not shrink from the responsibility of giving his support to what he considered to be a just and wise measure. It was from no insensibility to the deep and earnest opposition which the measure before the House encountered—it was from no insensibility to all the great considerations involved in the question, that he with equal sincerity had resolved upon taking an opposite course to those hon. Members who refused to assent to the proposition. He thought hon. Members had been led away by their excited feelings, and by popular clamour, so as entirely to overlook the existing state of things in Ireland. It appeared to him that on the subject before the House he had two questions to ask himself. The first was, had the measure of Her Majesty's Government a tendency to benefit that ill-used and interesting country; and, if so, on what grounds was he precluded, on principles of sound legislation, from giving his support to it? He agreed with other hon. Members who had preceded him in thinking that in the proposal for an increased grant to Maynooth no new principle was asserted. No one who had spoken on the subject had succeeded in convincing the House that any principle different from that which the House annually recognised in our Colonial dependencies had been asserted. If that principle was right in the case of the Colonies, then the principle of the grant, year by year, to Ireland, taking the circumstances of that country into consideration, was equally right. He would simply invite the attention of the House to the religious state of Ireland. Let them look at the fact that 7,000,000 of the population, comprising those classes the most sensible to religious impressions and impulses, were Roman Catholics, and that the relation in which by social circumstances they were placed to their priests, made them dependent on them not only in their spiritual character, but as their advisers and guides under circumstances of temporal want and suffering. Could they reconcile it to a sense of public policy and expediency—not in the low sense of those terms, but in a statesman's acceptation of them—not to do the best in their power to bring within the reach of the great majority the best means of spiritual instruction. He was the last man to defend the abuses of spiritual interference for political purposes; but though this was indefensible, he would ask the House whether there had not been passages in Irish history which might palliate, though they could not justify, such an exercise of priestly influence? He would ask the House to recollect the numberless instances in which Roman Catholic priests exerted themselves for the good of their fellow-creatures, and that, too, in times of pestilence, suffering, and death. He would recall to the remembrance of the House, that in the year after the passing of the Charitable Bequests Act, they had seen Roman Catholic priests and prelates braving popular disapprobation and violence, and sacrificing that which must have been peculiarly trying to them — the attachment of those of their own communion, because they believed it to be their duty to their fellow countrymen and co-religionists to aid in carrying out that measure in the spirit in which it had been proposed by Government and passed by Parliament. He should give his cordial and sincere support to the measure before the House, because he firmly believed it would do good to Ireland by introducing an improved class of priests among the Roman Catholic population, and because he was of opinion it would tend to rivet the bonds of union and amity between the two countries.

Mr. *Wykeham Martin*; Sir, as I am nearly in the same situation with the hon. Member for Dover, I must entreat a similar indulgence at the hands of the House; for, having the misfortune to differ with many of my constituents for whom I entertain the sincerest respect, I feel it my duty to endeavour to explain the reasons of the vote I am about to give in support of the proposition of the Government. It has been the fashion on the present occasion, both in the House and out of it, for those who are opposed to this measure, to charge its supporters with a willingness, in plain terms, "to do evil that good may come"—those very expressions occurring in many of the petitions—or, in other words, to sacrifice principle to expediency. Now, this is a course which I trust I should never be capable of adopting on this or on any other occasion. And I am acting on principle as clearly, as distinctly, and as sincerely, in supporting the Bill, as any hon. Member can possibly be who feels it his duty to adopt an opposite course. My attention has long been directed to questions involving a similar principle with the present. I have by long reflection worked out a principle for my guidance in such matters; and I will endeavour briefly to explain that principle to the House. I hold it to be one of the ordinary functions of the Government to exercise a general superintendence over the affairs of the community, in matters relating to religion and to education. I consider this to be one of the inherent and inseparable functions of their office, and not only so, but one of the most important of their functions, if not the most important of all. In this country, this principle has been acted on without difficulty or dispute—in fact with no opposition but that of one section of politicians, who are the advocates of the voluntary principle. In Scotland, it has also been acted upon; for there also an Establishment has been formed under the immediate superintendence of the Government, although the doctrines of that Establishment are not in accordance with the views of the Government. And it is not till we get to Ireland, that we find any difficulty in carrying out the principle for which I am contending. And indeed, in a certain sense we do act upon that principle even in Ireland. For there we have an Establishment which is a branch of our own Church —for the Irish Protestant Church is termed by the Act of Union, "The Church of England in Ireland." But this is the precise point at which the views I entertain, begin to diverge from the practice which has been pursued by the Legislature. I maintain that this system does not amount to a carrying out of the principle I am endeavouring to explain. If we look to Ireland, we see a country separated from this country by a natural boundary. We see in that country six millions of Roman Catholics, occupying, for the most part, a tract which is not less than 10,000 square miles. The population, in fact, is essentially a Catholic population. Now I conceive that it is our duty to superintend and to regulate the religious affairs of this population also. I maintain that we are bound to stretch out the right hand of fellowship to them, and to tender to them such aid as they are willing to accept, and as it is on other grounds advisable for us to give. The chief difficulty with me in investigating this question for myself has always been, not whether we were bound to discharge these duties towards the Catholic population of Ireland, so long as we retain the office of governors of that country; but whether we were justified *in pro conscientiâ* in retaining an office which entails upon us such obligations. I will not enter upon a statement of the considerations which satisfied my mind upon this point, although my mind has been fully satisfied with regard to it, for two reasons. First, it would lead me into a purely theological discussion, for which I feel that this is not the proper arena. And secondly, because it would be a waste of the time of the House, since I do not believe that there is a single person present who entertains any doubt on the matter. I will, therefore, content myself with saying, that it is because the measure proposed by the Government is, so far as it extends, a carrying out of the principles I have been endeavouring to describe, that I am disposed to give it my most cordial support. But if, as is most probable, many hon. Members will not feel inclined to go along with me in recognising this principle, there are some other considerations to which, if the House will bear with me for a few sentences, I wish to call its attention. It has long been our practice in legislation to interfere in the way of regulation with the religious affairs of bodies differing with ourselves. We regulate to a certain extent the religious worship of the chapel of the Dissenters, by forbidding worship in unlicensed houses; we further interfere as to the performance of the marriage service; we regulate to a still greater degree the Church of Scotland. And where pecuniary aid is required, we give it in many instances for the religious as well as the moral education of Dissenters, through the British and Foreign School Society; for the religious as well as the moral education of Catholics themselves, through the National System of Education in Ireland; we assist the Unitarian section of the Presbyterians, as well as the other branch of that body in Ireland, through the *Regium Donum.* In this point of view, therefore, it is only in accordance with our former practice, and with our general system of legislation, if we consider the Roman Catholics of Ireland as the largest and the most needy of the Dissenting bodies in the Empire, and administer assistance to their wants on this footing. There is one other point to which I wish to call the attention of the House, which I think important, but which I think has not yet been noticed, even in this lengthened discussion. It has been complained of as a hardship that we should be called upon to pay for the education of the Roman Catholic clergy. It has been said that the Protestants of England and Scotland should not be made to defray the expense of such an object, and that the Income Tax ought not to be continued for such a purpose. But I think that, as a mere question of finance and of account, it cannot be fairly said that we do pay for anything of the kind. If separate taxes were raised for the two countries, and their expenditure were kept separate; and if under such circumstances a grant were made from the produce of the English taxes for the College of Maynooth, then we might truly be said to pay for the education of the Irish clergy. But such is not the system that has been adopted. On the contrary, we have made a common fund for the purposes of both countries, to which each contributes in a fair proportion, and from which the expenditure of both countries is defrayed. Now I think that under such circumstances it is fairer to consider the funds which are necessary for Irish local purposes, as coming virtually from the Irish portion of the taxation, and that which is necessary for English local purposes from the English portion; and if there should be reason to suppose that either country got more than its share from this common fund, what would be the proper remedy? Would it be that the country in question should be left with its necessities unsupplied? Would it not rather be that its quota should be re-adjusted? If this view of the case be correct, there is no pretence for saying that we are paying for the grant to Maynooth. But if hon. Gentlemen will not go along with me in this view of the case, I think that in the next step of the argument I can draw them along with me whether they will or no. We make payments from this common fund for a great many Protestant objects. We have parted with a million of money at one time for the building of Protestant churches; we pay for Protestant education, for Protestant colonial bishops, for army and navy chaplains, and for a hundred similar purposes, if it were worth while to analyze our expenditure for the purpose of picking them out. Now, if there is the slightest ground for saying that we pay for the grant to Maynooth, there is the very same ground for saying that we compel the Catholics of Ireland to pay towards all these Protestant objects. Either we do not pay for Maynooth, or we call upon them to pay towards our own institutions. As to the general policy of the measure, I should be most unwarrantably taking up the time of the House if I were to enter upon it. It has been discussed so completely, that I may well be content to leave it where it has been left by abler hands than mine. I will, therefore, only say in conclusion, that, deeply as I regret the necessity of differing on this question with many friends whom I most sincerely respect, and with many upon whose judgment I much rely, from the station they occupy, the education they have received, and the talents they have displayed; it is, nevertheless, a satisfaction to me to feel that I never was called upon, on any occasion, to perform a public or a political act, with the conviction impressed upon my mind so firmly, so clearly, and in so unwavering a manner that I was following the path of duty.

Mr. *Tuite* assured the House that a very large proportion of the Protestants of Ireland approved of the measure now before them, and were grateful to Government for the liberal part it had taken. In his own opinion the measure would be generally well received in Ireland, and there could be no doubt it would tend to benefit and strengthen the Empire. There were not wanting persons who cavilled at the measure because it was in opposition to the sentiments formerly entertained by its promoters. Men of liberal minds not unfrequently saw reasons to change their minds on important subjects; and it appeared strange to him that this should be selected as a ground of serious objection, after the full and ample notice which they had received from the right hon. Gentleman at the head of Her Majesty's Government last Session, to bring forward a measure of this kind. He could not see on what ground they could now stand up and say they were taken by surprise. He regretted to see such unfair advantage had been taken of tender consciences and religious scruples by the Ministers of the Church of England upon this occasion. He was aware of an instance at Christ's Chapel, St. John's Wood, where the too zealous clergyman had so far forgot himself as to address his congregation from the pulpit, and bring them down, ladies and gentlemen, to sign a petition, dictated by himself, against this grant to the College of Maynooth. Conduct such as this must for ever close the mouths of those parties against the alleged practice on the part of the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland, of making their chapels the arena for political excitement, more especially as they were deprived of the advantage of such splendid theatres for the display of their religious zeal as Exeter Hall and other places of that description. It had been said, in the course of the debate, that Ireland bore but a very inadequate proportion of the public burdens—that she was, in fact, lightly taxed. Now, it was well known, from calculations made on this subject, that she remitted in the shape of taxation, most prejudicial to herself, namely, as payment to absentees residing in this country, above 6,000,000*l.* sterling; a sum far greater than any financial Minister could ever expect to receive from such a country through the medium of assessed taxes. The hon. Gentleman concluded by assuring the Government that he should give the Bill his most cordial support, and he hoped the right hon. Baronet would carry the measure triumphantly.

Mr. *Carew* agreed with the hon. Member for Kent, that this question had been taken up as a religious one, though he by no means was prepared to admit its opponents were justified in that course. We owed a debt of kindness to the people of Ireland; they had been to us, for fifty years, in the nature of tenants at will; a class of tenants who had greater claims upon the kind consideration of their landlords than those who were fortified in their titles by express leases. Unless you were prepared to establish the principle, that because a man is strong he may oppress his weaker neighbour, the House must act liberally towards the Catholics of Ireland in this respect. The hon. Member here, after experiencing some embarrassment, said he was so very nervous that he found great difficulty in stating his sentiments to the House. The hon. Member concluded by expressing his opinion that this grant to the College of Maynooth could, by no possibility, produce any disadvantage to the Protestant Established Church in Ireland.

Lord *Leveson* would not enter on the question how far the Government deserved the censure so liberally bestowed on it by those hon. Gentlemen behind Ministers. He thought, after the speeches heard during this debate, it was pretty evident the Government must begin to regret a little the line of policy they adopted in Opposition. He did not wish to dwell on that topic; he should support the present measure, because he thought it good in itself, and because it was unaccompanied by any ungracious and insulting restrictions. He must add, too, from what he had seen of the state of the country, and the speeches made in that House, that no other party but that of the right hon. Gentleman could carry such a measure. Allusion had been made to the length of this debate; he did think it a matter of regret that it afforded opportunity of exciting conscientious bodies of men, through speeches which reflected the sentiments of those who guided a large portion of the public. He regretted, too, that an opportunity seemed to be afforded by it, of which Christian ministers availed themselves, to rouse feelings of hostility and ill-will towards their fellow subjects and fellow Christians. But, on the other hand, he thought that such speeches as that of the right hon. Member for Devonport that night must do good, inasmuch as it demonstrated the policy, justice, and necessity of the measure now proposed. When he called to mind, too, the speech of the noble Lord the Member for Dorsetshire, the tone of which was admirable towards the people of Ireland—a speech which, while it opposed the measure now proposed, appeared to him to place in the clearest light the anomalous mode of instruction adopted towards the Irish people, and to demonstrate in the most logical manner the steps by which the Government would be compelled to settle on an equitable basis the religious instruction of that portion of the kingdom —when he called to mind that such enlightened and broad views were taken on this question, he could not regret that the debate had been prolonged, which afforded an opportunity for their delivery. He could not help thinking that when the people of England reflected on the description of argument by which this question was opposed—when they saw that not the least able of the opponents of this measure stated as a ground for rejecting it, the bugbear by which every beneficial measure was attempted to be cried down, namely, that if the course of conciliation were continued, England must be prepared to relinquish the station she now held amongst the nations of Europe. He could not help thinking, he repeated, that when the people of England calmly reflected on such views, their good sense must ultimately cool down the present excited feelings of the community. In his opinion, the chief boast of an Englishman was not the commercial prosperity of his country or her power in war, but his acknowledged superior appreciation of civil liberty. Was it to be said, then, that this step towards religious toleration had any tendency to sink the rank of this nation amongst those of Europe? One could not listen to this debate without being struck by the more kindly feelings evinced by the present generation towards the Roman Catholics. As an illustration of this, he might refer to the speech of the noble Member for Lynn (Viscount Jocelyn). That noble Lord said, that if a stranger were listening to this debate, he might suppose that the present Motion was one for the abolition of the Church altogether. At the very time the noble Lord was speaking, there was in the strangers' gallery a foreign statesman (the Duke de Broglie) of eminent intellect, of high rank in his own country, and with a European reputation—a Catholic, who had lived much with Protestants — one who came over to this country for the purpose of carrying on a negotiation of the most important description, and who could not fail to observe the persevering energy with which all religious denominations here supported any great philanthropic object. He, for one, blushed that such a stranger, who had studied deeply the principles of our government, in order to ameliorate the institutions of his own country, should have found the Imperial Legislature of Great Britain haggling about a few additional thousands to the miserable pittance which for thirty years had been given for the spiritual instruction of our fellow subjects in Ireland.

Mr. *Spooner* said, had he followed the dictates of his own feelings, he should have given a silent vote on the present occasion; but representing, as he did, a large constituency who felt deeply and had spoken loudly on the question, he should not be doing his duty to those constituents were he to give a silent vote. In answer to the noble Lord who spoke last, he begged to say that he was not haggling about a few miserable pounds; he did not look on it as a money question, nor did any of his hon. Friends around him. The opposition to the measure rested on a far sounder basis—the basis of religious principle. The right hon. Member for Edinburgh divided the opponents of this measure into three classes. First, those who had hitherto voted for the grant of 9,000*l.*, but now resisted the increase. He (Mr. Spooner), had voted against the smaller grant. The right hon. Gentleman said, that he could not understand on what principle those who had voted for the smaller grant now opposed this measure. But it appeared to him there was a great difference between an annual grant and a perpetual endowment. This was the first time the State had endowed the Roman Catholic religion in this kingdom. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had contended otherwise; but he (Mr. Spooner) repeated that all that had hitherto been done was to permit Roman Catholics to endow with their own money. The next class the right hon. Gentleman adverted to, consisted of the supporters of the voluntary principle; and he (Mr. Spooner) could not understand how any of those Gentlemen on the other side of the House, favouring such views, could reconcile it to themselves to vote for this Bill, for it involved not only a church endowment, but a double church endowment. The last class alluded to comprised those who were opposed to the vote on religious principle. To that class he (Mr. Spooner) belonged; and he never would consent to endow a Church which he believed taught doctrines which were dangerous, delusive, and unscriptural. He spoke without any hostility towards his Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, but he was bound to say what he believed to be the truth. The right hon. Baronet, in his opening speech, had called upon them to endow a College with a view of affording religious education and spiritual comfort to the ignorant and the poor. Let him beware lest, instead of holding out the comforts of religion to men in their dying moments, he should lead them to trust to an awful delusion. The right hon. Member for Edinburgh had observed in the course of his speech in this debate,—

> "I come now to an objection which I should be very sorry to treat lightly, that is, that the Church of Rome teaches error, and that we are therefore not justified, either as individuals or as a State, in contributing to the propagation of it. I must say that I altogether deny the soundness of that proposition. I say that it is not true that there are no cases in which it may not be justifiable to contribute even to the propagation of religious error."

In proof of this position, too, the right hon. Gentleman had alluded to mistakes often made in the translation of the holy Scriptures. But was that the deliberate and wilful teaching of error? What were they called on to do now? They were called on, not by accident or mistake, but deliberately, to vote a sum of money to teach doctrines which they conscientiously protested against. Even were he to regard this measure not as a religious question, but as a political one, he should still think it neither a wise nor a politic measure; but though as a mere political measure he might have been induced to acquiesce in it, yet his religious feelings interposed and prevented him from giving his consent to it. He believed that the right hon. Baronet was actuated by an earnest desire to do his duty. What other motive could he have in bringing forward a measure which had deprived him of the adherence of many men who had hitherto given him an enlightened, honest, and consistent support? They had been told that there was a compact in reference to Maynooth; but in answer to that he would content himself with reading a passage from the speech of a statesman who had been already quoted by the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government, though not fairly, as the right hon. Baronet had left out the part he was about to read to the House. And here he must be permitted to say he regretted much the slighting way in which the hon. Member for Shrewsbury spoke of Mr. Perceval. There are those in this House (continued Mr. Spooner) who had the honour of that right hon. Gentleman's acquaintance. They would join with him in saying, that if an honest, ardent, and consistent statesman, living for, and dying at the door of this House in his country's service, was entitled to grateful recollection—if a faithful discharge of all the duties of public and social life call for affectionate remembrance—in the late Mr. Perceval those claims were fully substantiated. But what did Mr. Perceval say? The hon. Member then proceeded to read the following portion of a speech of the late Mr. Perceval, on the 5th of May, 1808:—

> "He disclaimed the odious principle of intolerance. The memorial of the Catholics which led to the establishment of Maynooth, claimed no pecuniary aid. The Catholics promised to defray the whole expense themselves; and though the Government and Parliament gave them 8,000*l.* in aid of this object, that was no reason why the country should be subject to constantly increasing demands for a purpose to which there was no precedent in any age or country—that of educating at the public expense the priesthood of a religion differing widely from the established one."

From that statement he (Mr. Spooner) concluded that were Mr. Perceval there present, he would join those who opposed the project of Her Majesty's Government. The next subject to which he should advert was the necessary, the inevitable consequences that would follow the adoption of this Bill. He conceived that the Government had begun at the wrong end in this matter. The purpose of educating the priests was avowed to be the enlightenment of the people. If he (Mr. Spooner) believed that would be the effect of the Bill, much of the sting would be taken out of it, though he should still oppose it on the principle that nothing could justify that doctrine of expediency, "Do evil that good may come." But those who augured such results would be greatly disappointed. If the priests were to be educated they should also be paid, or the education would go for nothing. If they were not paid, they would still have to live upon the most impoverished people on the face of the earth. The only way of their deriving the means of their subsistence would be by operating on the fears and the hopes of the people. The priests would be sure not to enlighten their flocks under these circumstances, because ignorance was the parent of superstition, and through superstition only could their hopes or their fears be worked upon. Several attempts had been made to elicit from Her Majesty's Government whether this was by them proposed as a final measure, or whether they did not contemplate at some future time to propose the payment of the priests; but, while the right hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that the funds of the Protestant Church in Ireland should not be touched, not one word was said about the payment of the Roman Catholic priests. He (Mr. Spooner) therefore deduced from that silence that before long the Ministers would come down to the House, and, telling them that they had broken through the principle in the case of Maynooth, call upon them to pay the priests on the ground that they had abandoned principle for nothing, and that without such payments the present proposed measure would be in vain. Another great objection to the measure was the total absence of all necessity for it. In all the populous towns of Warwickshire, and also in other parts of the country, there were Catholic churches, Catholic schools, monasteries, colleges, and seminaries innumerable. Most of them were planted not for the use of existing congregations, but in search of congregations, for the purpose of attracting by the music and other allurements of the Roman Catholic form of worship. If the Roman Catholics had no other object in view but the education of the people, why did they not spend their money in Ireland, where there were ample congregations? why not themselves endow Maynooth? They did not do so, because proselytism was their object, and ignorance the basis upon which they wrought. The right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government had stated, in 1840, that

> "He could not agree in the opinion that the system of instruction pursued at Maynooth ought to be a matter of indifference to the House. The system of education was a legitimate matter for the consideration of Parliament; and the House would abandon its duty, if it were to avow the doctrine that because the grant had been continued for thirty years, it was therefore pledged to say to Maynooth, you may inculcate what doctrine you please, however injurious to the supremacy of the law, and detrimental to the established Government and monarchy of the empire."

Now, however, (observed Mr. Spooner,) the right hon. Baronet declined to meddle with the system of education at all. What security had the country, therefore, when all the checks upon that College were removed — even that of the annual character of the grant—that the most obnoxious doctrines would not be inculcated in it? He would next refer to what surprised him extremely, and what he called the attention of the Protestant Members of that House to with all earnestness—namely, the speeches of the noble Lord the Member for Newark, and the hon. Gentleman the Member for Canterbury. The noble Lord the Member for Newark had quoted from Dr. Wordsworth in his speech of last night, and he (Mr. Spooner) would read what had proceeded from the noble Lord. [The hon. Member here read a lengthened passage from the speech of Lord J. Manners, to the effect that as it was admitted the whole system of Roman Catholicism depended upon the Pope, it was the duty of the English Government, instead of engaging in a childish struggle with Rome, which existed before England was a monarchy, and which possessed such tremendous power—to send a Representative to the Vatican, and to admit a Nuncio at St. James's.] That was the opinion of the noble Lord. The Pope was strong, and therefore they must submit to him. He told them that necessity urged this course, and that he was prepared to take it. The noble Lord was followed in the same strain of argument by the hon. Member for Canterbury. He would not read his arguments to the House—the sum and substance of them was to recommend a union with Popery—to do that which was absolutely contradictory to their oath as Members of Parliament—to do that which was contradictory to the Coronation Oath—which was subversive of the Constitution of the country, and which, if adopted by Her Majesty's Ministers, would subject them to impeachment; and if sanctioned by the Crown, the moment it was so sanctioned the allegiance to the Crown would be forfeited, for the title to the Crown was preserved by our Protestant Constitution. Such was the language used by the noble Lord and the hon. Gentleman. He (Mr. Spooner) solemnly called upon all Protestants, who were prepared to support the measure before the House, to stop while they could, and not to adopt a measure which was so hailed by these highly-talented individuals, and which was received by them as a stepping-stone towards a union with Popery, and which, if adopted, he was sure would set the seal to the destruction of our present happy Empire. An observation had also fallen from the right hon. Gentleman the other Member for Newark (Mr. Gladstone), to which he thought it right to call the attention of the House. The observations of the right hon. Gentleman were, that this measure was founded on a new order of ideas, and involved a totally new Church Establishment. That was the view taken of this measure by the right hon. Gentleman. Were they prepared for this new Church Establishment? Were they prepared to make the right hon. Gentleman the leader of that new Reformation which must be the inevitable consequence of the measure now under consideration? He had said enough to show the feelings he entertained on this question, and nothing that he could say was needed to enforce his view of the question. He had done no more than bring before them, plainly and simply, the arguments and considerations which weighed with his mind. He told the right hon. Gentleman below him, that the House and the country would require of him a full and explicit renunciation of all the doctrines and all the views which had been expressed by the noble Lord and the hon. Gentleman. He would tell them more, that the country would not be satisfied if they did not abandon a measure which had been hailed as a new era—as a new Reformation of our Protestant Church; and which had received the support of Gentlemen who were ready to enter into an indissoluble union with the Pope, which would be destructive of that Constitution for which their ancestors bled. He thanked the House for the kind indulgence with which they had heard him. He felt that the subject was not exhausted, but feared that their patience was exhausted. He trusted that the cause would not suffer from any imperfections in his advocacy—that they would receive his observations as the honest expressions of a man whose avocations in life did not allow him to give deep thought to political subjects, or to the expression of those thoughts much preparation. What he said was from the honest feeling of his heart, and he trusted as such it would be received.

Sir *J. Graham* said: Sir, the right hon. Baronet the Member for Devonport, towards the close of the able speech which he addressed to the House in the early part of this evening, very naturally expressed an opinion that before the close of this protracted debate it would be my duty to offer some observations to the House; and, although I may regret on some grounds that the debate has been so prolonged, yet there are reasons why I think neither the Government nor the country has any reason to regret the prolongation of the discussion. Sir, I am quite satisfied that whatever temporary excitement may exist among the people of this country, yet that at the moment of the greatest excitement an appeal to their reason and understanding never fails to produce the best possible effect; and I may miscalculate the effect of this protracted debate, but, if I mistake not, the appeal to their reason in defence of this measure has been triumphant, and I anticipate from it the best possible results. Sir, I see in his place the hon. Member for Renfrew: the hon. Member stated on a former occasion that he felt almost certain, if the Ministers could have foreseen the storm which their proposition has created, they would not have embarked in this measure, anticipating the result. Sir, I must assure the hon. Member and the House, that this proposition has been made by Her Majesty's Government advisedly, deliberately, and with ample forethought; and although we do most deeply deplore, as the hon. Member for Birmingham felt certain we must deplore, the division on this side of the House with respect to the Bill which we have now under discussion—although it is most painful to us to have forfeited in any degree the confidence, to have lost, if not permanently, at least for a time, the good will of Gentlemen who in times of difficulty and in very peculiar circumstances, have given us a generous and constant support; yet I do say, deploring the religious differences which have for so long a time prevailed in Ireland, anticipating the division that was likely to occur, we have yet come to the conclusion that this is a proposition which, on our responsibility as Ministers, we could not delay, and which it was necessary to submit for the consideration of the House. Sir, I am bound to say, that I do not conceive that this measure by itself is capable of redressing the wrongs of Ireland, or of establishing the pacification of that part of the Empire. But it is also my duty to add, that if I be not much mistaken, this is the measure most practicable, most efficacious as the commencement of a happier state of things in that country. And I also must add still further, that I am confident and persuaded that unless you lay the foundation of a policy of pacification by the adoption of this Bill, any other measure would fail of producing that desirable result. Now, Sir, I must make a few observations on the various arguments that have been urged against the measure; and, first of all, I must congratulate my hon. Friend the Member for the University of Oxford on the strange ally with whom he made common cause in his course of yesterday evening. I do not see him now in his place. I mean the virtual, if not the actual, Representative of the University of Durham (Mr. Bright), who addressed the House near the close of the evening. Although the hon. Member's vote will be given for my hon. Friend the Member for the University of Oxford, I have heard no speech on the whole so conclusive in favour of our measure. The hon. Member entertains peculiar opinions, which he manfully avows. He says that he is the enemy of all Establishments—that he is hostile to all endowments, and upon that principle he is decidedly opposed to this measure. But what were the admissions which he made? If I mistake not, he said, in the first place, that if it were not for the hostility which had been shown to it, he believed this measure was calculated to sustain the Church Establishment in Ireland. He then went on to say, that if he were favourable to the principle of Church endowment he would vote for this measure; and not only did he make that admission, but he made the still more important admission, that he believed that it was calculated to create a kinder feeling on the part of the Irish Catholics towards the people of this country. These are admissions which, it appears to me, are conclusive in favour of this measure. They certainly are somewhat of an answer to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Edinburgh, who charges me, as a Member of the Government, with inconsistency, in propounding a measure of this description. He says, that the policy which we have advocated, as he alleges, has been to sustain what has been termed Protestant ascendancy—to excite Protestant opposition to the utmost—to pander to Protestant prejudices. Now, observe what is the position of Her Majesty's Government—to what opposite and contradictory charges they are exposed. I feel that we are exposed to this great disadvantage; the fire opens upon us from the front, the flank, and the rear; but, fortunately, these charges most successfully repel each other. The allegation is, that we are not true to the Protestant Church; and that this measure, as now propounded by us, is inconsistent with our pledges of plighted faith to the maintenance of that Church. The hon. Member for Durham says that, in his opinion, this measure is peculiarly well calculated to sustain the Establishment; and, in his deliberate opinion, he charges it as almost an unfair and dishonest means of buying off all opposition to the existence of the Establishment. But the hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin, and the noble Lord the Member for Bandon, heaped upon us charges of a directly opposite description. I am sure I do not misrepresent the hon. Member for the University of Dublin. He said that in his opinion the clergy of the Church of Ireland were reduced to the utmost want by measures which I, at least, as one of Her Majesty's present advisers, had counselled and supported. He specified the measures—he mentioned the Church Temporalities Act. Who was the author of the Church Temporalities Act? My noble Friend the Secretary for the Colonies. I gave to that measure a consistent and decided support. What was the next measure? The Tithe Composition Act. By whom was the foundation of that measure laid? Also by my noble Friend the present Secretary for the Colonies. By whom was it adopted? It was adopted during the Administration of my right hon. Friend, in 1834; it was subsequently carried by the Government of Lord Melbourne; and then, in opposition to the Government, my right hon. Friend, Lord Stanley, and myself, gave to that measure our strenuous and united support. What was the other measure that the right hon. Gentleman specified as injurious to the Protestant clergy and wounding to their feelings? The national system of education. By whom was that proposition made? Again by my noble Friend the Secretary for the Colonies, my present Colleague, and then my Colleague when he brought that proposition forward. By whom was it adopted? By my right hon. Friend at the head of the Government, by whom, invariably, consistently, and resolutely, in opposition to much clamour and obloquy, it has been strenuously and stoutly maintained, and will not be abandoned. The hon. and learned Gentleman must permit me to say that I very much agree with the hon. Member for Dundalk (Mr. Redington) that the latter portion of his speech would have been received with cheers and acclamations at Conciliation-hall. It is precisely the argument which the hon. Member for the county of Cork, or the hon. Member for the county of Limerick, would have urged in this House, if they had brought forward a measure for the Repeal of the Union. What was the accusation? That the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was a pageant; that the Irish Government was a bauble; that nationality was destroyed, and I think, he said, that strangers—strangers!—occupy all the high places in the administration of Irish affairs. I do not misrepresent the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Shaw). ["No."] Then let us just come to particulars. Strangers occupy all the high places in Ireland! The Chief Justiceship of Ireland became vacant since we accepted office: who was appointed? Chief Justice Pennefather. The Mastership of the Rolls became vacant: who was appointed? Mr. Blackburne. Two seats on the Bench became vacant: who were appointed? Mr. Serjeant Jackson and Baron Lefroy. The Prime Serjeantship became vacant: who filled it? Mr. Warren. [Mr. *Shaw*: You have omitted one.] Perhaps there may be found Irishmen of superior reputation to those Gentlemen I have named, but I am not acquainted with them. We may proceed further. Four or five dignities in the Church became vacant: whom have we appointed? Bishop O'Brien, Bishop Daly, Bishop Stopford; and we made a similar appointment in the case of the Deanery of St. Patrick. We gave that preferment to Mr. Pakenham. I want to know where are the strangers who have been appointed by us to high offices in Ireland? This is an accusation which is easily made; but allow me to tell the right hon. Gentleman, that after all, this is not the accusation with irespect to which, perhaps, I might find it most difficult to defend Her Majesty's Government; and if the right hon. Gentleman really believes that the days of Protestant ascendancy, in the old sense, can be maintained, I tell him that those days are passed, and I for one will not be responsible for any attempt to govern Ireland upon those principles. Now, Sir, I think, as far as my personal consistency is concerned, I have stated enough to show that uniformly, whether in Opposition or in Government, I have endeavoured to act steadily upon the principles which I have stated, first in the Temporalities Act; then in the scheme of national education; and, lastly, in the great measure the Tithe Commutation. I have never expressed any opinion, individually, at all opposed to the endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland. The point was raised repeatedly. I think it was raised when I was in Opposition. I am quite sure that it was raised two or three years ago in a discussion in which the hon. Member for the county of Kildare took part, and stated that the Catholic clergy would not accept endowment. Hon. Members said, I perfectly remember, that with respect to the endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy, it was an arrangement to which they would not give their consent. I stated then that it was my firm belief, that whatever might have been the circumstances which at a former period would have rendered such an arrangement practicable, if not desirable, those circumstances no longer existed ; and that there was not willingness on the part of the Irish clergy to accept, nor was there willingness on the part of the British public to provide an endowment. But I stated that with respect to my own private feelings and judgment, I had no religious scruples whatever which would prevent me from advocating that measure. The difference between me and the noble Lord and hon. Gentlemen opposite always has been, that if such an arrangement were feasible, and if such an endowment could by common consent be made—the difference between me and them has always been with respect to the propriety—I will not use any stronger term—of drawing that endowment from the property of the Protestant Church established by law. Upon that point I have always differed from them. I have adhered steadily and uniformly, and I still adhere to my opinion. I have an insuperable objection to any such arrangement. From that point I have not swerved; I regret the difference; it still exists, and certainly I do not anticipate that any circumstances will ever alter it. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Devonport, in common with many other Gentlemen who have addressed the House in the course of this debate, has referred to particular expressions used by me, not when in Opposition or a candidate for power, but since I was in office, I think in the year 1842, in the discussion on the Arms Bill. I have stated that some time before the discussion arose upon which the expression was used, I had announced to the House that it was the intention of Her Majesty's Government, in fulfilment of the pledge which they had given in opposition, to bring forward a measure for the registration of county voters in Ireland, and for an enlargement of the county franchise; I had also announced, on the part of the Government, the intention to introduce a Bill for the better regulation of the municipal franchise; and these two measures were conceived in a spirit which, at least, we had hoped and believed would have been most satisfactory. We redeemed all our pledges which we had given with respect to taking precautions against the fraud and perjury consequent upon the present mode of registration, and also the inconveniences arising from the disputed construction of the beneficial interest which constitutes the right of voting in counties in Ireland. We had taken precautions which, if the House had adopted them, would have greatly enlarged the county franchise in Ireland, and, with the exception of the grant of the 40*s.* freeholds in fee, would have placed the county franchise in Ireland on a footing identical with the franchise in England; except, indeed, the qualification was of a lower value as contrasted with the franchise in England in every particular. So also with regard to the municipal franchise, the measure we tendered was that which we understood had always been desired, which when the Municipal Act first passed was not possible, but which when we introduced it in 1843 had become possible —viz., a perfect identity of municipal franchise in Ireland with the municipal franchise in England. I only mention these facts historically, and not for the purpose of discussion, which I should wish on the present occasion to avoid. In that year, and almost simultaneously with those propositions, which were certainly not of an illiberal character, on the part of Her Majesty's Government, a demonstration was made of a formidable kind, if not intended, certainly having the effect on the public mind of a demonstration to overbear, by a display of physical force, Her Majesty's Government. When we came to urge the Arms Act, it became my duty to point out the necessity that, together with measures of the description I have mentioned, enlarging both the county and municipal franchise—while we asked for no extraordinary power—no Acts of coercion, going beyond the accustomed law of the land —we should, by the operation of the law, offer an uncompromising and firm resistance to efforts which we considered most dangerous, tending by physical force to the overthrow of the Queen's Government in that country. I certainly, upon that occasion, did make use of the expression "that conciliation had been pushed to its utmost limit." I do not think it altogether fair to fasten on a particular expression, used in the heat of debate, especially when that expression was explained (I hold the explanation here, but I will not weary the House by reading it) within a fortnight of the time it was made. I will do more: I admit the expression, and I avow my regret at having used it. Nay, still further, I say that where the feelings and the interests of a nation are concerned, expressions of inadvertency on the part of a Minister are serious offences. I therefore make this reparation freely. I say that I am sorry for the use of that phrase; it has given offence in Ireland; I deeply regret it; and I can only say, conscientiously and from the bottom of my heart, that my actions towards Ireland have been better than my words. I am bound to say that. I am most unwilling further to advert to those unhappy transactions in the year 1843; but I repeat that the public mind was so soured in Ireland by what had occurred, that even those measures to which I have adverted—which decidedly are beneficent measures—measures going far to meet the wishes, so often repeated of the people of Ireland, with respect both to the county and municipal franchise, failed altogether in their object—were all but rejected with contempt, and had not the effect we desired of pacifying the public mind. Towards the close of last year a suggestion was thrown out by the noble Lord the Member for Tiverton, that without proposing, on the part of the State, a direct endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy, there was a measure unobjectionable in principle, feasible with an alteration of the law of the land, which by the willing consent and co-operation of wealthy landlords, might progressively and gradually lead to endowment. Her Majesty's Government directed their attention to that particular subject, and introduced the Bequest Act, which fulfilled the purpose to which I have adverted; and that measure certainly produced an effect which exceeded our expectations, and which satisfied us that it was the commencement of a course which, if followed up, might be productive of the happiest effects. Undoubtedly, a portion of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Ireland have been bitterly opposed to that measure; but on the other hand, the heads of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, with firmness, with boldness, in spite of much obloquy and resistance, have co-operated with Her Majesty's Government to give effect to that useful and salutary measure. The Roman Catholic hierarchy in Ireland was divided in opinion with respect to the Bequest Act; but my right hon. Friend, in introducing the Bill which is now under our consideration, read to the House, if I mistake not, the unanimous application, by memorial, of the whole of the Roman Catholic archbishops and bishops in Ireland for an increase of the grant to Maynooth. The question, then, presented itself to us thus: here is an opportunity of meeting the wishes of the Roman Catholic clergy, if we avail ourselves of it. If there be nothing wrong in principle—nothing inconsistent with our duty to our Protestant Sovereign, and to the maintenance of the Protestant Church in Ireland, we may gratify the wishes of this powerful body—endowment is out of the question; direct endowment the Roman Catholic clergy say they will not accept—we are not prepared to propose it or to offer it; but here is a particular grant, which the Roman Catholic hierarchy say, if you will tender it, we will accept. Her Majesty's advisers see no objection in principle; we know that it will be acceptable and accepted. We contend that in principle it is not only acceptable, but expedient, and hence the origin of the measure which we are now discussing. My hon. Friend the Member for Birmingham, in commenting upon the speech of the hon. Member for Edinburgh, observed that, though the money question in this matter was not unimportant, yet that it was not, on the part of those who opposed the measure, a mere haggling about money. I must say that the argument of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Edinburgh upon this point was put, if possible, with more than his usual force, and appeared to me perfectly triumphant; but in candour I will admit that on the question which we are now discussing, there is, if not in the letter, at least in the spirit, something more important than the additional sum of money. I will first dispose of what has been termed, in the course of this debate, the religious question. I admit that in the year 1795, when Maynooth was first founded, first recognised by the State, and first established, the religious question did arise. That question, as it appears to me, was this—shall a Protestant State establish and endow a seminary for the exclusive teaching of the Roman Catholic priesthood, foregoing all interference in the quality of the education? I conceive that to have been a grave and serious religious question. It was so considered at the time. My right hon. Friend adverted to the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam by the Government of Mr. Pitt. Lord Fitzwilliam had held out, in a speech as Lord Lieutenant, on the opening of the Session of Parliament, an expectation to the Irish people of larger concessions than the Home Government was prepared to grant. Be it observed that the elective franchise had been given to the Roman Catholics of Ireland two years before; and when we remember the great numerical superiority of the Roman Catholics of that country over their Protestant fellow-subjects, I must say that even at that time it was clear, what experience since has proved—that that fundamental concession must, sooner or later, be the groundwork of the largest extension of civil and religious liberty, and the germ of perfect equality. But to return to the circumstances of 1795. Lord Camden went to Ireland to supersede Lord Fitzwilliam; and, although he was not authorized to go the length which Lord Fitzwilliam had gone, of promising civil equality to the Roman Catholics of that country, yet he was distinctly instructed to propose further indulgences to Her Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects in that country; and within ten days of his arrival, his first measure, after consulting Lord Chancellor Clare, Agar, Archbishop of Cashel, Mr. Foster, then Speaker, and Sir J. Parnell, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, was to send to the Home Government the draft of the Act of 1795, which provides endowment from the public Revenue for the College of Maynooth. The Home Government deliberated upon the proposition. My right hon. Friend stated, that the Home Secretary, at that time the Duke of Portland, was also Chancellor of the University of Oxford; and it has been ascertained by me, from Records in the Home Office, that before the measure of 1795 was adopted, the Government draft of the Bill was submitted to the Archbishop of Canterbury by the Duke of Portland. It is impossible that any measure could have received more calm deliberation, or been more thoroughly discussed. The Bill became law; and it provides in distinct terms (which have been already more than once quoted) both for the endowment and for the establishment of the College. But does it do no more? It is said, Sir, that this Bill is the first which recognises the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland. I deny it, Sir. The Bill of 1795 recognised the Roman Catholic hierarchy in express terms. It appointed the Roman Catholic bishops trustees of the College of Maynooth — it admitted their statutes — it used their ecclesiastical authority. It distinctly disposes, therefore, of the religious question. That Act shows that there is nothing in the Constitution of this country which makes it impossible, improper, or inexpedient to endow a seminary for the education of Roman Catholic priests, not only recognising the Roman Catholic religion as it exists in Ireland, but also contributing aid from the State in support of it, and mixing the authority of the Lord Lieutenant with the governing body. How do I show this? In the first place, the Act gives to the Lord Lieutenant a veto on all the by-laws passed by the trustees for the government of the College. I should mention also, that by the Act of 1795, the trustees were a mixed body; for it was then thought expedient that there should be a divided trust, composed of certain number of Protestants and of Catholics; and, *pro tanto*, therefore, there was more interference, owing to the existence of the Protestant trustees, than was ultimately found expedient. But to show the intimate connexion between the State and the College of Maynooth, I must make the House observe, that every by-law must be submitted, and has been for the last fifty years submitted, to the Lord Lieutenant, who has the power of veto, and the by-law is only binding if he has not exercised that power. Nay, more, the president cannot enter upon his functions till he has been approved of by the Lord Lieutenant; and in his oath of office he expressly sets forth that he has been so approved. I hold in my hand a Return which has, I think, been laid on the Table of the other House of Parliament. It is a Return of the By-Laws of the College, and shows the regulations of Maynooth. The number of students being fixed, the by-law distributed the patronage or power of nominating them among the Roman Catholic bishops in the different districts of Ireland, by virtue of their offices. Here is the Return, which sets forth the name of each student, and the name of the diocese; and the patron's name is set forth as the ordinary of that diocese. Thus the by-law, which has been sanctioned by the Lord Lieutenant, and which has been laid on the Table of the other House of Parliament, shows expressly that the Roman Catholic hierarchy have been already recognised by the State. My hon. Friend behind me who spoke last has stated, that all who object to a grant on the ground of their attachment to the voluntary principle, must have their objections increased in proportion to the enlargement of the grant itself. But I cannot say that I think this is very good reasoning; for the same argument would apply to all endowments for religious purposes whatsoever, whether in the Colonies or made in the form of the *Regium Donum*, and likewise to the Votes of the House of Commons in support of Episcopacy in Scotland, or for the Roman Catholics in the Hebrides, to whom a grant was continued, I believe, down to the year 1810. If, Sir, there be any religious objection — if the practice which has been carried on for so long a period without interruption is erroneous, the objection rests on principle, not on the amount of money to be granted. I will not rely, Sir, upon there having been any compact entered into upon the subject; but I will contend that there has been such a usage as to make it an honorary engagement on the part of Parliament, which we are bound to take into consideration. A sort of contract was made for twenty years at the time of the Union; and at the end of that period Parliament adopted the arrangement on full and further deliberation, and for twenty-five years more carried it out; so that whether there was compact or no compact, express agreement, or prescriptive usage, the right of the College to a grant rests upon the strongest possible grounds. But I will not rest its continuance, much less its increase, upon this consideration. What I urge is the fact, that there are 7,000,000 of your fellow-subjects in Ireland who profess the Roman Catholic religion; and I must here observe that I differ from the hon. Member for Birmingham, whose expressions I heard with sorrow, when he declared that the Roman Catholic religion is an awful delusion. I heard the admirable observations on this part of the subject of the right hon. Member for Devonport with extreme pleasure. I am a sincere Protestant myself; but I cannot tolerate such an expression applied to the millions who profess the Roman Catholic religion, as that they labour under an awful delusion, more especially when I recollect that the great majority of Christians are Roman Catholics; and although there are essential differences between the Protestant and the Roman Catholic religion, still in the main the fundamentals of both are identical; and if the faith of the Roman Catholics be an awful delusion, every religious hope which we entertain is destroyed; and we of all men are the most miserable. The Roman Catholics of Ireland, as I have said, are 7,000,000, and the policy of England towards Ireland has at different times been cruel in the extreme. Cromwell, who was not very scrupulous as to the means which he used, did try to extirpate the Roman Catholic population of Ireland. It was he who introduced the system of pains and penalties, and privations, which were intended to drive the people from their faith; but that system was found unsuccessful after it had been tried for centuries, and one-fourth of the Queen's subjects in the United Kingdom have remained faithful to the Roman Catholic religion. You have not been able to extirpate them, you have failed to convert them; but they are now willing to accept of this grant of 27,000*l.* a year, for the purpose of providing the means of giving a better education to those who must and will be the spiritual fathers and guides of the people. Now, Sir, let me ask whether, under such circumstances, it would be policy to refuse this grant? Can you refuse it on principle? No; for the principle was settled fifty years ago, and the grant that was then awarded to them has been found, as my right hon. Friend truly stated, insufficient, and degrading to those who receive, and to those who give. The additional sum now proposed is insignificant for this House to give; but to those who are to receive it it is all-important—in the first place, as an indication of the good feeling of the House towards Ireland; and also with the view of raising the character and of improving the social habits of the seminary. My right hon. Friend went at length into the wretched state in which the College is kept; I will therefore say no more than that you keep the professors and the students like beggars, and then you blame them because they are not gentlemen. The hon. Member for Canterbury (Mr. Smythe) last night well said that, after all, those students were taken from the people, because they were to be the clergy of the people. But here, Sir, I must deny that those students are taken from the lowest class of the population—they are not drawn from the dregs of the people; but are generally supplied from the middle classes—they are generally the sons of shopkeepers and persons in that station in life. They sympathize with the people—they are trusted by the people—they officiate for the people—and they are believed by the people. In former times this College of Maynooth was visited and narrowly inspected by Protestants; and I have spoken with Mr. Frankland Lewis, who, with Mr. Foster, was one of the visitors. Mr. F. Lewis told me that he was present at an examination which lasted two days, in 1826; and he said the curriculum of their studies, as far as classical knowledge went, was such as would have commanded a degree in an English University. The same gentleman informed me that there was a facility in the use of the Latin language at Maynooth which he had never before or since known to be surpassed, and that as a literary seminary it was by no means to be despised. But even if the studies and the general results of the College of Maynooth were the reverse of what I have stated, the object which this grant is intended to effect would in part be to render the education there more efficient; and I put it to hon. Members on this side of the House, confident as they are in the truth of their particular form of religion, whether if they, the Protestant landlords of England, had a Roman Catholic tenantry residing on their estates, they would prefer to see that tenantry instructed in their religious and moral duties by an ignorant and a badly educated priesthood, or by a clergy accomplished in the arts and sciences, and imbued with the tastes and refinements of literature. I will not, however, weary the House at this late hour with details. I have the strongest conviction that, if you consent to pass this measure, such is the generosity of the Irish character that the people of that country will forget the injuries of which they have a just right to complain; and if you continue to deal in a confiding spirit with them, this measure will prove a bond of union, a harbinger of peace, and a presage of happier days. If you think it will tend to the overthrow of the Established Church, then reject the measure; but take care while you do that lest you should inflame the disaffection already existing, and stimulate the desire for the Repeal of the Union, which has spread already to an alarming extent. Let me ask, will the rejection of the measure tend to allay agitation in Ireland? will it promote increasing confidence in the Irish people in the justice, and the generosity, and the good feeling of their fellow subjects in this country? In my opinion, the measure is caculated to promote great national objects, and, therefore, it has my warmest support. No doubt the Government will be taunted, whether justly or unjustly, with a departure from their line of policy as indicated in some hasty expressions used in the heat of debate; but after deeply and maturely reflecting upon the subject, I counsel you to pass the measure, being sure that at the present moment nothing could be more dangerous to the peace and well-being of the country than its rejection. I heard with the highest degree of pleasure the speech that was made here on a previous evening by the father of this House, the hon. Member for Middlesex. That venerable person is not only the oldest Member of this House, but he is also a man of great political experience, and of unsullied honour. There is neither a speck nor a flaw upon his character. What was the statement made here by that honourable, that venerable Member? I am sure the noble Lord opposite will admit that there is no man in this House who has been animated by a stronger party feeling, or by warmer personal attachments, than the hon. Member for Middlesex; and what did he say of the Bill before the House? All that hon. Member's feelings, all his sympathies, are with the other side of the House. His antipathies I will not call them, but his political and party objections, are all directed against us who sit on this side of the House. That hon. Member's patriotic sense of duty brought him down to this House to state what his sentiments were with respect to this Bill. And what were those sentiments? He first declared that no two men, from early prepossessions, could more dislike such a measure, or be more opposed to it, than the Duke of Wellington and my right hon. Friend; and he also stated that they had not been influenced by fear in bringing it forward. By what then, said the hon. Member, were they influenced? By a sense of what was due to the safety and best interests of the country. The hon. Member then declared, that however he might be opposed to the Government, he never could give a factious vote on such an occasion, and that he should consequently give his vote for the Bill; and he concluded his remarks by saying that he never gave a vote with greater pleasure or with less hesitation than that which he should give on the question before the House, and that he should continue to come down and to give his support to it as long as was necessary.

Now, fully appreciating and honouring the line which the hon. Member whose sentiments I have quoted has taken, I tell the House that I do anticipate the happiest results from carrying this measure; but its rejection will be no trifling matter. The rejection of a measure like this, after its deliberate sanction by the Crown, and its preparation and proposal by Her Majesty's Government, will be regarded throughout Ireland as the triumph of religious antipathy over reason and justice; and this result will be received there with a sentiment of bitter disappointment, and with feelings of dismay approaching to desperation.

Mr. *Maclean* stated, that the argument adduced by the right hon. Gentleman in support of the Bill was simply, that because the House had violated a principle in 1795, and had continued since to do so, that was a reason for increasing the extent to which this violation of principle was to be carried. Now, he thought before the grant was assented to, the country was entitled to examine into the principles of the education carried on at the College of Maynooth; and he must say that it really did appear to him to be most shocking for the House to be acceding to an increase in the grant, which in its original amount was most objectionable, without instituting the slightest examination into the doctrines taught in that establishment for the support of which it was intended. He could not but consider, also, that there was another objection to the grant, which was the ultimate result to which it evidently tended. In the year 1825, when the noble Lord the Member for South Lancashire (Lord F. Egerton) brought forward his Motion for endowing the Roman Catholic clergy, the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel) then stated, that his objections to such a Motion rested chiefly on the ground that if the proposal embodied in it were carried into effect, the whole body of Dissenters in the kingdom would be entitled to claim the same endowment, and thus enormous difficulties in the administration of the public affairs would be created. This grant could only be the first step towards an endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy; for it was but fair and reasonable that they should not be sent into the world to live on the eleemosynary donations of their flocks. If these measures were contemplated by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newark, there could be no earthly reason for his leaving the Cabinet. Surely the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government did not mean to say that numbers were to claim an endowment, because, if so, he saw no earthly reason why the Dissenters should not claim it. He did not think that the hon. Gentleman the Member for the city of Durham, whom the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department had called the "new ally" of the hon. Baronet near him (Sir R. Inglis), had paid any distinguished compliment to the Roman Catholic priests of Ireland in saying that their silence was to be purchased. Nothing could be more insulting than the taunts with which that hon. Member had stated that the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government had thrown the measure out for what he (Mr. Bright) called "a sop," for the purpose of "hush money," as he termed it. What had been the original cause of the foundation of Maynooth? It was notoriously to prevent the increase of democratic principles amongst the priesthood of that country, and to make their education a national one, and to insure their loyalty to the Crown of England. They were now about to increase the grant without any examination whether the same doctrine was still preached, and the old system of education was carried out there, or not. He disclaimed anything like intolerance. Protestant intolerance was quite as bad as Catholic intolerance; but it was not intolerant that Protestants should be jealous of this measure. The Constitution of England made the Church of England and Ireland one Church by the Act of Union; and if they made a stab at the Church of Ireland, they must remember that the blow reached the heart of the Church of England. They must remember that they could not have two existing Establishments, and that if they sanctioned an establishment of the Roman Catholic religion, they must sanction the establishment of a religion which was strongly antagonistic to the Protestant faith. That Catholic would be an indifferent member of his faith who did not try every means in his power to propagate that faith which he believed to be true. This was not only the necessity of their religion, but the practice of it; and they lost no opportunity of extending their faith, and propagating their tenets. The same principle actuated the Church of England. They would find out the danger when too late of not remembering the words of one who was a great man in his time—words which he had once heard repeated by his right hon. Friend the Secretary for the Home Department, with great energy, depth of feeling, and decision of manner, amidst the cheers of the Conservative party, re-echoed by many on the other side—they were the words of Lord William Russell:—"I believe that Popery is making great strides in this kingdom, and that those who wish to forward it will hesitate at no step for its advancement, and I lament that so many Protestants have lent it their helping hand."

Debate again adjourned.

House adjourned at twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, April 18, 1845.

MINUTES.] BILLS. *Public.*—1ª. Elective Franchise Extension.

Reported.—Sheriffs (Wales).

3ª. and passed:—Bastardy.

Private. — 3ª. and passsed:—Birkenhead Commissioners Dock; Thames Navigation Debt.

PETITIONS PRESENTED. By Bishop of Bangor, Duke of Richmond, Bishop of Hereford and Earl Powis, from Boystone, and several other places, against the Union of St. Asaph and Bangor.—From Clergy and others of St. David's and several other places, against the Union of St. Asaph and Bangor, but in favour of the Appointment of a Bishop of Manchester.—By Bishop of Durham, Dukes of Rutland, and Richmond, Earls of Bandon, and Wicklow, Marquess of Breadalbane, and Lords Campbell, and Braybrooke, from Glasgow, and numerous other places, against Increase of Grant to Maynooth.—By Duke of Cleveland, from Inhabitants of Ballymoodan, and Bandon, for Inquiry into the course of Instruction adopted at Maynooth College.—By Earl of Bandon, from Cork and several other places, for Encouragement of Schools in connexion with Church Education Society (Ireland).—From Waltham Agricultural Society, for Repeal of Malt Tax.—By Duke of Rutland, from Landowners of Leicester, and from the Leicestershire Agricultural Society, for Protection to the Agricultural Interest.—By Lord Campbell, and Bishop of Durham, from Inhabitants of Rhymney Iron Works, and 2 other places, for the Suppression of Intemperance.—By Duke of Richmond, from Merchants and others of Forres, against any alteration of Law relating to the present system of Banking (Scotland).—From Presbytery of Jedburgh, for Improving the Condition of Schoolmasters (Scotland).—By Earl of Mountcashell, from Guardians of Fermoy Union, for Alteration of Poor Law (Ireland) Act.

THE DIOCESES OF ST. ASAPH AND BANGOR.] The Earl of *Powis*, on presenting petitions from a great number of places against the Union of the Sees of St. Asaph and Bangor, said that he should take that opportunity to put the question of which he had given notice on this subject. It would be in the recollection of the House, that last year he had introduced a Bill for the purpose of continuing to keep separate the Sees of St. Asaph and Bangor. The House agreed to the second reading of this Bill; and, subsequently, in conformity with the advice of some noble Friends who had aided him in supporting the Bill, he had withdrawn it in consequence of the statement of the noble Duke, that Her Majesty's Assent was not likely to be given on the further progress of the Bill. In the present year he had introduced a similar Bill; and the second reading stood for Thursday, the 29th. The object of the question which he now wished to put, was to request the noble Duke to have the kindness to inform him whether it was the intention of Her Majesty's Ministers to interpose, in the present instance, Her Majesty's Prerogative, in a similar manner in which it was done last year; and which would have the effect of preventing the St. Asaph and Bangor Dioceses Bill passing that House?

The Duke of *Wellington* replied, that the Bill alluded to by the noble Earl was for the repeal of so much of the Act of the 6th and 7th William IV., as related to the union of the Sees of St. Asaph and Bangor. This Bill was in the possession of their Lordships; and Her Majesty's Ministers' attention had been directed to it; and he could only say, in reply to the question of the noble Earl, that he had not received Her Majesty's authority to give Her Assent to the progress of the Bill.

The Earl of *Powis* said, that he would on Monday state the course which he intended to pursue. With regard to the Bill, he was aware that it could not be proceeded with without the Assent of the Crown. He could not state the proposition which he should make; but whatever Motion he should make, Thursday, the 29th, would be the day on which he should submit it to the House.

RAILWAYS.] Lord *Brougham* said, that a case had come under his notice, showing a most extraordinary example of recklessness on the part of the managers of a railroad, and of their sacrificing the interests of the shareholders. He had the very best authority for the statement which he was about to make; but he should not name the railway company, or even the part of the country in which it was. The statement which he was about to make showed the reckless manner in which the powers given to the company by their Act had been carried out; and this not to the injury of individuals, but to the utter ruin of the company itself, in consequence of their hurry to complete their railway, without waiting for an Act giving them new powers. In this instance, this railway was connected with one of the largest railways in the kingdom, many of the proprietors of which were men of great wealth. Near the then proposed line, there was an estate, which was held in trust, as devisee, by an eminent legal gentleman, who was his authority on the subject. The legal title of the estate was, therefore, vested in this gentleman. It appeared expedient to the managers of the railway company to carry on their works, not confining themselves to the land or line described in the Schedule of their Act. The powers of the Act allowed them to take a line, and they might make some slight variations from it; but not satisfied with this, they wished to take a property situated in a parish not set forth in their Schedule. They went to the parties occupying the property, and by means of their agents made a bargain with them; and by offering four times the value of the land—which he did not object to—they obtained the consent of these parties to their driving their railway through their property. The parties, however, who had given their assent were only tenants for life, and had no power to give assent. The legal gentleman to whom he alluded was trustee of the property as a guardian of infants, and, therefore, without an Act of Parliament, he could not, as a devisee of the property, give his assent to the alienation of it, as he could not make a title to the land. Any lawyer could have told the parties this; and it appeared that nearly all these companies had not only solicitors, but standing counsel; but such was their reckless haste to complete their works, that they could not wait to obtain a new Act giving them additional powers, but at once proceeded, to the most serious injury, if not the ruin, of the shareholders in the company. Another circumstance had been mentioned to him which was also worthy of notice. It appeared that an eminent manufacturer, who was the director of some half-dozen railways, had got shares divided into half-shares, quarters, and even eighths; and he had held out inducements to clubs, artisans, and other workmen, to take them. Those persons had been induced to draw their 20*l.* or 30*l.* from the savings banks, where it was deposited for bad times, and to speculate with it in gambling in the share market, to their most serious injury, if not to their utter ruin.

THE FRANCHISE TAX.] The Marquess of *Normanby* said, that he should then present the Bill of which he had given notice, for the extension of the franchise to all persons paying the Income Tax. Some doubt appeared to be entertained when he alluded to the subject on a former evening, as to the utility of his plan, but from inquiries which he had since made, he had reason to believe that the proposed measure would give a very beneficial extension to the elective franchise, even in cities and boroughs. There were many annuitants, retired tradesmen, professional men, and others, contributors to the Income Tax, who resided in lodgings in all the cities and large towns, and there were also a considerable number of the same class living in counties beyond the limits of adjoining boroughs. These would all be benefited by his measure, and would prove a very enlightened and independent body of voters. The right of voting would of course be confined to the limits of the respective counties or boroughs. Without entering further into the provisions of the Bill, he begged to move that it be now read a first time.

Lord *Stanley* said, he presumed there was no objection to allow the Bill to be read a first time without entering into any discussion on its merits. He merely rose for the purpose of expressing a hope that, in assenting to such a course, he would not be supposed by the noble Marquess to give any concurrence in the very novel principle in legislation which the measure introduced. Perhaps his noble Friend meant to guarantee that the Income Tax was to be a permanent source of taxation.

The Marquess of *Normanby* said, he wished he could guarantee that the Income Tax would not be a permanent tax, but from what what had before fallen from his noble Friend on the subject, he thought he had every ground for fearing that the Income Tax was intended to be permanently continued. The Bill would, of course, limit the duration of the franchise conferred by it to the continuance of the Income Tax. His noble Friend had spoken of the principle of the Bill as one novel in legislation, but his noble Friend was himself not long a Member of that House, or he would have known that his allusion to an objection to the first reading of any Bill was itself a most novel proceeding in their Lordships' House.

Bill read 1^{a}.

INFANTICIDE.] The Earl of *Mountcashell* wished to bring under the notice of the House the Return of Inquests held in 1844, by Coroners in the United Kingdom, on the bodies of infants under twelve months of age. The last Return for which he had applied was for the number of these inquests held in 1844; but he had previously obtained a Return of the number of Coroners' inquests held in cases of infanticide for the preceding eleven years. That former Return had now been lying on their Lordships' Table since the last Session of Parliament, and he had to complain of it as being very imperfect and irregular in many instances. In one case, the Coroner refused any return until he would know by whom he was to be paid his expenses for doing so; and in other cases also the Returns were very unsatisfactory and imperfect, but still the Report showed that inquests had been held during the eleven years prior to 1844 on upwards of 8,000 infants.

The Duke of *Richmond* said, he at first thought the noble Earl meant to confine himself to the case of Irish Coroners, and had he done so, he (the Duke of Richmond) would leave to some noble Lord connected with the sister country, the task of defending them. He thought the information required could be obtained through the treasurer of the county, especially in cases where the Coroner did not happen to be in a position to give it. With respect to the case more particularly alluded to by the noble Lord, the proper course, in his opinion, was to call upon that Coroner to make the return forthwith; and if he then refused, they would soon let him know that the House of Lords had plenty of power to make him account for his conduct, and to oblige him to travel up to London and back again at his own expense, and perhaps to take up his lodging in Newgate for some time in the interim. The subject of Coroners' Courts was one that ought to be brought under the serious consideration of Parliament. He did not mean to allude to any little squabbles that might have taken place between police magistrates and coroners, but to the indefinite way in which juries were summoned to attend inquests. In other cases juries were summoned, perhaps, from the extremity of the county, and kept often for several days from their homes without getting any remuneration whatever; whereas it was part of the patronage of the constable to collect coroners' juries from among his neighbours, as they were entitled to receive 1*l.* remuneration — a sum which, however, was seldom taken in cash, as it was usually appropriated to paying for a good dinner, of which the jurymen partook together after the inquest. With respect to the Coroners generally of England, every one should admit that they were a most respectable body of men.

Their Lordships then adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, April 18, 1845.

MINUTES.] BILLS. *Public.*—2°· Maynooth College.

Private.—1°· Belfast Lough Drainage; Bermondsey Improvement (No. 2).

2°· Lyme Regis Improvement, Market, and Waterworks; St. Mathew Bethnal Green Rectory; Claughton-cum-Grange (St. Andrew's) Church; Claughton-cum-Grange (St. John the Baptist's) Church; Castle Hills (Wexford) Docks.

Reported.—Clerkenwell Improvement.

PETITIONS PRESENTED. By Mr. Shaw, from several places, for Encouragement of Schools in connexion with Church Education Society (Ireland).—By several hon. Members, from an immense number of places (371 Petitions), against, and by Sir C. Napier, from Little Portland St. Chapel, and Mr. Roebuck, from Bath, in favour, of the Grant to Maynooth College.—By Mr. Hogg, from Beverley, for Repeal or Alteration of Insolvent Debtors Act. —By Lord Ossulston, from Batley Carr, for Diminishing the Number of Public Houses.—From Newington, Bassett, and Kingscote, for Alteration of Law relating to the Sale of Beer.

RAILWAY COMMITTEES.] Lord *G. Somerset* brought up the Second Report of the Committee on Railways, which was read as follows:—

"1. That Counsel appearing before Railway Committees shall be entitled to open the case, but not to sum up the evidence.

"2. That Committees on Railway Bills have leave to sit in the present Session, notwithstanding any adjournment of the House, if the Committees shall so think fit.

"3. That such of the Standing Orders as relate to the composition of the Committees on Private Bills, and the orders consequent thereon, be suspended so far as regards Railway Bills pending in the course of the present Session."

Moved that the first Resolution, that counsel be allowed to open the case, but not to sum up the evidence, be agreed to. The other Resolutions were entirely as to matters of form.

Viscount *Howick* should not oppose the proposition; but he regretted that the Government had not, in the first instance, laid down some general rule for the guidance of all Committees, instead of leaving each Committee to act as it might on its own rules.

Mr. *Wilson Patten* doubted whether the Resolution would be productive of the advantages which the noble Lord anticipated.

Lord *G. Somerset* said, that as there seemed to be a considerable difference of opinion on the subject, he would for the present withdraw the Resolution. As to laying down general rules, he saw much difficulty in adopting that principle.

Motion withdrawn. The second and third Resolutions were agreed to.

Viscount *Howick* wished to ask a question of the noble Lord, with respect to the subject of railways. Some of the Committees on Railways were to commence their labours on Monday, and he was desirous to ascertain if any Order was to be made by the House to refer to those Committees the Reports of the Board of Trade on the Railways the Bills for which were to come before them.

Lord *G. Somerset* said, that no such Order had as yet been made, but it was his intention to bring forward a Motion to the effect that the Reports of the Board of Trade be referred to those Committees.

Viscount *Howick* hoped that no Motion on so important a subject would be made at a late hour of the night, when few Members were present.

Sir *G. Grey* said, that if the Order were not made before Monday, the Committees would have to adjourn to a future day, and thus much time must be lost. It was, therefore, desirable that the Order should be made before the adjournment of the House.

Mr. *Aglionby* feared that there had been great negligence displayed with respect to this subject. The Motion for sending those Reports to the Committees ought to have been made before this time. It was a most unjustifiable course to oblige the Committees to adjourn from Monday to Tuesday, in order that the Committees might have the Reports before them; and if the Motion were made tonight, it must be made without notice.

Lord *G. Somerset* intended to move that all the Reports which affected Railways that were to be brought before the Committees which would sit next week, should be ordered by the House to be produced before those Committees; and he thought it would be the better course, with the permission of the House, that he should move without further delay for the Order. He would, therefore, move—

> "That the Reports of the Railway Department of the Board of Trade, relating to the Groups of Railway Bills upon which Committees are appointed to meet upon Monday and Tuesday next, be respectively referred to the said Committees."

Mr. *Duncombe* did not think that the Motion of the noble Lord went far enough. He was of opinion that the Reports ought to be accompanied with certain statements and documents which were in the possession of the Board of Trade, and on which their decisions were founded. They had been told that a strong feeling existed in the public mind with reference to the alleged reception of *ex parte* statements by the Board of Trade, and gross partiality in acting on them. What he wished was, that the promoters and upholders of every Bill should be enabled to peruse those documents, and he would therefore move as an Amendment to the noble Lord's Resolution, as well as the Report to the Committees, to refer to those documents.

The *Speaker* informed the hon. Member that it was competent for the House to refer the Reports of which it was in possession to the Committees, but it could not so refer the papers and documents alluded to in the hon. Member's Amendment, they not being in the possession of the House.

Viscount *Howick* had no objection to the Motion of the noble Lord; but if it had come before the House at an earlier period, he should have taken the opportunity of calling the attention of the House to the nature of the Reports of the Board of Trade, and of protesting against the House lending its authority to them. He thought the House had great reason to complain of the want of care on the part of the organ of the Board of Trade. The Gentleman who represented the Board of Trade in that House ought to have given a regular notice of this Motion at a time sufficiently early to allow hon. Members to make the necessary inquiries on the subject. This was another example of the system of carelessness which had, from first to last, characterized the business of that Department upon an important question.

The Motion to refer the Reports of the Board of Trade to the Committees agreed to.

MAYNOOTH COLLEGE—ADJOURNED DEBATE (SIXTH NIGHT).] Mr. *S. Crawford*, in resuming the adjourned debate, said he felt deep regret at being compelled to separate himself on the present occasion from many hon. Gentlemen for whom he entertained the highest respect, and had been obliged to differ more especially in opinion from many Members for Ireland. He also felt regret at being compelled to oppose the measure of Her Majesty's Government, which he was sure they brought forward with the kindest dispositions towards Ireland. But as one of those who were in favour of the voluntary principle, he felt compelled to vote against it. There were two charges brought against those persons who, like himself, supported the voluntary principle. They were charged, first, with concurring in the former grant to Maynooth; and in the next place, they were charged with voting for a chimerical project, which they had no chance of carrying out. With regard to the first, he believed it would be admitted without dispute that a new question now arose, for a permanent endowment by Bill was a very different thing from an annual grant by vote. It might be in some degree inconsistent with the voluntary principle that he had not opposed the grant to Maynooth; but he confessed, out of respect to his Roman Catholic brethren, he felt reluctant to vote against the grant to Maynooth, and to upset that which had been established by the Irish Parliament. Nor did he think that the second charge was more valid. He was of opinion that if this grant were passed to the College of Maynooth, the principle would not stop there. He trusted that the course he was now taking would not be imputed to any unfriendly feeling on his part towards his Roman Catholic countrymen. It had been said that the opposition in England to the measure had arisen from what was commonly called the "No Popery" cry; but those who made the charge should consider what cause the people had for their opposition. They had ample cause in the inconsistency of the great leader of the Irish people with respect to the voluntary principle. With respect to that principle, his course had been one completely marked by inconsistencies. Some thought that this grant would not lead to further concessions, because that the Roman Catholic clergy would not accept any endowment from the State. He thought differently; and he did not see why, if they accepted the present, they should refuse any future and more extended endowment. There was no man more hostile than he was to the principle of an Established Church; but he would not take the revenues from one Established Church to establish another. It had been said by, he believed, the hon. Member for Dundalk, that a great portion of what had been taken from the Catholic Church to enrich the Establishment, had consisted of the gifts of individuals. When that could be proved, he would restore the property to its owners; but any grants which had been made by the State he would not transfer from one Church to another. It was not consistent with the former declarations of the Catholics to be parties, as they were at present, to the extortion for a support for their Church from the English people; for if there was unanimity on any question in this country, it was upon that before the House, to which opposition was universal out of doors. He objected to all grants to the clergy of every denomination, as inimical to the progress of civil and religious liberty. That was proved in the case of the Presbyterian clergy of Ulster, who, though they had been among the foremost in the rebellion of 1798, no sooner had an increase of their grant, which was given to them by Lord Castlereagh, than they became the friends of every Government. The grant to Maynooth in 1795 was given on the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam from Ireland, and in lieu of the political advantages that had been promised to the people of that country, and of which his assumption of the Vice-royalty was the earnest; and it had the effect intended by its donors for a time. He wished the grant now proposed to be given to Maynooth might not be given in the character of "hush money" for the compromise of political rights; but he was afraid that there would be little extension of political rights to the people of Ireland when once it passed the House. He was opposed, besides, to any grant for the exclusive education of clergymen. The measure was spoken of as a panacea for Ireland; but as there was not a single petition from the people of Ireland in its favour, he could not see how it could deserve that designation. If he thought that it would benefit the people of Ireland, as those Gentlemen stated, he would in the abstract yield his own opinion; but, not believing it to be the case, he could not give up his attachment to the voluntary principle. The people of Ireland were now claiming from the people of England the violation of religious feeling—which they had no right to claim. At the same time, he thought there was no proper fund to pay the Roman Catholic priests but the Established Church; and he therefore admitted that, in so far as that Church was concerned, the measure was eminently Conservative. In his opinion, however, no man should be compelled to pay for the church of another; and he never would give a vote to enable such a system to be carried out in this country. The Catholic people of Ireland might relieve themselves by refusing to accept a compulsory grant from the people of England, and by insisting on the Church of Ireland being abolished. They could not benefit Ireland by any policy that did not conciliate a moral power in England in its support; and if they carried this grant contrary to the feeling of the people of England, they would materially damage the welfare of Ireland, by creating towards it an hostility in the minds of the people of this country.

Lord *C. Hamilton:* I trust the House will excuse me if I do not follow the hon. Member who has just sat down into his arguments on the voluntary principle; but I must be permitted to remark upon his observations respecting the Dissenters in England. Does he mean to say, that there is any analogy between the position of any body of Dissenters in this country, and the Roman Catholics of Ireland? I confess, when I hear such a comparison, it does appear to me to furnish the only valid argument, if any can be valid, for the Repeal of the Union; for it does show such a lamentable ignorance of the peculiar position of the Irish Roman Catholics, and of the peculiarities of that country, as almost to justify the assumption that those who use it are unfit to legislate for Ireland. The situation of the Roman Catholics of Ireland is not only totally unlike, and distinct from, that of any body of Dissenters in England, but is without precedent or example in any part of the universe. But if it could be shown that there was any body of Dissenters in England placed in similar circumstances, that would not meet the case. Why do you attempt to refer the Roman Catholics of Ireland to the Dissenters of England? Why cannot you refer them to the Dissenters of Ireland? The Roman Catholics of England, at least, see themselves treated in the same manner and with the same consideration as the Dissenters; but the Roman Catholics of Ireland, if they look to their own countrymen, they behold within their own island the Dissenters enjoying a State provision. They see the Dissenters, with a population of no more than 600,000 souls, in the enjoyment of 35,000*l.* a year; whilst the grant of 26,000*l.* proposed to be given to 7,000,000 of people, is opposed on the ground of the English Dissenters being unpaid. Why is this anomalous and mortifying distinction to be maintained? Is it because they are Irish? Or is it because they amount to seven-eighths of the population? I trust, this comparison with the English Dissenters will have no weight with the House. It has been urged that this measure should not be granted, because it was not demanded by the people of Ireland. Now, Sir, on this subject I entertain a very different opinion. If this measure had been brought forward as a concession to clamour—had it been extorted by intimidation from an unwilling Government, then I, for one, would have opposed it strenuously. A demand made by violent and multitudinous meetings would furnish a reason for refusing to grant it; but were the people of that country to be deprived of the advantages spontaneously offered them by Her Majesty's Ministers, because they had not demanded it with violence and clamour? If it had been offered as "hush money, or as a bribe to the watch dogs," as has been suggested on the other side of the House, I should have viewed it in a very different light; but no such view was apparent on the face of it, and I am convinced such were not the intentions of its proposers. Much stress has been laid on the word "restitution" used by the noble Lord the Member for Liverpool; now, I never wish to cavil at expressions used in a debate: possibly the noble Lord did not intend to convey the meaning that has been attached to it; but whether he did or no, I must disclaim any such views or doctrines as that word may be supposed to imply. I never will consent to apply the principle of restitution to the Church established in Ireland, until the nearest representative of the deposed house of Stuart, has been sought out in foreign countries, and placed upon the Throne of these realms. The opponents of this measure seem to me to have trusted more to their powers of prophecy than to their powers of argument; but as regards their prophetic accuracy, I conceive they have rather put themselves out of court, by the surprise they have expressed at the introduction of this measure. If they cannot see the shadows which coming events cast before them, though aided by the statements of the Government, they certainly are not entitled to much credit for their views into futurity. I must, however, confess that this measure has placed me in an embarrassing position; I see myself, with regret, opposed to many with whom I have long acted, and with whose principles I fully concur. But this is not so much a question of principle, but rather of the application of a principle; and in this way, I at once find myself reunited with those from whom I apparently differ; for we all feel an equal determination to uphold the Established Church, and we also concur in condemning the present College of Maynooth. I must also add, that in supporting this measure, I am aware that I am not representing the unanimous feelings of my constituents; but whilst great excitement is apparent in England on this subject, there is no corresponding excitement in Ireland. And I am quite prepared to prove that the majority of the petitions presented against the measure have been from Dissenters, and not from the Established Church. The Established Church has expressed little or no alarm on the matter; but that is not because she is either tired or spirit-broken, as some Gentlemen would have us to believe, but because she feels no alarm. That the Church is not tired of petitioning, or broken in spirit, is fully shown by her conduct on the Education question, and will doubtless be equally demonstrated whenever there arises an equal necessity. The Roman Catholic priests have been taunted with lending their chapels to political agitation. It is certainly true that they have done so; and, strongly as I censure that conduct, I must be permitted to express my regret that the clergy in this country should have allowed their pulpits to resound with denunciations of this measure, and converted their vestry-rooms into places for signing petitions. I also regret that a cry has been raised of the "Church in danger." Being most firmly attached to the tenets of that Church, and deeply convinced of the purity of its doctrines, I do not think that it incurs any danger from a more liberal course of conduct towards those who differ from it; and I deprecate the idea that the safety of the Church depends upon illiberality towards those who are opposed to it. As a Protestant—by some considered a bigoted Protestant, (and I would rather deserve that title than merit the description of being a lukewarm one,) I must protest against the imputation that the Protestant Church cannot contend with its opponents if they are educated, or that its safety depends entirely upon the adventitious circumstances that ally it to the State in this country. I know, that when Protestants were few in number and lowly in life, not all the power of leagued potentates, or the embattled hosts of all the Sovereigns in Europe, were able to put it down—nor could the fierce flames of persecution destroy the zeal of its followers. It was based on truth, and the storms of persecution have not been able to beat it down; and am I now to be told, after it has been established by law, and allied to the State for three centuries, that it is so slightly rooted in the feelings and affections of the people, or has lost so much of its original virtue, that a better education given to its opponents must necessarily emperil its safety, and shake its foundations? I do not believe it to be of so artificial or frail a nature; on the contrary, I believe that the increase of light and knowledge which is produced by enlarged and liberal education, instead of strengthening the hands of its opponents, will diminish the number of those who reject its doctrines, from hereditary prejudices, without any examination. On this point I must remark that it appears to me that the opponents to the measure have, in the course of their speeches, rather dwelt generally against the Roman Catholic religion, than confined themselves to the effect to be expected from the proposed increase of grant. All the speeches that have been quoted, and the extracts from class books that have been read, do not in my opinion exactly bear upon the present question. I cordially concur in the condemnation expressed of those passages, and also most strongly disapprove of practices and doctrines of the Roman Church; but we are not now discussing whether we shall tolerate Roman Catholics in our country—they are here—they have existed, and will exist; the real question is, how shall we treat them? Now, do those who argue danger from this act of liberality, deduce their reasonings from the success that has attended the opposite course? Has illiberality succeeded in putting them down, or in strengthening the Established Church? There have been years of persecution, proscription, and penal laws, yet there has been no general conversion of the people of Ireland to the Church. I believe that these acts of oppression on the part of the Legislature have seriously interfered with the utility of the Church. I conceive it to be a natural effect in the human mind to adhere more blindly to a doctrine when it involves persecution and insult. Every act intended to prevent the outward manifestation of affection for a creed, drives it deeper into the heart; and in exact proportion as you endeavour by legislation to degrade its priests, to insult its rites, and shackle its civil independence, you wrap it closer round the hearts of its followers. I conceive nothing can be less suited to proselytism than persecution; for you thereby fence around a creed, originally adopted on religious grounds, with a barrier of prejudice and hatred—you widen the gulf that separates you, by calling in all the worldly feelings that a sense of injustice, neglect, and persecution are sure to engender, so that an hereditary faith is adopted with the accompaniment of an hereditary animosity, and the Protestant name is looked upon by millions merely as a title whereby worldly advantages are to be enjoyed at their expense. Has persecution succeeded in making congregations desert or betray their pastors? or have penal Statutes rendered the priests less faithful to their flocks? We all know the old fable—the storm and the whirlwind could not deprive the traveller of his cloak; he wrapped it the closer around him, as the storm raged fiercer, but the gentle rays of the sun caused him to lay it aside. We have tried the storm and whirlwind of persecution—we have failed in inducing the Roman Catholics to unite with us; let us now try whether the genial rays of Christian kindness will not induce them to lay aside their prejudices, and join us in all national undertakings with cordiality and good will. I recognise the missionary character of the Church, and I know that the first object in missionary enterprises is to gain the hearts of the people. The legislation that has embittered the minds of the people against the Protestant name has greatly impeded the efficiency of the Church; for minds that would have been open to the force of truth, and amenable to the influence of conviction, have been steeled against its doctrines by a sense of neglect, oppression, and insult. But, although I deeply regret the course this country has pursued in times past towards Ireland, yet I do not think anything can justify the proceedings of the Roman Catholic clergy. I consider their political conduct open to the severest reprobation; but I think, whilst expressing this censure, that their anomalous and difficult position should be considered, and that the faults of the Legislature should be remembered, as I do not think it is conceivable that any body of men so situated should take a different course. We have acknowledged the obligation to educate the priesthood, only to insult it by our practice; we have admitted the principle, only to show our contempt for it. We have offered an education of such a nature, as only to produce feelings of dislike and resentment. Can any one imagine that a student, rejoicing in obtaining, as the reward for his labours, a free studentship in the seminary endowed by the richest country in the world, can feel anything but disgust and anger when he beholds the desolate looking spot and deserted barrack that Maynooth is described to be? How must its appearance damp his glowing hopes, and turn to bitterness his feelings towards those who dole out so niggardly a pittance for so important an object! I conceive the impressions received at that College are well calculated to stamp a mind with permanent discontent; penury and stinted means meet the eye in every direction: this cannot produce gratitude. Is it then surprising, if in after years a priest should instil into the minds of his hearers an abhorrence of those to whom he attributed studied insult and neglect? I view the present College as a root of mischief and source of permanent evil to the country; and if I am now to decide upon its merits by the way in which it has hitherto fulfilled the intentions of its founders, I should at once vote for its total destruction—I would abolish it altogether; but by the Amendment proposed you would perpetuate it in all its imperfections, which are confessed by all parties. I have previously voted against it, considering it to be unfit for the duty it was intended to fulfil, and would do so again rather than continue it in its present mischievous form; but I rejoice in the alternative now offered of improving it. I think all the arguments used against the existing College tend to prove the duty of improvement; I think the premises laid down irresistibly lead to the conclusion that you should endeavour to amend it. I do not think 5*l.*

per annum for each student will over educate them, as feared by the Member for Northamptonshire. Nor do I anticipate, with the eloquent Member for Canterbury, that they will resemble the Abbés of ancient France. We all know how his historic fancies have embellished the past; in this case I conceive his prophetic fancy has with equal elegance shadowed forth a danger not likely to be established by the historic annals of future times. But we are told that we are acting contrary to the laws of God: now this is an argument to which I would reply with great deference. I have searched in the holy volume that contains revealed wisdom, and I can find nothing in it that would justify the opinion that it may be lawful to give enough to furnish a bad education, but sinful to give enough to offend a liberal and sound education. I cannot deduce any such principle from that sacred volume; much less can I trace in the tenor of Protestant principles, that the morality and lawfulness of a grant depend upon the ciphers which represent its amount. I cannot see how this or any other argument adduced tends to prove that this increase of grant involves any new principle, or leads to the great danger so loudly proclaimed. This College was founded by a King supposed not to be vacillating in his opinions or lax on religious subjects; his Minister was not a rash expediency-serving man, without settled principles, or careless about religion; the Parliament that originally endowed the institution was exclusively Protestant. Therefore if these men saw no danger, I do not think we need anticipate any, unless it is supposed that the Church is less secure on its base, or pure in its principles, than at that time. I believe it to represent the truth, and to exhibit the purest form of worship; and therefore I cannot think a trifling circumstance can endanger its existence. If this was an isolated scheme, I should have less confidence of success; but this is not so—a tone of conciliation has been adopted. Whilst firmness and prosecution responded to monster meetings, the present tranquil state of Ireland is greeted with such measures as this, conceived in a spirit of conciliation? Who can shut his eyes to the improved state of Ireland? Two years ago the whole country was convulsed with Repeal; now it has subsided into a whisper—we only hear of it through the quarrels of its promoters, or the description of the fancy dress they have adopted. Look at the spirit of the Roman Catholic clergy—is the effect of the Bequests Bill to be overlooked? That Bill has acted as a touchstone between political and religious churchmen. I rejoice to say, in spite of contumely, insult and agitation, those who have undertaken to carry out the provisions of that Bill, have carried the day, and the agitators are defeated. Then followed the letter from a high authority abroad, enjoining abstinence from political strife. Look at the Kilkenny festival, and see the effect of that letter—not one single Prelate attended. Is the Government to neglect such signs as these? No public men ever had such an opportunity. I rejoice they endeavour to profit by it. I do not intend to say, that I expect an instant change in the Irish priesthood. Such changes must be gradual; if a higher class do not enter the College, at least a better class will leave it. But I also anticipate great benefits from the spontaneous manner in which it has been offered, without condition or bargain, not to gain support or mitigate hostility, but from a sense of justice, and a desire to exhibit good will and liberality. The manner in which it has been received in this House and in Ireland leads me to augur well of the ultimate results. The Irish are a generous and grateful people; when they see that from every side of the House Gentlemen have expressed their readiness to endanger their seats, emperil their popularity, and alienate the affections of those they respect, rather than not support a measure for the benefit of Ireland, I am convinced it will produce a good and lasting effect. These interests thus freely sacrificed at the national shrine as a peace-offering, will arouse feelings of gratitude that will produce the happiest results. There is only one thing which I should venture to suggest in the carrying out of the proposed measure; I would avoid the name and locality of Maynooth. We all know that in building, patchwork is very much to be avoided. From the nature of the present buildings, their retention can be of no value; but it may seriously interfere with the designs of the architect and the convenience of the new buildings; but that is not my reason for advocating a new site. The locality of Maynooth is tainted with the suspicion, dislike, and prejudice of millions. The very name is a by-word—a battle cry—a rallying point for all religious bigotry and political animosity. As the institution is to undergo the process of regeneration, let it anew go through the rite of baptism;

let the ill-omened name be obliterated, and with it all the prejudices it has created be forgotten. Let this new institution arise under happier auspices, and let us invoke the good will and favourable aspirations of all parties, to a seat of learning founded in a spirit of conciliation and liberality. Let the new name be the harbinger of a new era in Irish legislation. Above all I would implore those who view this measure as rash and dangerous, if it does receive the sanction of Parliament, to suspend their judgment, and let it bring forth fruits of its own. Let them not hand down to it the dislike they felt to its predecessor, or seek to justify their prophecies, by marshalling hostility against the new institution.

Mr. *Muntz* observed that they saw many strange things, and heard many things as strange. But nothing that he had ever seen that was strange, or heard that was strange, was so strange as the change which had taken place in the speeches and dispositions of noble Lords and hon. Gentlemen since they had changed from this side of the House to that. Their memories were clearly affected. They did not seem to recollect that, at the time when he first had the honour of a seat in that House, their great battle field was Catholic concession. On what was the vote of confidence passed? Was it not the great source of argument to those who voted against the Government on that occasion, that they could have no confidence in a Government which yielded anything to the Roman Catholics? Had not such arguments frequently descended to personal dispute, and did they not once end in a duel? He would yield to no man in that House, he would yield to no man in England, he would yield to no man in Europe, in a spirit of the utmost toleration to all classes of religionists, in the wish that all should have the fullest, freest, and fairest exercise for their own religious views. But that was one of the very reasons why he was opposed to this paltry, pitiful measure of expediency now brought before the House—a measure which the Government should be ashamed to offer, and which the Irish should be ashamed to receive. If they wanted general education, let them ask for a grant as ample and extensive as they thought was required, and he would give them, in such a course, his hearty and unhesitating support. But let them not tell him that that was education which their paltry, miserable measure proposed—the education of whom? The education of a few Roman Catholic priests! And pray whom else would these priests educate? Could any Gentleman from Ireland, or elsewhere, inform him that it was the principle of the priests to communicate to the people the general education which they themselves received? Did they communicate any thing except the holy Scriptures, and only of them such part as suited their own religious views, and squared with their own peculiar principles? Did they ever teach the people to think; did they even allow the people to think at all for themselves? He would say that any man, that every man, should be admitted to the free and unimpeded exercise of his own religion. But there was one broad principle to which he had always adhered—which was, that he would neither pay for another man's religion, nor would he assist in obtaining money from one set of men for the purpose of maintaining the religious views of another. He had been told that for so acting he was bigoted. Bigoted! What, he bigoted! What an idea! He had, he was sorry to say, suffered too much in both person and pocket to fear the charge of being bigoted. He had been prosecuted, not to say persecuted, within the last seven years for his attachment to civil and religious liberty; and if he had not had the means of defending himself, he would have been cast into gaol, and have gone to ruin, although he was as free from the charge brought against him as the Speaker in the Chair. Was he now to be called a bigot? He felt conscious that the charge did not apply to him in the least degree; he was as free from bigotry as was any man in that House. No debate that had ever before taken place in that House, had shown him such extraordinary reasoning as had the present discussion. They had had every species of reasoning under the sun brought forward. And why? Simply because there was no principle in the measure. What had the hon. Member for Pontefract (Mr. Monckton Milnes) done and said? He came forward the other evening to justify the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government. But after proceeding a little, he felt confident that his task was a hopeless one, and that it was impossible to justify those who were unjustifiable. What did he then say? Could they have believed it? Why, he turned round and said that expediency was better than principle! If he really advocated such a line of conduct as this, he must be in the most satisfactory condition of any Member in that House; because, certainly, in that House expediency was the rule—principle the exception. The hon. Gentleman to whom he referred was a very good-natured, a clever, and well-intentioned man. But he had a vast deal of credulity if he believed this was a final and satisfactory measure. Were they to be told that such was to be the case, in the face of that honest and extraordinary speech made by Mr. O'Connell in Conciliation-hall? What did he say? He (Mr. O'Connell) did not approve of the principle of this Bill. He took the grant as a restitution in part, and thanked Repeal and Conciliation-hall for the restoration of that part, and pledged himself to agitate for all, and to agitate until he secured all. They were told that the Catholics were to be satisfied with this measure. Let them recollect the Catholic Emancipation Bill. What was it to give? It was to give that to the Catholics which it was said would satisfy them. Did it satisfy them? They would soon find that, like the measure of Emancipation, the present Bill which they were called upon to sanction would be alike unproductive of anything that would pacify those for whose benefit it was intended. They would only, by this measure, disturb the whole country, at the same time that they gave satisfaction to no party. There was another extraordinary reason given for the support of the measure. What said the noble Lord the Member for Nottinghamshire (the Earl of Lincoln)? He said that inasmuch as Her Majesty's Government had thought fit to hold the cup of bliss to the Roman Catholics, the House would not be justified in dashing it from their lips. Were they to be told so by any Minister of the Crown—were they to be told that they had no right to judge of the merits or demerits of that which was brought before them? If such were to be the case, the sooner they went back to their homes, and their comfortable firesides, and their businesses the better, for their occupation there was gone. The Minister had at once better govern as a despot, and the people had at once better know that he was a despot. He had often said in that House that he had no sort of care whether the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government administered the government of the country, or the noble Lord (Lord John Russell). Some time since he would not have given the toss up of a sixpence which of them it was. But he was bound to confess, and he did so with sorrow, that his opinions on this point now were entirely changed. This measure was now brought forward by the right hon. Gentleman after climbing to power on principles asserted—repeated—and determined upon—totally opposed to the principle of the measure; and they then saw the right hon. Baronet, without any sufficient reason, turning round on the principles which put him in power, and disposing of his friends, and forgetting those who had firmly supported him before. In this altered position of the right hon. Baronet, the noble Lord stood out in bold relief to him. An hon. and gallant Member (Colonel Sibthorp) said last night, that the right hon. Gentleman had deceived him. He (Mr. Muntz) might say the same. He would say further, that if the right hon. Gentleman deceived him once, he might again deceive him. It mattered not whether it was a Minister of the Crown, or a person holding the very lowest position in society, the principle held good, that he who deceived once would deceive twice if it were in his power, and suited his interest; and feeling that this was a base deception, that there was no necessity for the measure, and that it was not called for by the Irish, he considered it a gross insult to that House and to the nation; and, like the hon. and gallant Gentleman to whom he had alluded, he (Mr. Muntz) could never place the same confidence in that man (Sir R. Peel) again. But then they had been told that this measure would produce peace, and comfort, and happiness, and tranquillity, and what not. A noble Lord, a Colleague of the right hon. Gentleman, but now in the other House, had once said of the right hon. Gentleman, that "he was the best hand in that House at dressing up a case." The noble Lord was quite right. The right hon. Gentleman was not only the best hand at dressing up a case, but he was the best and ablest hand at baiting a trap. There was no man in that House equal to him. Whenever the right hon. Gentleman was conscious that there was any project of his that would not be aided by his own supporters, he then baited a trap for his opponents—and he caught them wholesale. There was the Income Tax, for instance—he laid a trap for the free traders. What did he do? He gave them a reduction in the duties on cotton, sugar, glass; he gave them one thing, and then they gave him three times as much as they received from him, after which they said that he had conferred on the country one of the greatest blessings it had ever received. Then there were the Irish Catholics; they were in a discontented state. The right hon. Baronet said, "We must conciliate them." What then did he do? He came down here and proposed to give them a grant; but he would not dare to propose that it should be directly a grant. Oh, no! It was to be for education. Scores of Gentlemen spoke to him about this. They were opposed to the principle. They disliked the thing. They despised the men from whom it came; but then there was the cause of education; it was the bait for the trap. The right hon. Gentleman set the trap, and caught whole crowds of them directly. The right hon. Gentleman knew perfectly well the fable of the lion and the three bulls. He divided that he might conquer. He attacked each interest singly; he beat each, separated from the others, and then he took and ate them all up one after the other. Sir, said the hon. Member, if the Irish people want priests, and well-educated priests, why don't they educate their own priests, and why not pay for their education? It is not a fair answer to us, or any reason or excuse for this measure, to say that so much money is taken out of their country—that their absentees spend as much as 6,000,000*l.* a year out of Ireland. Sir, if Irish Gentleman can afford to do this—if they do not choose to attend to what is their interest, and the interest of their poor countrymen—to what is theirs, and theirs alone; this country is not to see to it for them. What, Sir, is the real position of Ireland? Look back but a year or two. The Income Tax was introduced. We did not put an Income Tax upon Ireland. Instead of that there was a little stamp duty, and a spirit duty. The spirit duty has been withdrawn, and the stamp duty produces no more than 90,000*l.* a year. We have renewed the Income Tax. We did not put it on Ireland. We have taken all the burden on ourselves; and all the benefit of the Tariff Ireland has as well as ourselves. Now, we are told to assist Ireland, because Ireland is in need of assistance. But why is Ireland in need? Because she chooses to be in need. When Ireland subscribes 10,000*l.* a year for Repeal, and 10,000*l.* for foreign missions, and when she can find ample funds for agitation, cannot she also find money to pay for her priests? I deny that Ireland has any claims upon us—indeed, I am not aware that she does make any claim—but if she did, then I say she has ample means, if she wants to educate priests, for the sake of educating the poor. Another consideration, Sir. If you begin this, where will you stop? It has been very well remarked, that if you pay these priests, you must pay for others; and if you will pay the ministers of the Roman Catholic, how can you refuse to pay the priests of all other sects both in England and Ireland, down to the meanest Jumper? They will have a right, if the others have it. Why, there will be no end to the thing; and this must show you the impropriety and the danger of deviating from a principle. I never knew any one to do it who did not get into the dirt. I never yet knew a man in public or in private who once deviated from principle, who did not repent of it, and who was not found to fail in the object he had in view. I have had addressed to me a hundred complaints and remarks against this measure, and not one—not a single one, in its favour. And how is the feeling of the people on this subject met? It was said, when we were discussing the Income Tax, that the people did not complain about it, or the Table would be covered with petitions against it. Now, however, the Table is covered with petitions, and what is said? That they are "got up without principle;" want of principle in the petitions is now set against want of principle in the measure. What is the fact? The real truth is, that the people of this country have a great feeling, a strong feeling against this measure, and they are quite right in having it. It is my opinion that there is a great disposition in this country to return to the Catholic religion. I see that plainly enough; and that the Catholics are going to great expenses, extending themselves everywhere, and making proselytes wherever they can. I wish for toleration for them and for all others; but I do not wish to pay for advancing other religions, when I think my own the best. I am unaffectedly in favour of the free exercise of every religion; but then I am not to be told that I am to pay for the religion of another out of the Consolidated Fund. I do not understand being called upon to pay for another man's religion. Oh! but then there is the bait of "education;" that is the bait—there is the trap, and in that persons are caught. If there were to be a direct grant, it would be refused; but a grant for education will be acceded to. I have now, Sir, to conclude my remarks. [Sir Robert Peel here entered the House.] I am very sorry the right hon. Gentleman did not return before, and whilst I was remarking upon his political conduct; but I now say, in all cases, whether in public or in private, I am and ever have been the friend and supporter of principle and steadiness. I think the present Government has not adhered to principle; I am bound therefore to oppose it—to assist in changing it for another; and if those who follow it are not consistent, change them also, and so on, until at length we get those that will satisfy the country that they do adhere to principle.

Mr. *Neville*, protracted as this debate had been, was anxious not to let it come to a close without craving the indulgence of the House for a few moments. He could not shut his eyes to the petitions which were nightly poured upon that Table from nearly every constituency in the kingdom; but as they were an argument one way, so was the absence of petitions from the only two solely Protestant, solely Church of England, and solely educated constituencies—viz., the two Universities, an argument in the opposite direction. Whenever the Church was in danger, Oxford and Cambridge were foremost to petition; and he could not but think, that had it been so now, they would not have remained in the back ground; and he thought he was speaking the opinions of a majority of the right hon. Chancellor of the Exchequer's constituents, when he said that the conduct of the right hon. Gentleman had not lost him the confidence of those by whom he was so deservedly honoured and esteemed. He had visited Maynooth, and in bearing testimony to the courtesy he received at the hands of the authorities, he could not but acknowledge the truth of every description he had heard of it, except that of the right hon. Member for Perth (Mr. F. Maule) and his friend Mr. Grant. He viewed with feelings of pity those dilapidated walls, that scanty library, and the care and pride with which the few works of value contained in it were regarded; but those feelings were changed into remorse and shame, when he heard that he was a Member of a Legislature which so miserably endowed a Government educational institution, that they were forced to send away the pupils a portion of the year solely from being unable to provide them with the necessaries of life. Everything about it was meagre. One, and only one work of art he remembered to have seen, viz., a marble bust of George III., beneath which were these words:—

> "Georgio Tertio,
> Patri Patriæ,
> Fundatori suo,
> Collegium Manutianum."

Upon this inscription he would not comment; but hon. Members, he thought, would not expect to find such an one in a "nursery of sedition." Taunts had been thrown out from the other side, that this measure was not entertained by the Government when in Opposition. He would not retaliate, or find fault with those who, when in power, might have brought forward a measure of which they highly approved. The noble Lord knew he could not carry it; he knew that such torrents of petitions as were now poured into the House, backed by the opposition of those Conservatives who were now tacitly opposed to it, if not by the scruples of those whom confidence in the right hon. Baronet—which the noble Lord did not possess—had overcome, would have prevented this Bill reaching a second reading. Besides, there would have been the opposing vote and speech of one Member of the Government—the right hon. Member for Perth (Mr. F. Maule). He hailed this as a measure of justice as well as of policy; and would never believe that the principles of the Christian religion, or of the Protestant faith, were opposed to the education of the Christian instructors of so vast a portion of our fellow-subjects.

Mr. *Bellew* was disposed to give full credit for consistency to the hon. Member for Rochdale; but he could not concede the practical advantage of his views. He confessed that the language just delivered by the hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Muntz), and by his Colleague (Mr. Spooner) last night, almost justified Mr. O'Connell in the way he had spoken of his country; and he was sure that their constituency was one of the last which could be expected to sanction such expressions. One of those Gentlemen had told the Roman Catholics that their religion was an awful delusion. The other said, they were not entitled to receive this money from the public purse, and taunted them with their poverty. Now, not to put the question on higher ground, why should they be such fools as not to take that which, so far as it went, was a modification of the poverty under which the

Roman Catholic Church in Ireland laboured? But it was said, that there was no control established over the system of education pursued at Maynooth. He thought that the right hon. Baronet had never shown greater prudence and wisdom than in giving this boon in the way he had done. Suppose restrictions had been added. The education, arrange it as they might, would still be a Roman Catholic education; and no advantages arising from control could make up for the want of the hearty good will with which the Roman Catholics of Ireland met the Government on this occasion. It was said, that in other countries this control was given over the Roman Catholic Church. But in other countries the relation of the Roman Catholic Church to the State was different. In other countries the Roman Catholic Church was endowed, and diplomatic relations were established between Rome and the State. Then, it was said, the Dissenters in this country ought to have support granted them in the same way. He believed that in some cases they had not expressed the desire to have anything from the public purse; and, at any rate, the case was not the same, for there was no parallel between the situation of the Dissenters here, and the Roman Catholics in Ireland; and though he did not want to argue on the ground of "restitution," still it was impossible to say that the Dissenters of this country were similarly placed in that respect to the Roman Catholics of Ireland; for it was not to be denied that at one time the Roman Catholics there had possession of the funds of the present Establishment. As to the question of the endowment of the Roman Catholic priests, he believed there existed the strongest feelings in Ireland against endowment. Last year, in consequence of something he had said on the Bequests Bill, he had been assailed by his constituents for having spoken, as it was inferred, in favour of endowment. It had been said, that this was a step to something more; and that, not just at present, but in 1850, perhaps, the right hon. Baronet, or some other Member, would come down and ask for part of the property of the Church of Ireland for some such purpose as this. Now, he thought it very hard that the Protestant Church should be eternally thrust forward to bar the people of Ireland from receiving anything they asked for. It had been so on the Catholic question, on the Reform Bill, and the Municipal Corporations Bill. This debate had given rise to much language in and out of doors which was calculated to be disagreeable to the feelings of the Roman Catholics. The Rev. Mr. Scott, at a meeting at Northampton, had said—

> "What do the Roman Catholics want? They want one little thing, and that we will give them—swords and firearms."

That was from a clergyman of the Church of England. At a meeting of merchants of the city of London, Mr. Labouchere spoke of his firm belief that the system taught at Maynooth was directly contrary to the revealed will of the Creator. The Presbytery of Belfast deprecated the establishment of Maynooth as being subversive of the principles of the gospel, and as an act of national guilt, against which it was their duty to protest. In the House, the hon. Member for Elgin (Mr. Cumming Bruce) had quoted a statement of the Duke of Ormonde, that he had been twenty years dealing with the Roman Catholic bishops, and never knew one of them speak the truth or hold to a promise. The hon. Member for Kent (Mr. Plumptre) said he would not say the religion of Roman Catholics was the religion of Antichrist, but it was contiguous to it. How was the hon. Member for Newcastle-under-Line (Mr. Colquhoun) best known to the House? He had been remarkable for many years for speeches of a very strong character in opposition to the Roman Catholics; and he had objected that the education at Maynooth was not of a mixed nature, and that the priests were sprung from the people. He must express his gratitude to those English Members who, notwithstanding the pressure upon them, had supported this measure. There was, he was glad to say, amongst the highest in rank, intelligence, and fortune in this country, those who would not be carried away by a mere popular feeling of the moment, but who would do that which would render the two countries more united. His only regret was, that it had not been brought forward sooner; but in conclusion he would say, that although he did not regard it as a panacea for all the wants of Ireland, yet he did regard it as the foundation of a series of measures, and of a new line of policy towards that country. The right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government, more than any other man in this country, had the means of pacifying and tranquillizing Ireland, and permanently uniting her to England; and, as he regarded this measure as an advance in that direction, and as the harbinger of better days for Ireland, he should give to it his most earnest support.

Captain *Edward Taylor* said: I can assure hon. Members who have a much better right to be heard than I have, that I shall be very brief; for though I might have desired to have addressed myself more at length to the House, had I been so fortunate as to catch the Speaker's eye on a former evening, I cannot flatter myself that I can now suggest any very new idea, the subject has become so thoroughly exhausted; nor should I venture to make the few observations I wish to offer, were it not that I am very anxious to repel the very unjust attack made in the course of this debate by the hon. Member for Durham upon the Protestant magistrates and the Protestant landlords of Ireland. It would be well for that hon. Gentleman to ascertain the truth of his premises before he repeats so unfounded an attack. I know not whether he has ever been in Ireland; but if so, he has not profited by his visit. He has dealt in generalities, so I must confine myself to the same limits; but I would entreat the House not to place credence in the statement they have heard—a statement which I am obliged to describe as equally remarkable for betraying a virulent feeling towards the class to which I am happy to say I belong, and an unfortunate ignorance of the subject he ventured to undertake. There is another point to which I wish to advert. It has been frequently repeated in the course of this debate, by those whose speeches must be listened to with consideration and respect, that the Dissenters alone object to the proposed measure, and that the Protestants of the Established Church are utterly indifferent on the subject. Is it possible that the petitions which have daily crowded the Table of this House, emanate from a single section of the community? and, to look out of doors, is the great and influential county of Kent peopled by Dissenters alone? I have returned from Ireland since the noble Lord the Member for Tyrone, and I am principally anxious to assure the House that the reverse of his assertion is the fact. I do not mean in the least to dispute the just antipathy which the Dissenters feel to the proposed Bill; but I believe the feeling to be fully participated in by the Protestants of the Established Church. Almost all those with whom I conversed, expressed the strongest apprehensions of the calamitous results which would follow the measure becoming law; their conviction being that it could be only preliminary to the Roman Catholic religion superseding the Church as now established. It has been said that there have been fewer petitions and a less loud outcry against the Bill from Ireland, than the other parts of the kingdom; but if it be so, the reason is obvious. There has been scarcely time—a delay has been asked for, and refused. There also, the Protestants, deserted by their friends, and betrayed by those leaders whom they mainly assisted to place in power, know not to whom to look for advice and assistance: they are in the attitude of beaten, dispirited, and disheartened men; but they are not the less sensitive to this fresh attack upon their privileges and their religion. It is not many years since the right hon. Baronet at the head of Her Majesty's Government gave us some excellent advice—"that the battle of the Constitution was to be fought at the registries." I have ever since acted upon that advice; and last week I thought it right to attend while the registry was proceeding in the county which I have the honour to represent. A short time since my line of conduct was a simple one, and my task easy. I requested gentlemen to register that they might support Conservative principles—I experienced little hesitation and few objections. Matters are now quite changed—I find apathy and refusal, and am met in nine cases out of ten with the inquiry, "What do you mean by Conservatism? Is it the principle that directs the measures of the present Government? If so, we think the appellation a misnomer; we totally disapprove of the system they pursue, and we had rather not register. I am sorry to be obliged to add that I believe the present Ministers (*soi-disant* Conservatives) are daily becoming as unpopular with the Protestant party as were the late Ministers, with this ruinous misfortune superadded, that being infinitely more powerful, they originate measures which their predecessors would never have ventured to introduce. I leave it to those who last night heard the speech of the right hon. Baronet the Secretary for the Home Department, to circulate their impression, whether the friendly feelings he expressed towards Protestantism are calculated much to reassure those whe represent that ill-used body in Ireland. Again, with reference to the actual measure before the House, is it called for? I chanced to travel in company with two priests of the Church of Rome since the first reading of the Bill, and they observed, "We wonder that Sir Robert Peel should risk his popularity with his own party on our account—we do not want what he offers, we will take it, but we never asked for it." The same sentiments, I believe, to be very general throughout the priesthood, and has since been repeated in more significant language by the great leader of Repeal in Ireland. It is too late for me to enter in detail into the merits of this question; besides, I am quite sensible of my incapacity to do so. However, as I have in previous years generally avoided taking part in any vote in respect to Maynooth, I hope I shall not be deemed bigoted in opposing the increase now proposed. There is, I conceive, every difference between an annual grant and a permanent endowment; and, conscientiously thinking the latter to be fraught with most mischievous consequences, I have no option but to vote as I should do, for the Amendment of the hon. Member for Newcastle; and, though I cannot conceal from myself that the proposition, once formally introduced into this House (unless some fortunate and unforeseen circumstance should occur), its eventual success will be only a question of time; yet, if I can, by defeating it now, delay for even a single year a measure which I in my heart believe will be ruinous not only to Ireland, but also to England, I trust I shall be doing my duty.

Sir *F. Trench* said, that he had presented ten petitions against the measure, and received an intimation from many of his constituents that, unless he opposed the measure, they could not continue to give him their support; but, notwithstanding that representation, he should give the measure his anxious and cordial support. He entertained a confident opinion that reflection upon this subject would produce an alteration in the views of those Gentlemen; but, at all events, if he lost their votes, he knew he should retain their esteem by following the dictates of his own conscience. There were seven or eight millions of Roman Catholics in Ireland who were very poor—very ignorant—very bigoted, and brought up in feelings of hostility to "Saxon tyranny." The Government could not convert—and could not transport them. All they could do was to conciliate them. These people were under the spiritual and temporal influence of their clergy, and the only method of touching their feelings was through the instrumentality of that superintending clergy. They ought then to improve the character of their pastors, if they hoped to influence the people themselves. He had heard with great pleasure the speeches of the noble Lord the Member for Arundel, and of all the other Roman Catholics of that House. It had been said that "gratitude" was a word unknown to the Irish language; but from his knowledge of that nation he believed that they would receive this concession with the most grateful feelings. Two speeches had been delivered during the course of this debate, which he had heard with great regret. He alluded to the speech of the hon. Member for Shrewsbury, and that of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Edinburgh. The speech of the one had been described by a better critic than himself as "malice concealed under the garb of wit;" and the speech of the latter Gentleman had contained charges equally extraordinary and incorrect. The right hon. Gentlemen had charged the right hon. Baronet with inconsistency. In his opinion, a conscientious change of opinion was entitled to praise rather than to censure; and if any change had taken place in the sentiments of the right hon. Baronet, there was not a man in the country who would attribute it to any other than the most conscientious motives. The right hon. Baronet had sacrificed the enjoyments of an immense fortune, and of domestic comfort, to the service of his country; and this country had never had a statesman which had conferred upon its people more substantial and permanent advantages. The presence of the right hon. Baronet prevented him from saying that which justice would have demanded from him if the right hon. Baronet had been absent; but he had so high an opinion of his judgment, and of his sincerity, and he saw so bright a prospect of good in the present measure, that he gave to it his most hearty and strenuous support.

Mr. *Cobden* spoke as follows: Sir, I am sure I shall be borne out in the assertion, by all who have listened to the various speeches addressed to the House in the course of this debate, that I never remember an occasion when more irrelevant matter to the real subject of discussion was interposed, than on the present. It seems to be an impression almost generally entertained, that the question we are discussing, is the propriety of endowing the Roman Catholic priesthood of Ireland. I do not know that it would be necessary thus to notice the character and nature of our debates, did I not believe that the effect might be to produce much misapprehension in the public mind. And looking at the petitions which have been presented against the Bill, I find that at least three-fourths of them, in their prayer or argument, proceed on the supposition that we are about to pass a measure to endow the Roman Catholic priests of Ireland. Now, Sir, since the hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Muntz) spoke, who stated he had fallen into a trap, and knowing that he, with his extraordinary sagacity, generally stands alone in his far-seeing knowledge, I thought it my duty to go and look at the Bill that the right hon. Baronet has brought in, in order to see what we are really going to do; and upon examining it I find the preamble states it to be a Bill to amend two Acts passed in the Irish Parliament, for the better education of persons professing the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland. I have also looked over the Bill clause by clause, to see if any thing had been smuggled into it that could by possibility lead to the endowment of the Irish Roman Catholic clergy, and I have been unable to find anything of the sort. Now, if any hon. Gentlemen are in the secret, and are consequently better informed upon the point than I am, from what I have read, and what I have heard from those in authority, of course they have the advantage over me; but from all I can see, and all I have heard, I know nothing that should lead me to suppose that the object of the Bill is other than its title and preamble indicate. Of course it is competent for hon. Gentlemen to put any interpretation they please upon the measure; and if they suppose that the House is about to pass a measure, a consequence of which will be an endowment of the Irish Roman Catholic priesthood, they are without doubt right in opposing it. But so far as I understand it, I consider that in voting for this measure I vote simply and purely for an extended educational grant. That alone is the object I contemplate in the vote I am about to give; and I will further say, that if the right hon. Baronet who is at the head of the Government himself were to favour such a proposition, and, following the example of the noble Lord the Member for London, express a desire or consent to the endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland, though both the right hon. Baronet and the noble Lord should combine together, and parties be united in this House to effect that object—I say no party, no combination of party, would be able to carry in this country, in our day at least, a measure for the endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland out of the Consolidated Fund; and if any single doubt upon that point existed before, the excitement that has been created through the country, consequent upon the misapprehension as to what we are about to do, must convince the House that I am right. I look upon it, therefore, as purely an educational grant—as a vote of 26,000*l.* a year instead of 9,000*l.* a year granted by Parliament for the education of the Irish priesthood in the College of Maynooth. That, and that alone, is the question before the House. And when I think that this great country has been stirred from its centre—when I witness the excitement that has been occasioned upon this simple question of 17,000*l.*, more or less, involving no point of principle—I say involving no principle—[Sir *R. Inglis:* " Hear."]—I cannot conceal my astonishment. The hon. Member for Oxford, cheers—ironically, I presume—the assertion that there is no point of principle in the question at issue. Now I ask him—I will assume, for the sake of argument, that he will have a majority against the Bill, and that the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government falls by the measure, and becomes a martyr to the cause of Ireland. I will assume that Her Majesty sends for the hon. Baronet (Sir R. Inglis) to form another Government, and coming into power with a majority as large as he could claim—what, I would ask, would be one of the first measures of the hon. Baronet's Government? Why a vote of 9,000*l.* for the College of Maynooth. [Colonel *Sibthorp;* "No."] If I am right in this, what, I ask, is this Bill, but a mere question of 17,000*l.*? And what a spectacle must we present to the eyes of Europe when they witness this uncalled-for excitement. Why, they will say such pettifogging paltry persecution as that was never heard of in any country, and is not to be found in the annals of religious hatred in any part of the world. What is the position you take? You contend, not that there shall be no Maynooth—not that there shall be no education to the Roman Catholic priesthood by Parliamentary grant—you allow Maynooth to remain as it is—you say there is to be education, but it shall be a defective education. You do not contend that there shall be no college; no, you say the College shall remain, but it shall be like a barracks, and not a college—that is what you contend for. It is altogether beside the question to discuss the merits of the education given at Maynooth, for no one proposes to put an end to the College. You may say, that this Bill goes to endow it permanently, whereas now it is dependent upon an annual grant. But what is a grant continued for fifty years but a permanent grant? The Statute of Limitations at common law would render it permanent, and you make it no more permanent by endowing it as proposed by this Bill than if you leave the money to be annually voted. Then, again, it is said this is a grant for a college in which the instruction given is confined principally to theology; and I have heard it said, both by hon. Gentlemen on the other side and some of my hon. Friends with whom I am associated, that if this were for a mixed education they would not object to the vote; that their great objection is that the education is purely theological. It assorts with the practice of the Church of Rome to educate their students intended for divinity apart from those who are to follow secular callings; but suppose we had a college in which it could be so arranged that the clergy should be educated on one side, and the laity on the other, I presume my hon. Friends would vote for that. Really this is a poor pitiful distinction. The right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government intends, as I understand, to bring forward measures for establishing other colleges in Ireland, for the purposes of giving to Roman Catholics secular instruction; and, for myself, I can say, that if I shall find that it is proposed to establish those institutions on sound principles, and under proper regulations, I shall gladly vote for their endowment. But I cannot see the objection to giving a body of men, who are destined to be the instructors of many millions of people, a good and proper education in any building or manner in which it can be most effectually given. You have a system of national education in Ireland, and you vote 70,000*l.*, 90,000*l.*, or 100,000*l.* a year to instruct in the elementary branches of education the children of both Catholics and Protestants. You provide for the education of Catholics who are destined to be farmers, shoemakers, and tailors, and yet you refuse to give a sufficient education to those who are destined to be the spiritual leaders of the people, and who are to go into their cabins and instruct them in their religion. One advantage in this increased provision for Maynooth is, that you may give a more liberal and comprehensive education to the students. I have inquired and found that in practical science, in those branches of education not connected with theology, the instruction is very defective, and that there are not the means for giving to the students a more liberal education. In other colleges in which divinity is taught, I find chemical and philosophical apparatus, and every means provided for giving the students a liberal and complete education; and if you allow it—if you give them the means—you will find the same course will be taken at Maynooth; the students will be taught chemistry, natural philosophy, and other branches of science, and you will no longer have to complain that the system of education is confined to theology. There is no ground, therefore, for opposing this Bill, in the objection that the Roman Catholic clergy taught at Maynooth are educated only in theology. Another objection has been put forward: it has been said this grant is for the education of one particular religious sect. I must remind hon. Gentlemen that we have voted sums of money for the purpose of education, and shall do so again this year no doubt. For one religious sect we voted 35,000*l.* last year for education; and by the Report of the Privy Council, we find the money went to the support of the national schools of England; and at these national schools, the clergyman is at the door, and none are admitted who do not learn the Church catechism. Now a portion of that money is paid by the Irish people, for it comes out of the Consolidated Fund, to which they, in common with us, contribute. We also pass annually a vote of money to the Universities, none of the benefit of which can go to that portion of the Roman Catholic people who are intended for the clergy. You may say that is unsound in principle, that it is wrong; but it is too much to tell the Irish people we have adopted a wrong principle by which we take money out of their pockets, and will not apply it when it touches our own pockets. There is no justice in that. I will not go into the religious arguments, or enter upon the questions of theological controversy which have been started in the course of this debate. In my opinion this is not the place to discuss such matters. I believe if all our discussions had been more logical and less theological, we should have made more progress in the business of legislation. At all events this is the last place—I wish not to say anything offensive to any hon. Member, but this is the last body of men that ought to set themselves up as a synod to settle matters of theology. I therefore do not treat this as a religious question at all. I say, if you give instruction to Roman Catholics at all, it is wise and politic that you should give it to the Roman Catholic priests, who are to instruct the people, as well as those who are to fill an inferior position in society. I have, like many other hon. Members, received communications from the borough I represent, and also from many other parts of the country, for I am looked upon as a sort of general Representative on a certain subject, and, therefore, I cannot perhaps complain of people writing to me and addressing their views to me on others—I have no right to do so, for it is probable that many hon. Gentlemen have received communications on another question, for which they might hold me responsible; but I have received communications in which I am called upon to oppose this proposed increase in the grant to Maynooth, which is looked upon as an important question; and, though pitiful and paltry in amount, I am disposed to look upon it as an important question; for I am told by Irish Members on both sides of the House, that the measure, if passed, will be most acceptable and pleasing to the Irish people. I am happy at any time to give a vote which may be acceptable to the people of Ireland, if I can do so without violating any conscientious principles I entertain. It is not often I have the opportunity of doing so; but while I say this, I am far from overrating the importance of this measure—it can only be considered valuable so far as it tends to place on a more harmonious footing the people of the two countries, and as paving the way by placing them in a calmer mood with each other, for other and more important ameliorations. I cannot understand how 17,000*l.* a year can be of any great importance to Ireland in a material sense; and I do not mean to say, that had it depended upon me, I should have brought forward this measure as a remedy for the evils of Ireland. I might have my own peculiar views of what I considered would be more advantageous to that country; but we all know the main evils of Ireland are more moral than physical, and if this measure should have the effect of conciliating and promoting harmony in the Irish mind—if it should render the Irish people more tranquil, and disposed to look to England with a feeling of brotherhood, instead of taking the position they have—that retrogade position of attempted isolation, when all the rest of the world were becoming cosmopolite and amalgamating—if anything I can do can tend so to conciliate, I need hardly say how happy I shall be to do it. The first act of my public life was to publish my views and opinions of the evils under which Ireland laboured, and that subject is one that, amidst all the public questions in which I have been engaged, I have always had deeply and painfully at heart. I know I am taunted by some of my friends with giving a bad vote on this occasion. I shall give a conscientious vote, and if in doing so I am to make personal sacrifices, and lose the good opinion of those with whom I have long acted and have a deep respect for, I shall regret it; but, next to the satisfaction of having acted conscientiously, will be that I shall feel in voting for that which I believe will tend to heal the festering wounds of Irish society.

Mr. *Ferrand* said: Sir, I consider that this House is not the place in which the present question should be decided. I think we ought at the present moment to appeal to the country to decide whether the House is justified in pursuing a course of policy opposed to those principles on which a great majority of the Members of this House were returned to Parliament. I rise, Sir, on this occasion, to support those principles which I have ever held most sacred and most dear—to support the principles professed for many years by the present Ministry, when they were attempting to undermine the position of their opponents. I have not forgotten how an expression which fell from the Whigs during the time they held office was seized upon by the Conservative party, and used on every possible occasion to arouse the Protestant feeling of England. I have not forgotten the time when Lord Melbourne said that the measures he proposed with regard to Ireland would inflict a "heavy blow and great discouragement" on the Protestant Church. I have not forgotten how that expression was re-echoed by every Conservative association; how every man opposed to the Whig Ministry seized upon it as a convincing argument why they should no longer be trusted with power. I stand here to-night to support the principles I professed upon the hustings at the last general election. I stand here the Protestant Representative of a Protestant constituency—one not about to betray the trust they reposed in me, but to convince them that no inducement upon earth shall lead me, for one instant, for party purposes, to forget or abandon those principles which placed the present Ministry in power. I have heard it said by hon. Gentlemen who have addressed the House during this debate from behind the Ministerial Bench, that no pledges were given at the last general election which should prevent Her Majesty's Ministers from proposing this Bill to this House and to the country. Why, is there a Member of this House who has forgotten the cry raised at the last general election that the Church was in danger? Since I heard the declaration of the hon. Gentlemen to whom I have alluded, who have determined, in defiance of the opinions of their constituents, to support the Ministerial proposition, I have referred to many of the public journals; and I am prepared to state that if ever there was a party solemnly pledged, before God and in the face of the country, to stand by the Protestant principles we professed at the last general election, and with which a majority of the electors of England identified themselves and drove the Whigs from power, it is the present Government and the hon. Gentlemen who sit behind them. With the permission of the House, I will judge this party out of their own mouths —(I don't mean the Protestant party, but that small party now called Conservative) —and then I will appeal to the people of England, whether with one unanimous voice they will not call upon their Sovereign to dissolve this Parliament, and enable them to have their sentiments properly represented within these walls. At the last general election this was the language almost universally used by the hon. Gentlemen on this side:—

> "As a friend to the Established Church, he felt bound to oppose the Ministry, not from any factious motive, but from a belief that they would consent to measures tending to destroy that Church. He had opposed their Education Bill, the direct tendency of which would be to place the whole of the power of ruling the country in the hands of the Roman Catholics, to the utter exclusion of the Protestant population."

That was the language used at an election at Guildford by a Gentleman who is now a Peer of the realm (Lord Abinger), and who was returned to represent these principles in this House. I might quote language equally strong which was used at that time by many hon. Gentlemen who now identify themselves with the Government; but to save the time of the House I will come at once to the Treasury Bench. And oh! when I have finished with you (addressing the Ministers), what a position you will hold in this House, before your opponents, and before the country, after the exposure! At a county election a Cabinet Minister (Lord Lincoln) used this language:—

> "Our efforts have availed to prevent mischief, if we have not had the power to effect good. We have resisted, and successfully resisted, the wild and visionary schemes of Radical politicians. We have saved the Church from the attacks of its open enemies, and its still more dangerous and insidious foes."

I ask Her Majesty's Ministers who, in the opinion of the people of England, these "insidious foes" now are? Why, it is acknowledged in this House—it is the universal cry throughout the land—that Her Majesty's Ministers themselves are the "insidious foes" of the Protestant

Church. I will now call the attention of the House to the language of another hon. Gentleman who sits—not at ease—upon the Treasury Bench. That hon. Member said,—

> "They could not forget, that when the Tithe Bill was brought forward ostensibly for the purpose of establishing harmony and peace in Ireland, but which, as was truly observed by Lord Lyndhurst, contained in the Appropriation Clause the assertion of an abstract principle intended at a future period to be used by the Whigs for the destruction of the Irish Church, and which it was admitted by the Prime Minister of a Sovereign of the House of Brunswick, would deal a heavy blow and a great discouragement to Protestantism in Ireland—they could not forget that Dr. Lefroy, in his opposition to that meature, had proved himself the faithful, honest, and zealous sentinel of the Irish Church. He had likewise voted in favour of Sir Robert Peel's Motion, of want of confidence in a Ministry of whom he would say, in the language of Lord Stanley, that the cup of their iniquity was full."

That was the language of the Attorney General for Ireland at the election of a Member for the Dublin University. I now ask that right hon. Gentleman whether he intends to prove himself, on this occasion, a "faithful, honest, and zealous sentinel of the Irish Church?"—or whether he, like the present Government, is prepared to sacrifice his Protestant principles for the sake of retaining office? But other pledges were given at the last general election. There is a Member of Her Majesty's Government who, on the day of his nomination, made a declaration which was posted on the walls of every borough and every county town in England, and which among the Conservative party is known as the "Tamworth manifesto." I wish to call the attention of the House to the manner in which the First Lord of the Treasury (Sir R. Peel) pledged himself, in the face of his fellow-countrymen, to principles diametrically opposed to those of the right hon. Gentleman whom he deprived of office; and in doing so I wish to record my opinion that the Whigs were, in office, high-minded, honourable, and upright men compared with the present Ministry. At the nomination for Tamworth, when the right hon. Baronet appealed to his constituents for their support, and gave his reasons for considering himself better fitted for office than his political opponents, he used the language I shall now quote. The right hon. Baronet was referring to the French Revolution of 1830; and I may tell him that soon after 1829 we had a revolution in this country which, it is my firm conviction, was produced by his Catholic Emancipation Act. The right hon. Gentleman said,—

> "Those events in France made a deep impression throughout the whole of Europe, convulsed the public mind—in some countries led to revolution, and there were some which escaped from the influence of those great events. This great country was not exempt from that influence; there arose here a desire for change in the ancient institutions of the country; and the consequence was a fundamental change in the Commons' House of Parliament. I then foresaw," (the right hon. Baronet proceeds,) "that that change was accompanied with a restless desire for further change. I then foresaw, I say, the importance of laying the foundations of a great Conservative party."

Where is this great Conservative party now? Your conduct (addressing the hon. Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench) has scattered it to the winds. You have no party—no constitutional party. The constitutional party which sits on this side of the House is, to a man, opposed to you. The right hon. Baronet proceeded,—

> "I then foresaw the importance of laying the foundations of a great Conservative party, attached"—

And let us see what the right hon. Gentleman's attachment is—

> "to the ancient fundamental institutions of the country, not disposed to resist such changes as the altered circumstances of society might require; but a party determined to maintain on their ancient foundations the institutions in Church and State."

I will prove whether they have done so by and by. This language was placarded in Yorkshire; I quoted it myself upon the hustings; I heard it quoted by many hon. Members who were returned to this House by Protestant constituencies of the north of England. The right hon. Baronet, after using the language I have read, was himself elected by the constituency of Tamworth; and to show their deep regard for the right hon. Gentleman, on account of his expressed desire to maintain the institutions of the country, they determined to entertain him at a grand banquet. On the 28th of July, about a month after his election, the banquet took place; and the right hon. Baronet on that occasion used this language:—

> "I do hope the Conservative party of this

> country will continue to secure for themselves, by all fair and legitimate means, and by no other whatever"—

I do not call it "fair and legitimate means" to call in the aid of hon. Gentlemen opposite—

> "the possession of that power and influence in the State which their wealth, their intelligence, their respectability, their character, fully entitle them to exercise. Their good will and their confidence can be the only safe foundation for political opinion."

Has the right hon. Baronet the good will and confidence of the great Conservative party now? And where is public opinion? United against the right hon. Baronet. If he thinks it is not united against him, I call upon him as an Englishman, if he has one spark of political honesty and consistency in his breast, to dissolve this House and to appeal to the country. He adopted that course in 1829, and he found out what public opinion was upon that occasion. Here sits below me the Representative of public opinion; but such is the state of that opinion, so disgusted are the public with the conduct of the Government, that if the right hon. Baronet were now to appeal to his constituents at Tamworth, I do not hesitate to say that, though that place may almost be called a pocket borough, those constituents would not return him to this House. I say this, because I form my opinion on good grounds of various kinds; but if I were to limit myself merely to the means of forming an opinion which the presentation of petitions to this House supply, I should say, that never was public opinion more unequivocally expressed; for we have thousands of petitions on the one side, and only three or four on the other. As regards the matter of petitions, what an extraordinary scene was that which we witnessed this evening, when the hon. and learned Member for Bath presented a petition in favour of the Bill! He brought it up; and scarcely was it laid upon the Table, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer rose and seized upon the document with avidity, and carried it to the Treasury Bench in triumph, where he and his Colleagues spent no small time in devouring its contents; as if they thought that it furnished conclusive evidence that they possessed the approbation of their fellow-countrymen, and that their power could only enjoy a safe foundation in public opinion. I have been, as hon. Members must perceive, exerting myself for some time past to lay before the House the opinions of Her Majesty's Government on this subject; and now I will presently read to them other statements illustrative of those doctrines, on the profession of which the present Ministers of the Crown obtained possession of the Cabinet. They will, however, after all, find that I shall read to them but a few of the pledges uttered by the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government a short time before he met that Parliament in which he found himself at the head of a majority of ninety. With the aid of that majority he filched power from the noble Lord opposite. When he thus obtained office, the noble Lord the Member for London asked the right hon. Baronet how he intended to carry on the government of the country. What was the answer of the right hon. Baronet? "I intend," said he, "to walk in the direct paths and in the light of the British Constitution." Now, I want to know from the House and the country, is the right hon. Baronet walking "in the light of the British Constitution?" Is he, in proposing this Bill—is he walking in the "direct paths of the British Constitution?" I have no intention of uttering one offensive word to any Gentleman at this side of the House or at that, least of all should I deliberately interfere with the religious feelings of hon. Gentlemen who profess the Roman Catholic religion. They have as much right to their own opinions as I have to mine. I admire the manner in which they have adhered to their opinions. They glory in their religion as I do in mine. There is nothing for which men are more to be admired than for adherence to the doctrines which they profess; but I want to know how the First Lord of the Treasury has adhered to the pledges which he has given. I should like to ask him, is he now adhering to the pledges which he gave at the last general election? Is he walking, as he said he should do, in "the direct paths of the British Constitution, and in the light of the British Constitution?" I say that he is not; I say, that he is not only walking in the darkest paths of that Constitution, but that he is outraging its principles, and that that he is doing in utter disregard of the pledges which he gave to his constituents and to the public at the last general election. But I feel that I need not confine myself to the pledges of 1841; I have many other pledges which the right hon. Baronet has given to the world. I may now take those of 1829, when he brought in the "great healing measure which was to settle the Roman Catholic claims." On the 5th of March, 1829, the First Lord of the Treasury addressed the House of Commons in these words:—

> "I rise, Sir, in the spirit of peace, to propose the adjustment of the Roman Catholic question. This question, at least the measures I have to propose for its adjustment, are measures of State policy, and of State policy exclusively; they are not calculated to shock any religious scruples. They will imply no sanction, they will disclaim all encouragement of any religious doctrines from which our own Established Church revolts. These measures will restore the equality of civil rights, but they will give no favour or encouragement to any form of religious worship, excepting that which is incorporated by fundamental laws with the constitution of the State, and which claims the respect, veneration, and affection of a Protestant people."

Are you adhering to those solemn pledges? Does the measure now before the House imply no sanction of religious doctrines opposed to those of the Protestant Church — no doctrines from which we as Protestants revolt, and which are not only incompatible with, but contrary to the fundamental laws of the realm? Do they not outrage our feelings instead of establishing claims to our respect? But he has gone further; he has broken through other pledges, and done that which in effect violates the Oath of Supremacy. He pledged himself to retain the Oath of Supremacy, and how has he kept that pledge? I will read to you his words;—

> "The Oath of Supremacy, that oath which denies to any Foreign State, prelate, or potentate, any jurisdiction temporal or spiritual within this realm, I propose to retain. A practice has occasionally of late prevailed in Ireland, which is calculated to afford a great, and I may add just, offence to Protestants. I allude to the practice of claiming and assuming on the part of the Roman Catholic prelates the names and titles of dignities belonging to the Church of England. I propose that the episcopal titles and names made use f in the Church of England shall not be assumed by bishops of the Roman Catholic Church. This will be prevented in future."

He also required, and in 1829 insisted, that communities bound by monastic vows shall not be extended in this country in future. Those were the pledges which the right hon. Baronet gave when he brought forward the Emancipation Act. Has he stood by those pledges? No; on the contrary, he has violated every pledge that he ever gave to the House and the country. He not only told the House all that I have read to them, but he told them also that if the Emancipation Act did not produce peace in Ireland, he should be the first man to come down to that House and vote for its repeal. But instead of there being any thing like peace in Ireland, agitation followed upon the passing of that measure—that "healing and final measure." Since the right hon. Baronet became Minister, he has risen in his place in this House not for the purpose of proposing a repeal of the Emancipation Act, but to violate the Act of Settlement and contravene the Oath of Supremacy. Some time ago there was a petition presented to this House from the Protestant Conservative Association of Dublin, complaining of the changes with respect to the Established Church which were then in progress; and I called the attention of the Prime Minister of England to the statements set forth in that petition; but what occurred? He carried the Roman Catholic Bequests Act in direct violation of the Act of Settlement, and in contravention of the Oath of Supremacy. I repeat this, because I feel convinced that the assertion is sound. I have the opinion here, and I will produce it if the charges be reiterated. I have not forgotten that during the first week of last Session both the Home Secretary and Lord Stanley taunted the Roman Catholics with forgetting the sanctity of the oaths which they had taken. I tell you there are tens of thousands and millions even of Protestants who think that you are violating your oaths of office. It ill becomes you, then, to taunt the Roman Catholics with having forgotten the sanctity of an oath. Once more, I say, that I called attention to the Charitable Bequests Act—a measure that was introduced by the Home Secretary. Now I will read to the House a short extract from the Parliamentary proceedings of that period. The conversation to which I refer took place on the 29th of July, 1844, and was as follows:—

> "Sir J. Graham moved the second reading of the Charitable Donations (Ireland) Bill. Proposed, that five Roman Catholic Members should be on the Board. Mr. M. O'Ferrall

said, very great pains had been taken to exclude the word 'bishop' as referring to the dignitaries of the Catholic Church. Lord Eliot followed, but avoided alluding to this subject. Sir R. Peel called them Roman Catholic prelates and priests, and said, that as the Roman Catholics objected to the word 'minister' being used, they had substituted the word 'priest.' On the 1st of August, in Committee, Sir J. Graham said, some comments had been made the other night as to the omission in this Bill of the titles of 'archbishop' and 'bishop,' with reference to the Roman Catholic clergy. He had demurred, and he still demurred, to the right of the 'archbishops' and 'bishops' of the Church of Rome claiming titles as affixed to certain localities and districts in Ireland: but, hoping to conciliate the feelings of those who were deeply interested in this measure, and having no other desire than, as far as was consistent with sound principles, to tender that which might be acceptable to their Roman Catholic fellow subjects, the Government were anxious to make such tender in the form and in the terms which might be most satisfactory."

Now, the House can hardly fail to remember that all this was done in defiance of a clause in the Act of Parliament, which affixed a penalty of 100*l.* to the use of such titles as archbishops, bishops, or deans; yet, in total disregard of that Act, there were introduced almost at the end of the Session, when the attendance in Parliament was very thin, two clauses, in the language of which were adopted these same prohibited terms of bishop, of archbishop, &c. These are the clauses to which I refer:—

> "And be it enacted, that it shall not be lawful for any such 'archbishop,' 'bishop' or person in holy orders of the Church of Rome to alien, &c.: provided always that it shall and may be lawful for the said 'archbishop,' 'bishop,' or other person in holy orders of the Church of Rome to execute such leases as are hereinafter mentioned."

This, I affirm, was a direct violation of the Act of Settlement, and in contravention of the Oath of Supremacy. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Gentlemen may laugh, but the fact is so. Such a proceeding is distinctly prohibited by the Act of Settlement; and the Prime Minister has sworn that Roman Catholic prelates have not, and ought not to have, any authority in this realm. If he can refute this doctrine, he ought to do so. I implore him to do so, for there is an immense quantity of Protestants who think that he cannot. Being, as I am, anxious for the welfare and the peace of the community, I shall rejoice if he can refute them, and prove that the Bequests Act is not a violation of the Act of Parliament, and in contravention of the Oath of Supremacy. The present measure is not only in direct opposition to those principles, but it is at the same time a measure identified with the doctrines of that party which the right hon. Baronet has driven from office. I ask the House, and I ask the country, and, above all, I ask the Tory party, what benefits they have gained by bringing you into power? I ask myself, why did I work for you like a slave during ten years in order to drive the Liberal party from office? I tell you you have betrayed me. I was your tool—I am not now ashamed to acknowledge the fact, but I did not know it at the time, or I should have acted a different part. But the First Lord of the Treasury was not the only Member of the Government who stood pledged against the measure. At the last general election, when Lord Stanley addressed his constituents from the hustings at Lancaster, he used these words:—

> "If, in the present instance, there were any contest for the representation of this country, of which we have heard so much, but seen so little—if any Gentleman had come forward to support the views of Her Majesty's Government, to defend their present policy, to vindicate their consistency, to support their firm adhesion to principle."

[*Derisive Cheers.*] Ay, you were fine cocks of the dunghill then. The noble Lord went on to say—

> "Their steady resistance to dangerous encroachment, I should have been fully prepared to enter into that discussion, with a full conviction that I should have shown you all, and demonstrated, if not to the satisfaction, at least to the conviction of the parties coming forward with this case into court, that Her Majesty's Government, of late years, far from maintaining a steady adhesion to principle, have conceded one day that which they described as mischievous the day before, and gradually alienated those of their moderate Conservative and Liberal supporters, who formed the most respectable portion of their party, and one by one dropped off from their side, until they found themselves at last compelled, from sheer weakness and inability to carry out their own views, to throw themselves into the arms and adopt the principles of men with whom they most essentially differed, and whose course they themselves believed to be dangerous."

That was the character which he gave to you, and by such means you obtained a majority; but where is your majority now? A majority of this side of the House is against you; and you are supported by some on this side who ought, if they were consistent, to go and sit behind the noble Lord the Member for London. I thank the House for having listened to me so long, but the subject is one on which I feel deeply. I cannot conclude without warning you that the people will not soon forget the pledges given at the last election. They will not soon forget that you have violated the principles which have placed the Royal Family on the Throne. ["Oh, oh!"] I will read you the opinion of Lord Eldon on this point. He was a better lawyer than the hon. Member for Bath. I assert that which I believe to be true. I say that this measure tramples in the dust the principles which placed the Royal Family on the Throne. Who can doubt that Ministers are unpopular when we find them resorting to every expedient, and dragging in the name of the Sovereign to their assistance? I could speak more strongly than I dare allow myself, but I will judge the Ministers out of their own mouths. But I will expose the inconsistency of the men who sit on the Treasury Bench. I will expose their contemptible apostacy to the people of England. At the last general election the noble Lord the Member for Lancashire (Lord F. Egerton) said:—

> "There is another point which I have before mentioned, but which I now refer to, because I consider it a duty we owe to the Constitution, and more especially to the Crown. I allude to the expression of Sir J. C. Hobhouse, 'that the Government had the favour of the Crown, and that this favour was the best support a Ministry could have.' I should be sorry to take advantage of a casual expression, or an individual remark, if it were loosely worded, but this was an expression used in debate, which had been commented upon by Lord Stanley, and which had never been denied, apologized for, or explained. I will not say, as Cromwell said to Harry Vane, 'The Lord defend me from Sir Harry Vane,' for Sir J. C. Hobhouse can do me no harm—his opinions are not infectious; but I may and do say, 'The Lord defend the Queen from advisers such as those who can pronounce such observations in Parliament, and who may be suspected of whispering into the ears of the Sovereign theories far more dangerous to the monarchy."

In conclusion, as a sincere Protestant—and I speak my feelings most sincerely—I solemnly believe that if Her Majesty's present Government can induce Her Majesty to attach Her signature to that Catholic Maynooth Bill, she signs away Her title to the British Crown.

Mr. *Sheil:* It is unfortunate that the Minister cannot do the least benefit to Ireland without doing a mischief to himself. A great deal of excitement has arisen in reference to the endowment of the College of Maynooth. It is, however, gratifying to find that from any very active interposition the Church of England (which I begin to consider as a safeguard of religious liberty) has prudentially abstained. From its serene elevation it looks down in cold neutrality on the great sectarian affray. The resistance to this Bill is chiefly made by the Dissenters; by the men whom we did our utmost in assisting to obtain the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts; and those Wesleyans who, whenever an act of severity, an abridgment of Irish liberty, has been propounded, have been the backers of domination; but when a measure of plain justice is brought forward, rise up against us in a mass of fanatical insurgency, pile petitions on the Table of this House of Commons in which "idolatry" recurs in almost every line, and in a great anti-Catholic and anti-Irish demonstration, to feelings the most unchristian, because they are the most uncharitable, contumaciously give way. I am not, however, very much surprised at the conduct of the Wesleyan Methodists; but I am, I own, more than surprised at the course which the Free Church of Scotland (in whose favour every Catholic in this House uniformly voted), has thought it creditable and consistent to pursue. There are many incidents to that Church which I much admire; for, although I think that it is to be lamented that the secession was founded upon a point of Auchterarder litigation, rather than upon a question of Genevese theology; and I regret that the rock of poverty, on which it has been said that the Scotch Church was built, has been riven asunder; yet, when I see so many teachers of the gospel making sacrifices for conscience' sake; when I see them, with those who are dearer than they are to themselves, suffering great privations; when I see husbands and fathers preferring the freedom of their altars to the happiness of their homes, I am struck with that fine spectacle, and cannot, I own, but think, that if men capable of so much heroic disinterestedness have been led astray, it is not to "light from heaven" that their aberrations are to be ascribed. But, having said thus much in their honest commendation, I cannot refrain from expressing my sorrow, for their own sake that they should have "intruded" into an Irish question with which they have, in truth, no sort of concern. They did not recede on the voluntary principle; the voluntary principle does not constitute one of their dogmas; they do not call for the abrogation of the *Regium Donum;* they do not even expostulate against the abuses of the Irish Church Establishment. They survey a great pontifical sinecure without indignation; but when the Minister proposes to carry out the principle of an equitable agreement—which is not the less binding because it is implied—when he tries to make the better instruction of the priest a means of moral amelioration for the people—when he bestows upon the Catholic Church that which, compared with the superfluities of the Establishment, is a donation small indeed — the bile of Calvinism overflows, the Legislature is inundated with its effusion, and the men who are loudest in the assertion of perfect freedom of conscience for themselves, assume the tone and aspect of infallibility, and against the religion of the great majority of the Christian world, in a spirit the most wanton and unprovoked, they direct their exceedingly unchristian denunciation. Sir, I have already stated, upon a former occasion, what I considered to be the chief advantages which might be expected to result from the adoption of this measure: I stated that the people of Ireland would look upon this measure as an earnest of good will—an overt act of benevolent intention. I stated that it would be eminently useful that, in the mind of the young Irishman, who was serving his noviciate to the Irish Church, you should deposit a seed of union—the growth could be afterwards most beneficially developed—and that I was convinced that all classes of the community would be materially served by placing in every parish in Ireland an educated gentleman, who should be the means of disseminating good principles and good feelings through the persuasiveness of his precept, and the still more eloquent inculcation of his example. I shall not travel over the ground which I have already traversed; and instead of pointing out the advantages which may be expected to accrue from the adoption of this measure, I shall show you the evils which will ensue from its rejection. That rejection will, indeed, be hailed by the Dissenters on both sides of the Tweed. Ashton-under-Lyne will be illuminated. My right hon. Friend the Member for Perth, when he shall return to his spiritual dominions in the north, in what exulting psalmody will his Calvinistic Holiness be greeted with loud hosannahs wherever he appears! But what will be the effect of rejecting this measure in the country which by courtesy you call "the sister"—what will be the effect in Ireland? That is a question, the answer to which deserves to be well considered by those who do not confine their solicitudes to the retention of their seats in the next Parliamentary contest, but think it worth while to reflect upon the means by which, in the next national emergency, the Union between the two islands is to be preserved. What, then, will be the effect of the rejection of this measure in that country, in which there are 7,000,000 of Roman Catholics, the depositories of great political power, by whom two thirds of the Representatives of Ireland are returned to this House—who preponderate in almost every corporation in Ireland—who in wealth, in property, landed, funded, and mercantile—who in intelligence, in public spirit, in self-respect, in knowledge of their rights, and determination to maintain them—who in all the attributes that constitute a State, have within the last fifteen years made a progress so surprising—what will be the effect of the rejection of this measure in that country, in which there already exists a discontent so deep, so dark, so just, in which a demand for the restoration of the national legislature is by a powerful nation so peremptorily made—to which your great antagonists, the speculators in the ruin of England, are constantly turning their eyes, and whose hazardous position must needs afford matter for the serious meditation of the Earl of Aberdeen? No man of ordinary perspicacity can fail to see that the rejection of this measure must give a great impulse to the Repeal agitation. It will, in my mind, more than justify it. It is not that the people of Ireland set any great value upon the grant of 26,000*l.*; it is not that the people of Ireland attach any very great importance to the measure *per se*, and seen apart from other considerations; but that the rejection of this measure will afford a proof, beyond all controversy, that Ireland is not to be governed in conformity with the feelings of the great majority of the Irish people, nor even in conformity with the views of the first statesmen of both parties in this country, but in obedience to the worst passions of the most fanatical portion of the English people. When the Union between Great Britain and Ireland was about to be carried, it was foretold by the ablest men in the Irish Parliament — that Parliament which was so prolific in the production of men of genius —that the share of Ireland in her own legislation would be nominal; that the Irish Representatives would be swamped by English majorities; and that to the great English aristocracy the government of Ireland would be transferred. The government of the English aristocracy it is hard, but possible, to bear. The dignity of the despot diminishes the debasement of the slave; but if, after having been deprived by the most profligate instrumentality of the right of self-government—that right, to the exercise of which it is not in human nature that eight millions of Irishmen should not aspire—we are to be transferred from the dominion of the great English aristocracy to that of the three denominations—if we, a people, brave, energetic, adventurous, and determined—if over us the three denominations are to be exalted in an inglorious masterdom—if the policy by which the affairs of Ireland are to be carried on is to be regulated, not by the statesmen, and the patricians, and the proprietors, and the thinkers of England, but by the Baptists, and the Moravians, and the Independents, and the Wesleyans —I frankly and fearlessly tell you, that there is in that new vassalage an infamy so utter, that we will not bear it; and if a Minister shall be found to succeed the right hon. Baronet so lost to all sense of his own honour, and who shall fall so low, who shall descend so deep, as to seek for an oracle in the Tabernacle, and convert the Cabinet into an appurtenance of the conventicle—there will be, you may be assured, found men in Ireland who shall tell their countrymen, in thoughts of fire and in words of flame, that at every hazard—and no matter what may befall—the restoration of the Parliament of Ireland, which you will have forfeited all capacity to govern, must be extorted from you; that in such a cause there is nothing—no matter how precious—which ought not to be set upon a cast—that life is not to be kept at the expense of ignominy—and that the degradation to which we should be reduced would be so measureless, that it were better a thousand times to perish than endure it. I have spoken, I am conscious, with a more than ordinary fervour. I have permitted my pulse to beat less temperately than befits this deliberative assembly; but you will make allowance for me—you will forgive me, when you consider how much more just a cause for indignation an Irishman must find in the means which have been employed in order to arrest the progress of this measure, than an Englishman is justified in finding in the reasons which have been suggested for its approval. When such language is employed as has been uttered by the antagonists of this measure—when such provocatives have been applied to the religious feelings of the people—when into passions the most inflamatory, fanaticism has thrust a torch—when the vocabulary of theological opprobrium has been exhausted by the men who have the temerity to revile, and the audacity to threaten us, can you wonder that the blood should boil in the veins of men who have become too like yourselves, who have become too closely assimilated to you, who have become too much identified with Englishmen in the characteristics by which Englishmen are distinguished, tamely to brook the indignity which Englishmen will forget their natures when they shall learn to suffer? Sir, I repeat that the rejection of this measure will greatly invigorate the agitation for that sunderance of the Union to which you are all opposed. You are all, I have no doubt, opposed to the Repeal of the Union. When the Prime Minister declared that the Repeal of the Union should be resisted, even at the hazard of civil war, that announcement was received with acclamation. Is not a grant to Maynooth, followed by a series of analogous measures, better than a civil war? I ask that question of the noble Lord the Member for Dorsetshire, who did me the honour to refer to some opinions of mine touching the equality with Protestants, in regard to which I have the presumption to aspire.

The noble Lord is distinguished by his humanity—by a benevolence to which I have always borne my humble testimony—but does it not occur to him that one month of civil war in Ireland would be productive of more misery and of more vice than all the factories in Lancashire would generate in a hundred years? The noble Lord and his associates recoil from the terrible contingencies of which I have but for an instant traced the shadow, and yet they are prescribing to the Government that fatal policy which will lead us to the gulf, from which with their holiest deprecation, religion and humanity lift up their voices to warn us away. Let it not be imagined that I am sufficiently preposterous to believe that the rejection of this measure would be followed by an Irish insurrection. I am adverting to the consequence of continuing to govern a Catholic country upon the Protestant policy on which the rejection of this measure would be founded. Let the Catholics of Ireland be taught by you to despair of justice—let them be firmly persuaded that there is no chance of fair dealing at your hands—and discontent growing into disaffection, will at last reach to such a height, that the entire nation will join in one deep anathema against the Union of which you shall have availed yourselves for the purposes of our debasement; and whenever England shall be involved in one of those emergencies to which all nations have been exposed, and from which there is no reason to believe that your exemption will be everlasting, you will have cause to lament your adherence to that policy by which we are told by divine authority that wise men are saddened—that you will lament it when your repentance will be valueless, and when the tears of remorse will be unavailing, and the sighs of contrition will be heaved in vain. There is not a man in this assembly who deprecates with more sincerity than I do, the realization of those fearful contingencies to which I have adverted; and it is in order that they may be averted (a purpose far more important than the propagation of Protestantism) that I so strenuously enjoin, through honourable means, the complete and thorough conciliation of the Catholic clergy. There are three thousand of them: they constitute a great intellectual incorporation of active, energetic, and courageous men; power centres in their episcopacy, and circulates at the same time through their minute parochial subdivision. Their influence can scarcely be exaggerated: for good or for evil they are omnipotent: they have been your stern antagonists, you can convert them into your firmest and fastest friends. It was by the Catholic priesthood that, in 1826, the powerful Beresfords, so long the Representatives of Protestant ascendancy, were overthrown—it was by the Catholic priesthood that, in 1828, the great victory at the Clare election was achieved—it was by the Catholic priesthood that throughout the great tithe struggles in 1833, the Catholic people were inspirited and sustained. It is from the Catholic priesthood that the power by which the vast Repeal machinery is set at work is derived. By whom was the meeting, which would have been attended by half a million of men, summoned in the old field of Irish victory at Clontarf? Neither the name of Daniel O'Connell nor the name of Smith O'Brien, nor the name of no one layman was attached to the requisition: it was signed—I know what you will say—it was signed by five-and-twenty priests. You will cry out, "Down with Maynooth!" Suppose it down—suppose that consummation to have taken place—suppose that Maynooth were laid prostrate—suppose that not one stone were left standing upon another — suppose that the plough were driven through its foundations, and suppose that a great Catholic ecclesiastical seminary, of which the voluntary principle should be the architect, were raised in its place; what think you would you have gained? Would the doctrines of passive obedience to England be taught in this Catholic Free Church academy? Would the British connexion be strengthened by this national institution, which you seem so anxious that we should proceed to erect? That question needs no answer. I have told you that the Irish Catholic priest had been your antagonist, and I also told you that he could be made your firmest and fastest friend. I have painted the Irish priest in his agitating capacity: I can present him to you in the enactment of a far different part. If there be any man by whom the belief is entertained that an Irish Catholic priest is beyond the reach of conciliation—that the sacerdotal Celt is irreclaimable, and that justice is a pearl which ought not to be cast away upon him—I entreat the men by whom a notion so erroneous is entertained, to look to the conduct of the Irish Catholic clergy in Upper Canada during the revolt, by which that province was exposed to so much peril. On one point all the Governors of Upper Canada were unanimous. They all concurred in stating that the Irish Catholic priests were not only true to England, but that they exhibited the most enthusiastic and the most efficacious fidelity in her cause. The entire of the Irish Catholic population in Upper Canada, with the Irish priests at their head, took part with the British authorities, and from your just dealing in their regard you derived advantage of the most signal kind. You have followed up that judicious policy, by awarding to the Catholic worship in Upper Canada a share of the clergy reserves, which were originally appropriated by Act of Parliament to the propagation of Protestantism. Can you doubt that if you go to war with the United States, you will derive the greatest possible advantage from that most salutary measure? But surely the increased grant to Maynooth is as nothing when compared with the alienation of part of the clergy reserves from Protestant to Catholic purposes. The conciliation of the Irish Catholic priest in his own country is as easy as in that to which he emigrates; and you can convert the Catholic Church into a fortress of your strength, secure from treason from within, and impregnable from assault from without, and from which you will derive more real security than if you were to plant a hundred cannon on every promontory on your coast. Sir, I have considered this subject solely with a view to the practical consequences, in reference to which it ought to be regarded, and I have not adverted to any abstract questions connected with endowment or restitution. My object is the pacification of my country—I have no other. I believe that the right hon. Gentleman has that object in view, and I commend him for it. I own that I wish that he had brought this measure forward at an earlier period of his administration; but it is far better to give a temporary triumph to agitation, by beginning to do right, than to give a permanent incentive to agitation, by continuing to do wrong. Some severe animadversions were pronounced upon the conduct of the right hon. Gentleman when in Opposition; but when he is doing the great community to which I belong an important service, I do not think the occasion an appropriate one for indulging in any criminatory retrospect. I think it far better to invite the right hon. Gentleman to persevere in the policy of pacification in which he has taken an important step. I consider this measure to be an initiative link in a series of measures by which the two countries can be honourably attached to each other. I am of opinion that the Irish Catholic millions require to be placed on a perfect level with their fellow citizens. I augur that equality from the speech of the Secretary for the Home Department, who announced that Ireland was no longer to be governed on the principles of ascendancy, in an auspicious tone, for which he deserves no ordinary praise. Repentance, says a casuist is so noble, that it is worth while to have grievously wronged, in order that the glories of contrition should be earned. The right hon. Gentleman may be assured that when he proceeds to Ireland with Her Majesty, his past offences will be forgotten. The right hon. Gentleman told us with some significance that this measure was proposed with the full consent of the Queen. The particular opinions of the Queen on any specific measure it may not be legitimate to refer to; but I think, that in speaking of the general policy by which Ireland ought to be governed, it is not inappropriate to say, that with the virtues of my Sovereign, I associate my hopes for the happiness of my country. When I remember that on Her accession to the Throne she charged Lord John Russell to convey to Lord Normanby (towards whom you ought to have acted a different part) —She charged Lord John Russell, I say, to convey to the man to whom Ireland owes a debt of lasting gratitude, Her entire approbation of the principles on which the government of Ireland had been carried on; when I recollect that it was stated by Lord De Grey, that the Queen had sent for him before he proceeded to Ireland, and expressed a peculiar and most tender concern for the welfare of Her Irish people—when I bear in mind that the First Lord of the Treasury emphatically referred to the feelings of the Queen towards Ireland, and intimated a hope that, in the construction of a fabric sacred to Concord the first stone should be laid by her—I feel convinced that there is no object nearer her heart than the felicity of Ireland. She will soon arrive amongst us, with a countenance beaming with joy, not unmixed with the expression of feelings of which smiles are not the best interpreters. I care not if she goes encompassed by the gorgeousness of a brilliant court, for Justice and Mercy will be in her retinue, and Hope, in all its beauty, will wait upon her. If her father's brother was received by us with enthusiasm, because he was the first Sovereign by whom in a spirit of amity the shore of Ireland was trod, with what blessings will she be hailed—the good wife, the good mother, the pure, the undissembling, the honest, the sincere—with the brightest diadem in all the world glittering on her unblemished forehead, and the love of her people enthroned in her heart. Not for the purpose of escaping from the lassitude of royalty, or flying from the monotonous pomp of the palace—she goes for the nobler purpose of looking at her people—her chivalrous, her devoted Irish people—for the purpose of seeing with her own eyes, of judging with her own judgment, and with her own heart of feeling what it is that ought to be done for the Irish people. Engaged in that noble study, let her tarry long amongst us; and when the period of her sojourn shall have expired—when she shall be compelled to return to this, the central seat of Empire, and to bid us farewell, it is not surely mere imagination on my part to think that, still thrilling with acclamations, such as she never heard before, she will stand high on the deck of that ship that will bear her too fast away from us; and as she looks back towards Ireland, with eyes not unsuffused with emotion, she will pray that before she shall have attained the meridian of that reign whose morning has been so bright, it may be granted to her, by the Disposer of all human events, to endow that beautiful country with perpetual peace, and that it may be her blessed lot, surrounded with men who shall participate in her magnanimous feelings, to make reparation to Ireland for all that Ireland has suffered—for all the tears that Ireland has shed—for all the agony of grief through which Ireland has passed—for all the wrongs which it was the fault of your forefathers, and which it was more than your misfortune, to have inflicted upon her.

Mr. *Law* was aware that topics at first calculated to arrest the attention of Parliament, had lost, by the long continuance of this debate, much of their interest with the House; and in addressing himself to the subject under consideration, he was not unmindful that the House had been engaged nearly six nights in discussing the principle of this measure; nor could he disguise from himself, that whatever the importance of the question arguments from that side of the House were likely to meet with little favour from those who had hitherto given so imperfect an answer to the arguments that had been already offered, and the objections so strongly urged against the Bill. He desired to deprecate in the strongest terms the introduction of Her Majesty's name into this debate. It was most unconstitutional; the minds of hon. Members—all of whom were animated alike with sentiments of the profoundest loyalty of affection to Her Majesty—ought not to be swayed nor influenced by the mention of the august name of Her Majesty, nor by the intimation of the Minister of the Crown and the responsible advisers of the Crown, that on their representation of the case they had succeeded in inducing Her Majesty to acquiesce in the views and measures of Her Ministers, for which they alone were responsible to the Crown, to Parliament, and the country. He objected to this Bill—if on no other ground, emphatically upon this—that it converted an annual grant, subject to the review and control of Parliament, into a permanent endowment by the State. The great principle involved in the present measure was, the permanent endowment by the State for the purposes of education of the Roman Catholic priesthood in Ireland? The consideration of the details would involve the important question—the public fund out of which this money should be raised. The character of the debate had been hitherto equal to its importance, to the momentous issues involved in the decision—temperate and decorous as became the wisdom and gravity of Parliament—except, indeed, during a short and painful interval in the course of the present evening. [The hon. and learned Member, referring to some notes which he held in his hand, was here assailed with *Cries of* "Read, read, read!"] If it is not the pleasure of that Gentleman (said the hon. and learned Member), who ingeminates so frequently and in so elevated a tone the word "Read" as an interruption to the observations I offer to the House, to stand on his feet and deliver his own more sagacious sentiments to the House, I desire that in the ordinary decency and courtesy due from one Gentleman to another, I may be permitted to proceed in the discharge of a bounden duty to the constituency I have the honour to represent. [*Interruption repeated.*] I am unconscious in what way I have deserved this treatment. There was nothing in the manner in which I endeavoured to express my sentiments when this measure was discussed on the first reading, disrespectful to the Members of the Government, offensive to the feelings of any one, or calculated to produce in any well-regulated mind the slightest excitement or anger. He now gave to the right hon. Baronet the open intimation of his opinion, that when on a future stage of the Bill the question mooted by the hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Ward) shall be discussed in the House, he anticipated that by a majority which would produce the extinction of the measure, it would be determined that from the taxes of England, the Consolidated Fund, the sources should not be drawn. [*Cries of* "Read, read."] I really do not understand why I should be put down by the senseless clamour which some hon. Gentlemen think proper to employ for the purpose of preventing me from delivering the sentiments which it was my intention to have expressed in a very narrow compass. Had it not been for the interruptions inflicted on me I should have been now about to conclude the observations it was my object to submit with becoming respect to the consideration of the House. There were three propositions involved in this question: first, the endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy; second, the protracted existence of the Protestant Establishment in Ireland; and third, the faith of Parliament pledged for its existence at the period of the Union. First, with respect to the great consideration of the endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy, the noble Lord the Member for London, in terms the most distinct, gave his unqualified assent to that proposition, and deduced it as a natural inference from the introduction of this measure by Her Majesty's Ministers. They had also had an intimation—what appeared indeed to amount to an admission—to the same effect from the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government and other Ministers of the Crown, and only a solitary disclaimer from his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer. His right hon. Friend, indeed, told the House, and he might be permitted to remind them of it, for there were not then forty Members present, that there was nothing involved in the Bill beyond what was expressly contained in it. At last his right hon. Friend said that, if the endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy should at any time be proposed, he, for one, would never consent that that endowment should be made by the confiscation of the property of the Protestant Church in Ireland. This was the sole matter that had appeared to controvert almost the universal opinion that this was one of a series of measures, and that it was the necessary and not remote consequence that they must entertain the question of the endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy. It might be supposed that some language had fallen from the right hon. Baronet the Secretary for the Home Department, at least, suggesting that this measure was not immediately intended. He had anxiously attended to the right hon. Baronet's statement, and all he could discover was that the Government was not at present prepared to submit that ulterior measure, nor were our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects prepared to ask it. The latter consideration (pursued the hon. and learned Gentleman) appears to me the only obstacle to the endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy.

Mr. *Hutt:* I rise to order. I wish to know if it be not contrary to the Standing Orders of the House for any Member of it to read his speech.

Mr. *Law:* By what right the hon. Gentleman presumes to say, at that distance from the spot on which I stand, that I am reading my speech—and having made the assertion, to call upon you, Sir, to require me to desist, I cannot imagine. It is worthy of the cause of which he is the advocate. The only difference in the statement which I shall be enabled to lay before you, in consequence of these repeated and injurious interruptions, unusual, contrary to the practice of Parliament and of Gentlemen—

Captain *Bernal Osborne* rose to order. The hon. and learned Member said, contrary to the practice of Gentlemen. He wished to know if that was in order.

The *Speaker* was understood to say, that the hon. and learned Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Law) was in order under the circumstances.

Mr. *Law:* I thank you, Sir, for your most obliging and most just interpretation of my words and my intentions—an interpretation in which, I firmly believe the hon. Gentleman who afforded the interruption, at the time he rose, fully concurred. [Captain *Bernal Osborne:* "No."] If I am to be the only person in this House who is not at liberty to refer to the heads of his argument, to enable him to pursue in order the statement which he wishes to lay before the House —if the object is to prevent me from proceeding, I have no doubt it will be successful to this extent—that when I shall retake my place, I shall have omitted most of those points on which I rest the importance of this measure, and shall have occupied unintentionally an enormous portion of your time, without having given expression to my sentiments. Up to this time the debate has been conducted in a manner suitable to the occasion, and with the utmost decency and decorum. I trust that my situation will not be an exception on this important subject; that I shall be patiently and fairly heard in advocating the rights of those I represent, and who, I may say, without offence, are not inferior in situation and circumstances, in learning, and all that adorns human nature, to the hon. Gentlemen who have offered me interruption. I was insisting that the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was the only obstacle to the conclusion that the principle of this measure was the endowment of the Roman Catholic Church, and that it would put in peril the existence of the Established Church. If I can make no other appeal, I claim the indulgence of hon. Gentlemen, in order to make myself intelligible, and to do my duty to those who have sent me here. In the profession to which I have for so many years belonged, I have been in the habit of making notes, and not of trusting entirely to my memory for the arrangement of points of argument; and if you rigidly insist upon my exclusion from a privilege accorded to every other Member by the indulgence of the House, I will not contest the matter, but I will yield to you, if that is your pleasure, and sit down. The hon. and learned Gentleman continued: The apparent coyness of those who would have to make the request to Government to provide for the endowment of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, presented the only obstacle to the success of that measure. But when he referred to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Dungarvon, delivered on the announcement of the measure by the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government, he was reminded that the coyness was of a nature that might be prevailed upon to yield; that it was of the character of shyness which a little time would remove; and there was a delicate hint from the right hon. Member that it might be expedient that a comfortable snug parsonage house, and a convenient glebe, should be presented to every Member of the Roman Catholic priesthood to whom the cure of souls was committed. Nor had he found that that gentle suggestion, made very naturally, and in the best spirit, by the right hon. Gentleman, met with anything like discouragement from Her Majesty's Ministers. On the contrary, it seemed to him, that if the right hon. Gentleman had pressed his point, he would have had more than a tacit admission that there was a disposition to grant it. The speech of the right hon. Member for Dungarvon was in the best and most conciliating spirit towards Her Majesty's Ministers. It was on no sudden thought that he had exchanged forgiveness with the right hon. Baronet the Secretary for the Home Department: from his temperate language and conciliatory tone, it would almost seem that he was prepared to swear an eternal friendship with Her Majesty's Government. The right hon. Gentleman had undoubtedly the authority of Burke for saying that the peculiar duties consigned to those who were to fill the office of Roman Catholic priests, appeared to furnish a ground for that seclusion which in all other denominations of religious sects was regarded as not enjoined, and scarcely in accordance with the spirit of those Scriptures which were the foundation of the instruction they would hereafter communicate to their flocks. The second proposition involved in this question regarded the Establishment in Ireland. His right hon. Friend—if he would excuse him for presuming to call him so—the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government, when he introduced the great measure for the removal of the civil restrictions and disabilities of their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, drew, if he was not mistaken, a very broad line of distinction between the removal of civil disabilities and the advancement to ecclesiastical power of those on whom the civil disabilities were imposed. They were now engaged in the discussion of a second, and by far more important, Catholic question; and when the alarm raised throughout Great Britain was considered, it was not surprising that the Table should groan with petitions, which appeared to be utterly disregarded, but which emanated from those who were, perhaps, better acquainted with the bearings of the question than those who were legislating upon it. This was, as he had said, a second Catholic question; and of the inconveniences that attended the discussion of the first, one was the want of distinction between questions merely affecting civil and social life, and the greater question affecting the national Protestant Establishment in Church and State. It was fitting that the people of England should be heard on a matter so vitally affecting them, before the first step was taken in subverting those institutions in Church and State. Members of that House should pause ere they committed the capital—he had almost said the irretrievable—error of plunging this country into an agitation that might occupy as many years as the old question regarding civil disabilities had done before, and be attended with deeper and more lasting feelings of alienation and distrust. He warned them that they were entering upon a course the end of which it was difficult to predict, and which would plunge them into evils which it was impossible to overstate. It was now no longer a question whether the right hon. and learned Member for Dungarvon should occupy a distinguished place in the Legislature, and concur with his Protestant fellow-subjects in all those important legislative measures which were to advance the prosperity of their common country; but it was a question whether the foundations of the British Constitution should be shaken to their centre and subverted. It was no longer a question whether, for political expediency or imaginary danger, they were to admit to or exclude from full participation in civil rights, those who were separated from them by a different form of religious belief. The question before the House and the country was simply this—whether the title by which the Crown of England had been hitherto held should be abrogated, and whether the Act of Settlement should be a dead letter—whether the 5th Article of the Union, which was considered the fundamental Article, should be infringed. The Act of Settlement made it impossible for any one professing the Roman Calic religion to occupy the Throne of these realms. Whether they who established that exclusive condition were warranted in so doing by the position in which they were placed—whether circumstances had intermediately or newly arisen to shake the principles of that settlement—whether we were so much wiser than our ancestors that we not only wished to review the Revolution but the Reformation—whether they were now, by a State grant to the College of Maynooth, to send gentlemen educated in the Roman Catholic religion to make a market for sedition; to stimulate to acts of sedition the vast population of Ireland; and to recognise this College as part of the civil system and government of the country—he did not know. This was nothing but a preliminary question whether they were to concede an endowment to the Roman Catholic Church. Out of what revenue the expense was to be met, had yet to be discussed. Were these imaginary difficulties? Was there not on the Votes a notice of Motion involving not the endowment alone, but an endowment out of the property of the United Church of England and Ireland. Before he proceeded further—["Oh, oh."] He knew that hon. Members were not willing that their constituents, who had given them their powers on other conditions, should know, through those organs which promulged to the public the sentiments delivered in that House, the speeches made by those Members who were ready, in the hour of danger, to vindicate the rights of the Church of which they were members, and carry into practice the principles they had professed at the hustings. He should, therefore, make no apology for insisting upon those important topics which were so vital to the question under consideration. He only regretted that the tone in which he was compelled to speak should appear unfriendly. He had no wish to give offence to any Gentleman. On the contrary he declared, with a sincerity which no one had a right to dispute, that he respected the opinions of every man who differed from him on religious grounds; and he begged to say, in distinct terms, that since a victory had been achieved for Gentlemen of the Roman Catholic religion, he rejoiced that they were in full enjoyment of every civil right and privilege which the subjects of this realm could enjoy. They were indebted to the right hon. Gentleman for all those privileges, and it was well that the discussion upon those topics had now passed away. He now addressed himself to the question regarding the establishment of the Roman Catholic Church, as a co-ordinate establishment. In trespassing on their time, as he was conscious he was, he must again throw himself upon the indulgence of the House, and of those who were the sole cause of the late hour at which he continued to address them. At the commencement of this discussion, and upon the question of the reception of this Bill at the hands of the Government, he had stated that he gave his full acknowledgment of the pure and exalted intentions of those who had been induced to submit to Parliament a measure fraught with such great difficulty and danger. They had really to consider whether they were prepared permanently to endow the Roman Catholic clergy, and whether they would do so out of the taxes of this country, or the property of the Established Church in Ireland. It was miserable special pleading in the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Edinburgh, to ascribe the opposition to the measure to objections against the amount of the grant proposed. Such a motive had been distinctly repudiated; and his (Mr. Macaulay's) declaration that the only question involved was one of figures, was irreconcileable with that part of his speech in which he had vituperated the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government, and accused him (Sir R. Peel) of introducing a measure not based on his former principles, and opposed to the principles on which he had acted when in Opposition, and of professing one set of principles for the purpose of removing the Whigs, and of adopting others in office, as the rule and guide of the measures of Administration. In the speech delivered on the previous evening by the right hon. Baronet the Home Secretary, he (Sir James Graham) appeared to derogate from the originality of the right hon. Premier, and to attribute too much importance to himself and his noble Friend (Lord Stanley), as the originators of the Government measure. He (Sir James Graham) had also alluded to his right hon. and learned Friend the Member for the University of Dublin, in terms not calculated to heal a breach between members of a party, but rather to widen and perpetuate the differences that unhappily existed between friends who had for years acted together—or appeared to do so—in reciprocal confidence and mutual harmony. His right hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Shaw) had held no unimportant position when the party now in power sat on the opposite side of the House. He was not then taunted with the expression "Protestant Ascendancy in its old sense, is at an end;" nor were apologies then tendered to Ireland by the right hon. Baronet for the indiscreet expression "that concession had reached its utmost limits." Mr. Law (proceeded amidst a scene of noisy interruption that rendered him nearly inaudible) to state his opinion that when this measure was carried, any overture from the Roman Catholics must be met by the Minister of the day not with mere tacit acquiescence, but with active fervour and co-operation. The principle being conceded, the power to resist effectually will have passed out of the hands of the Government. But they were assured by his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that they need be under no apprehension for the revenues of the Established Church in Ireland, for that he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) would never be a party to their confiscation for Roman Catholic purposes. Now, knowing the character of his right hon. Friend, he freely admitted that he (Mr. Goulburn) had not the remotest intention to support any measure for confiscating the revenues of the Irish Protestant Church; but he was compelled to fear that his right hon. Friend's faculty of resistance would be found extremely limited, and that when the question arose "from what source shall the Irish Roman Catholic clergy be paid and endowed," neither the influence of his right hon. Friend, nay, nor the united strength of the Government, would be found sufficient to withhold the further concession demanded, and based on the voluntary surrender of the principles of the Protestant Constitution in Church and State. If the Roman Catholic religion was proposed to be established in Ireland, the voice of his right hon. Friend would be silenced, and his remonstrances be urged too late, and in vain. He was inclined to think so—because at an early period of his (Mr. Law's) parliamentary life, when he (Mr. Law) was induced to support a measure to enable a gentleman of the Jewish persuasion to become Sheriff of London, his right hon. Friend had dissented from that measure in terms that would have led him (Mr. Law) to expect the most strenuous opposition from his right hon. Friend, whenever a further step should be attempted to be taken in the same direction. The Jewish Disabilities Removal Bill now lies upon your Table, the measure of the Government of which my right hon. Friend is at this time a prominent and efficient member and ornament. He (Mr. Law) was resolved to support the proposition of the hon. Member for Newcastle, that this Bill be read this day six months. Let it repose, in the meantime, upon that Table, merged under the petitions of the people, entwined in the folds and the embraces of its twin brother the Jews' Bill, to be revived and resuscitated under the fostering care of its real parents and natural guardians—the Whigs. They alone with consistency can engraft these measures upon our Christian Protestant Constitution. Be theirs the merit, if merit there be, and the rewards of success. Be theirs and theirs alone the peril of discomfiture, and the ignominy of defeat.

Mr. *Thomas Duncombe ;* Assuming that it was the wish as well as the determination of the House, that this debate should be brought to a close this evening, he could assure the House that he would not occupy one-tenth of the time which had been occupied by the learned Recorder. Considering the tone and temper of this debate, considering that there had been no offence given to the religious opinions of any man, be they what they might, he could not help expressing his regret at the speech of his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Dungarvon (Mr. Sheil). He could not help thinking that he had done a great act of injustice to the Protestant Dissenters of England. If any one had proposed that the Government and the people of Ireland should be handed over to the three denominations of Protestant Dissenters, instead of to the aristocracy of England, which it appeared his hon. and learned Friend greatly preferred, then there might have been some cause for the expressions which he had used against them. But no such proposition was ever dreamed of, and the hon. and learned Gentleman had, therefore, done the three denominations a great injustice. He (Mr. Duncombe) wished he could attract the attention of his hon. and learned Friend to the petition which he this evening presented from a deputation nominated by the three religious bodies of Dissenters residing within twelve miles of this metropolis. They represented every Dissenter belonging to their different bodies, and what was their language? It was this :—

> "That they objected to the revenues of the State being appropriated to any ecclesiastical purpose whatever. They stood upon the broad ground of no endowment; and they stated that it was only from their attachment to what they considered right, that they presented their petition to the House, and from no ill feeling whatever, either to the tenets, or in respect to any portion of the conduct of their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects of Ireland, with whom they said they sympathised, and long had sympathised, for the sufferings, cruelties and wrongs to which they had for so many years been subjected."

His right hon. and learned Friend, therefore, had done these three denominations of Dissenters great injustice, in describing them as being a set of fanatical insurgents. The Dissenters had been perfectly consistent upon this question. Let the House recollect what was their course in 1834, when Lord Althorp and Lord Grey brought in a Bill to pay the church rates out of the Consolidated Fund. Did not the Dissenters take the same ground on that occasion which they were assuming now? The Whig Government of that day considered it prudent to withdraw the Bill; for the Dissenters would never tolerate the principle of taxing the people for the support of a Church to which they did not belong. Again, was not their conduct perfectly consistent in regard to the educational clauses in the Factories Bill? Was their conduct then directed against the Roman Catholics? No; their opposition was to the attempt that was at that time being made by the Crown to hand over the education of a great portion of the young of both sexes to the exclusive control of the Established Church. They objected conscientiously to the children in factories being altogether subjected to the educational control of the ministers of the Church of England. They were, therefore, perfectly consistent when they came forth in opposition to the measure now before the House. He hoped that that opposition would continue, and that it would be successful. Before closing his observations, he wished to put a question to Her Majesty's Ministers upon this part of the subject. It should not be an impertinent one, such as had been put by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Northamptonshire; he was not going to ask whether, if the noble Lord the Member for London (Lord John Russell) had brought in this Bill, Her Majesty's Ministers would have opposed it. He believed that if the noble Lord had introduced such a measure, all those who now supported the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel) would have exhibited the noble

Lord and the Pope in effigy in every parish in the kingdom. But he was not going to ask that question, and that for the best of all reasons, as the learned Recorder would tell them, "that no man was bound to criminate himself." But the question he would ask the right hon. Baronet was this:—Were these innumerable petitions which had been presented against the measure to be treated as so much waste paper? Were not they (the House of Commons) a representative assembly? Could any former instance be pointed out where petitions had been presented to the House so numerously, so respectably, and so honestly signed? What answer, he would ask, had they to give to these petitioners? Would it be any answer for hon. Gentlemen to get up, and having abused Her Majesty's Ministers for their inconsistency—for their duplicity, if you please—then vote for the Bill? Did they suppose it would be any answer to these petitioners to tell them that certain persons would be inconsistent if, after having formerly supported a small grant to the College of Maynooth, they should now oppose its extension? That was no answer; if by this measure it was proposed not only to enlarge the grant but to make it perpetual, and give to it the character of an endowment of that College. Not only would it be an endowment, but it had been most distinctly pointed out—and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Robert Peel) would be explicit upon this point—by the noble Lord the Member for the city of London (Lord John Russell), that he considered this measure only valuable because it was the precursor of some future measures for making a provision for the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland. A similar remark fell from the right hon. Gentleman the late President of the Board of Trade, which had not been contradicted by any Minister who had hitherto spoken. To be sure the right hon. Baronet the Secretary of State for the Home Department had said, that he had been told that the Roman Catholic clergy would not accept any provision from the State, and therefore the right hon. Gentleman was not prepared to propose it. But the right hon. Gentleman did not tell the House that if the Roman Catholic priests were prepared to accept it, he was not prepare to propose it. For his part, he (Mr. T. Duncombe) was surprised that the Roman Catholics of Ireland should accept of this beggarly miserable grant. He always understood that they disdained to become the liveried lacqueys of the State; but it now, alas! appeared that they were ready to prostrate themselves before this golden image that the Government were setting up. [*A cry of* "No."] An hon. Member said "no;" he (Mr. T. Duncombe) hoped the Irish people would also say "no." And this suggested the reflection, that if the Irish people were so grateful for this boon—if they were so overflowing with gratitude—how was it that they did not come forward and declare it to the world? He wanted to learn that from the Irish people; not from newspaper report, but from their own lips. Let them come face to face before the Commons of England, and tell the House and the country that this is so great a boon to them that all Ireland would be grateful for it, and that the cry of "repeal" would be hushed for ever. He wished to know whether it were intended to tell the people of England that if they rejected this Bill, they would in effect be rejecting Her Majesty's present Ministers? Did any one suppose that that would be an answer to the people of England? However much hon. Gentlemen opposite might flatter themselves, they would find that the carrying of this measure would not carry with it the voice of the people of England in support of the present Administration. But he must again revert to the question—what was to be done with the petitions of the people? Were they to be treated as waste paper? He did not think that either the House or the Government could afford to play such pranks with the people of England. They were not sufficiently respected by the people to be able to do that. Never was a Parliament so intensely hated and detested by the people of this country as was the present Parliament; and if they persevered against the sense of the people in so great a matter, they would rue the day. He knew that they did not and would not believe it—no more than the hon. Gentlemen opposite would believe that the people would not break their hearts if they (the Government) were to go out of office. But the day would come, they might depend upon it, when they would compelled to believe it; but not, perhaps, until they found these rotten walls rattling about their ears. He was told that this measure would conciliate the people of Ireland.

He did not believe it. They would only despise the Government for their truckling policy, and laugh at the House for sanctioning it. Where would the Government be this day six months? Had they any fixed plan of policy? Would they come forward and say that they had some great and comprehensive plan, and that Ireland should no longer be governed on the principle of exclusion? He was glad to hear the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department say that Ireland was henceforth to be governed upon the principle of equity; but he was anxious to know what that principle of equity was to be. Before this Bill passed, Her Majesty's Government ought to lay upon the Table a full statement of the measures they intended to adopt towards Ireland. All their measures ought to be before the House together, whether as regarded education, the poor-law, or registration, in order that the House might judge whether Her Majesty's Ministers were so much in earnest as they professed to be to govern Ireland as an integral portion of the Empire. The right hon. Baronet (Sir Robert Peel) had said that he had consulted the great ecclesiastical authorities in Ireland upon this subject. Had the right. hon. Gentleman consulted the great ecclesiastical authorities in England upon it? He wished to know whether the spiritual Lords were upon this question to play the same part as was played in 1832? If he should see Charles James of London and Henry of Exeter absent themselves on this occasion, he should exceedingly rejoice, because it would be the means of relieving them altogether from their parliamentary duties without any difficulty, and also without injury to the State, or prejudice to the religion of the country. Whatever agreeable reminiscences the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Sheil) might have of the College of Maynooth, he very much feared, be the issue of this Bill what it might, that the only reminiscences which would be left to the right hon. Baronet (Sir Robert Peel) would be found in the recollection of the bitter reproaches of those friends whose confidence he had lost, and in the reproach of that insulting and humiliating support of those political opponents whose office he had usurped. He promised not to occupy the time of the House, and he would keep his word; but notwithstanding all those taunts, and those charges of intolerance and of bigotry, and of a desire to perpetuate injustice, that had been levelled against those who were opposed to this Bill, he, knowing them to be most true and unfounded, should resist the measure as long as it remained on the Table of the House.

Lord *J. Russell* said: Sir, if it is the general wish of the House that this debate should conclude to-night, I am, as my hon. Friend who has just sat down has said, ready to address the House out of a feeling of respect to the petitions of the people, which have been so numerously presented to it. I could have been well contented otherwise to have given a silent vote in favour of the second reading of this measure; but after the numerous petitions that have been laid upon the Table—after the many letters I have received from my constituents, and other parties, expressing their objections to this measure, I own I should not feel entirely satisfied if I did not express to the House the reasons which induce me to differ from their opinions. Sir, I concur so far with the opinions of those who are opposed to this measure, that I do think the question is one of the highest importance; and in that respect, perhaps, I do not agree so entirely with such of Her Majesty's Ministers as have spoken on the Motion for the second reading, because, as far as appeared to me, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer seemed to consider the proposal as merely an addition of 17,000*l.* to the former grant to Maynooth. Again, the right hon. Secretary for the Home Department appears to consider that the question of the endowment of the College of Maynooth was settled by the Act of 1795. I cannot agree with the opinion of either of these right hon. Gentlemen. If the question is merely one of an addition of 17,000*l.* to the grant, I think it might have been placed among the Miscellaneous Estimates in the ordinary manner, like the repairs of a barrack at Portsmouth, or any other place. It might have been shown that the building was insufficient; that there was not enough room for the students; or that a greater amount was required for the subsistence of the scholars—a case might thus have been made out for an increase of the vote from 9,000*l.* to 26,000*l.* Upon that question, however much those who had always been opposed to any grant to Maynooth might have contended against it, seeing how small that opposition had been for some years past, the only doubt would have been, whether this additional sum of money were sufficient or not, and whether the principle that induced us to vote a sum for the maintenance of Maynooth required us to spend this 17,000*l.*, in addition to what we had already contributed? Neither can I agree with the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for the Home Department, that this whole question as to its principle was decided in 1795; for, were I to agree with that opinion, I should in the same manner concede that the Charitable Bequests Act of last year contained—which I do not think it did—the whole question of the endowment by the State of the Roman Catholic Church. The Act of 1795, as I understand it, allowed the Roman Catholics to found their own College, and to give their own lands and money for that purpose. Then, from year to year, we have voted a sum in aid of the funds thus contributed. I consider that a totally different measure—one differing in degree, differing in extent, and differing in character from the proposition now before the House; and although, Sir, I am far from saying that if you agree to this measure you must proceed farther, and endow the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland, I think it is impossible to controvert the position laid down by the right hon. Member for Newark (Mr. Gladstone), who said, as far as the religious question is concerned, that will be decided by the carrying of this measure. But, Sir, there remain other questions to be considered: there is the question, whether the public taxation of this country should be burdened by a payment to the Roman Catholic clergy—the question, whether anything shall be taken from the Protestant Church, and whether it would afford any surplus for the purpose; and, thirdly, whether any taxation can be laid upon Ireland exclusively for such an object? All these are questions of great difficulty, which have to be decided; and besides these, there is still the previous question of the consent to this course of the Catholic clergy themselves. You will, therefore, by no means decide the question of endowment by carrying such a measure as the Bill which is to-night before the House. But, with regard to the endowment of the Catholic clergy, I consider, that in some respects such a measure would be open to less objection than the proposal before the House; because the clergy of the Roman Catholic communion have to perform many duties which resemble those performed by the clergy of the Established Church of this country, and by the clergy of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland—duties of charity, of instructing the people, and informing them of the Word of God, and duties about which there can be no dispute—duties of consolation and kindness, which all these clergymen perform in a similar useful and Christian manner. But with regard to this College, the whole question is one of the theology to be taught in it; or, if not the whole question, the theology is the principal part of the matter. It is in this respect that, in point of principle, the stronger question is the endowment of the College; and, therefore, I come prepared to treat it thoroughly impressed with its importance—as much so as any of those who have opposed it—as much so as any of those among the Representatives of Ireland, who, my hon. Friend (Mr. Duncombe) states, have exaggerated that importance. But in discussing this question, I think the acceptance of it by the Irish Catholic clergy and people—which I believe is an undoubted fact—is an important element for our consideration. The first and the last thing we have to consider in connexion with this question is, the condition of the people and of the Government of Ireland. You have in that country 7,000,000 of people; and the statistical results of your inquiries show that they are in a condition which it is frightful to read of and shocking to contemplate. Your statistics show that millions of that people are in a state bordering on starvation—that many live in cabins of a single room, without a window, and many in cabins of two rooms; but all these details show that a very large proportion of the people are in a state of the deepest poverty. You have, too, this fact distinctly brought before you — that those who live in this state of poverty especially belong to the Roman Catholic religion; and their clergy have to depend not only on the contributions of farmers, or persons in somewhat comfortable circumstances, but on the miserable earnings of the poorest of these destitute people. You have, at the same time, in that country an Established Church very richly endowed—so richly endowed that the whole sum now proposed as the grant to Maynooth, taking the old grant and the new together, hardly exceeds the revenues of three Prelates of that Establishment. Is not this a case in which any measure calculated to conciliate the affections of that people, and which can be adopted without any violence to the Constitution as it exists, is worthy of your consideration, and one which you ought to hesitate long ere you rejected it? The opinion of the people of Ireland, as far as I can collect it, is, that they are ready to receive this grant with gratitude. It will be a means of conciliating their affections; it does not trench upon the revenue of the Established Church; and no doubt the majority of this House would pronounce against such a means of providing for the expenses of any Catholic establishment. We know that the grant does not offend the religious feelings of any of the Catholic clergy, and in this respect it does not present such a difficulty as the endowment of that clergy. The hon. Member for Finsbury — who, strange to say, is to-night the ally of the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of Oxford on this question — says, the Dissenters are ready to agree in their case that there shall be no endowment and no State Church, and that the voluntary principle ought to prevail in the Anglican as well as the Roman Catholic Establishment. This appears highly liberal, and seems to do a justice to the people of Ireland; but, in fact, it is not concession of which any use can be made. Let us look what must be the feelings of the people of Ireland, if we bandy about one subject after another on this question, without ever coming to some practical conclusion? Suppose my hon. Friend were to say, " Let us abolish the Establishment in England and Ireland, and let religion rely for support on the voluntary principle." It seems a great and high sounding principle that every man shall pay only to support the religion he professes, and that no man shall have his conscience burdened by having to pay ministers of a religion from which he dissents; but everybody knows that the great majority of this House would negative such a proposition; and suppose that a dissolution took place to-morrow or any other time, still there would be a great majority to oppose any demand for the abolition of the State Church. The Government come forward and say, " Let us make an endowment of a small portion belonging to the Roman Catholic religion;" if we were to say with my hon. Friend, " No, let the voluntary principle prevail, let us have no State endowment, let every man provide his religion for himself;" and suppose the State endowment to be rejected with scorn and contempt by the House—what in the mean time is the state of the people of Ireland? If one party refuse to consent to any inroad on the revenues of the Establishment, and another party absolutely refuse any endowment at all, what will be the condition of the people? Why, they will remain quite uncared for by the Legislature of this country; they will see that the Legislature provides abundantly for the religion of a minority, and that both England and Scotland oppose their wishes. Whether the plan proposed be in the shape of an endowment, or the voluntary principle be adopted, that which is for the benefit of Ireland would be rejected. The Irish would then look on this country as they did of old; they would not consider the different parties, and their views and combinations; they would take the whole together, and would say, every proposition for the benefit of Ireland is rejected by the House of Commons and the Representatives of Great Britain. If that be the case, then I say the proposed remedy, that sounds so well, of the abolition of all State endowments, and the establishment of the voluntary principle, is quite illusory; it would be nothing but a delusion and a fraud upon the people of Ireland to say, we cannot give this endowment, and profess that we are quite ready to abolish all State Churches. Sir, I cannot agree with what was said by the right hon. and learned Member for Dungarvon (Mr. Sheil) of the Protestant Dissenters of this country. I think they are men to whom, with respect to all questions of civil and religious liberty, this country is deeply indebted. When it is a question of equality in point of civil privileges, they are as forward as any men in wishing their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects to be placed on that equality. They have taken up this question of a State endowment on the strongest religious grounds favourable to Protestantism, and hostile to Roman Catholicism; but I believe, when the question is further considered, they will see that the result of the rejection of a Bill like this will be that an inequality and an injustice will be committed towards Ireland, and will see that some such measure as this is necessary as a partial remedy for some of the grievances of that country. For my own part I cannot see without alarm—I cannot see without pain, the declarations made in the petitions laid upon the Table of this House with respect to the religious part of this question. I cannot read the petitions which I see printed here before me, coming both from Protestants of the Established Church, and from Protestant Dissenters of this country, without deeply regretting that so strong a feeling—I should for myself say so strong and unjust a prejudice—should exist with respect to the Roman Catholic religion. I say so, because I remember, that at the time of what is called the Roman Catholic Relief Bill, the same statements were made. I remember the same charges against the Roman Catholic Church for its idolatry, for its antiscriptural professions, and of the members being followers of Antichrist; and many other phrases which I only repeat because they are so often contained in the petitions which have been presented to this House. The whole question of the Catholic Relief Bill came before the House of Lords; and on looking at the speeches of the Prelates of the Established Church, both for and against the Bill, I find nothing to justify these phrases. The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the Archbishop of York, placed their opposition entirely upon political grounds, and upon the encroachments of the Catholic Church. I find other bishops discussing the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church; but all who discussed them, admitting that the Roman Catholic Church is a part of the Christian Church; and the Bishop of Llandaff asked, if we did not acknowledge the Roman Catholic Church to be part of the Christian Church, whence was the authority derived by the ministers of the Church of England? When such are the opinions of the Prelates of our Church, I consider myself wholly free from the necessity of holding opinions which it would give me great pain if I were compelled to entertain. But I regret to say, that there is still great intolerance upon this subject. There is a feeling which has come down to us from the Reformation, which I do fear exists both on the one side and on the other side. When I read the charges made against Maynooth, and when it is said that intolerance to a certain degree exists in the Roman Catholic Church, and that this should be the cause of withholding from it our aid, I must say that I greatly regret that this spirit, which existed in so fierce a degree at the period of the Reformation, should not by this time have been softened, if not effaced. I fear, Sir, that the religious warfare that then took place has left remains of a more durable character than any civil war which this country has ever remembered. We all recollect the beautiful passage in Virgil, in which he supposes that in future time the husbandman will dig up the remains of the arms of those who fell in the civil wars of Rome, and that he will find the spears covered with rust and the empty helmets worn in some forgotten battle; but it appears that the arms of the parties who contended at the time of the Reformation, will never be allowed to rust—that there are parties constantly coming forward who will keep the spears bright, and the helmets still burnished; and that whenever any question shall arise which excites the religious differences, whenever that same chord is touched, the unrusted spears, and the well-burnished helmets, and the tattered banners, are again brought forth, and are displayed with all the fierceness which distinguished the religious animosities of the sixteenth century. It is time, as I conceive, that this spirit should give place to a more kindly and a more conciliatory spirit. It is grievous to think that what the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newark is often pleased to suppose, cannot be, and that there cannot be one church contented and at peace. But, Sir, I have seen the attempt made; I have lived in Spain where this was attempted; I saw the dreadful evils that ensued; and it is impossible and extravagant to expect that in a country, divided as this is, there should be anything like an unity of the Church: but this at least we can each do; whilst each adheres conscientiously to his own faith, whilst we stand firmly by our own religion, we can each give full credit to others, whether we are Catholic or Protestant, whether we belong to the Church of England or the Church of Scotland, for equal conscientiousness; and we may all discuss the great subject of the general welfare, without joining in those unfortunate animosities which still prevail among the people. In saying this, I cannot consent to yield to the petitions of the people on this subject. I think if we say, with these petitioners, that we cannot support a religion which we consider to be unscriptural—in the first place our efforts must go beyond this Bill, and next that they must go far beyond Ireland, and we must extend to the Colonies a rigid and unbending rule, which will, in a few years, shake the Empire to its foundations. But suppose I admit that, for the sake of the maintenance of the Protestant religion, such an act is necessary—suppose at this moment that we will take all the consequences—suppose that we are ready to do all this, have we any pretence for saying that we legislate for the people of Ireland? Are we not bound to say to the people of that country, "We engaged at the time of the Union to govern Ireland in a spirit of equality with England; we engaged to consider Irishmen as we consider Englishmen; to allow the same rights and privileges to the Irish as we claim for ourselves, and to consider the questions with regard to Ireland as we would consider them with regard to ourselves?" If that be the case it will be totally inconsistent with our saying that "our own religion is so exclusively true that we cannot bear anything like an equality, or anything like a favour being shown to the people of Ireland?" If we say that such are our strict religious principles, that we defy these demands for justice, then will come more fiercely than ever those demands for the Repeal of the Union which all will deplore. Either we must say that "we will carry out the compact in the spirit which was declared at the time, and that we will fulfil the compact not only to the letter, but with all that kindness and all that affectionate regard, and all that conciliation which Ireland should have from England;" or we must say that "our religious opinions will not allow us to act with equity and justice towards Ireland," and then we must renounce the connexion and the compact, and we must give them back their Legislature to enable them to decide for themselves as they think best. I own that I consider this a dilemma from which you cannot escape. If you insist upon your strict religious principles, we must dissolve the Union; but, on the other hand, if you will maintain the Union, you must convince the Roman Catholic people of Ireland that you will treat them as you treat the Protestant people of England. Then, I do say that this Bill involves a more important question than the mere consideration of a few thousands of pounds, or of carrying into effect an Act which was passed some fifty years ago. I allow that in this Bill a principle is introduced, and that we may be called upon to carry that principle further; but I think that to this Bill we are bound to agree if we would preserve the Union in the spirit in which it was enacted. And mind this, that we, the Members on this side of the House, who do not belong to the Government, having nothing to do with the introduction of this Bill, whether the proposal is made at the proper time, or in the best way, does not now concern us. What I believe to be the question is this: the Bill is before us, and upon the second reading, shall we vote for its adoption or its rejection? On that question I cannot conceal from myself that the rejection of this Bill would produce the same feeling in Ireland, which would be the result of the rejection of a much larger measure of justice and conciliation. It would be argued in Ireland, that if upon a question such as this, you have so shown your religious animosity, if the people of England will not allow such a contribution as 26,000*l.*, all further appeal to your justice is at an end. When, therefore, this great question is before the House, when a question of such great magnitude is presented for our decision, I am not afraid to say, that the opinion—if it be the opinion—of the majority of the people of England or of my constituents, will not deter me from giving my vote in favour of this measure. If we mean to decide as the Parliament for the general welfare of this country, we must not act upon every impulse we receive at the time from our constituents; and I hesitate not to say that on this question we must act as those on this side of the House have always acted, having ever in view the great cause of truth, of freedom, and of justice. The Protestant Dissenters are in general arrayed against this Bill. There was a time when the Protestant Dissenters were petitioners to this House to be relieved from burdens on their own consciences, and complaining of the privation of civil liberty which worked a great injustice towards them. We, then in Opposition, urged that injustice upon the House, and we obtained the concession of the repeal of the Act which afflicted them. Again the Roman Catholics of Ireland were afflicted with civil disabilities; and the right hon. Gentleman opposite acknowledged, when he passed the Emancipation Act, that it was owing to our continued support that those claims were carried. Such was the avowal which the right hon. Gentleman made at the end of the discussion on the Bill he introduced for the removal of the Roman Catholic disabilities. Now, it was not that we wished to favour the Protestant Dissenters, that we sought to deliver them from their disabilities. It was not to favour the Roman Catholics, that we relieved them from their grievances. No, I trust, that we so acted upon that occasion, as we have upon all occasions acted, from a conviction that the cause of the Protestant Dissenters and of the Roman Catholics was the cause of justice; and that their claims could not without continuing gross injustice be refused. If we had not acted then without reference o the particular expression of opinion at the time, the Protestant Dissenters would not have been thus relieved. If the Roman Catholics now find that we have not the power to help them the whole of their gratitude will be turned towards the Government which has proposed this measure. [Mr. *Redington*: "No."] My hon. Friend says "No;" but, with the exception of the hon. Member for Dundalk, such is the feeling, as I collect it, of the Representives of the Irish people. But be this as it may, I do not guide my course merely with a view to the obtaining the favour or support of any particular class of men, and I, therefore, do not repine at the course which any particular class of men may take. The principle on which I guide my public conduct is, to act in the way which I myself deem to be the best adapted for the true interests of the country — taking my chance as to the favour or disfavour which I may receive at the hands of the public:—

> "Nor love thy life, nor hate; but what thou liv'st
> Live well, how long or short permit to Heaven."

This sentiment is as applicable to political as to natural life; and for myself, I would rather retire into private life—I would rather leave the business of this House to others who may possess the people's confidence—than attempt to injure this country by giving a vote against a measure which I think the welfare of my country demands. Sir, then my belief is, that this measure, as proposed, is likely to be received gratefully in Ireland. You may say that their gratitude will be misplaced—that it is a paltry favour. I am not to judge of that. But I am to judge of the effect—the real effect—which this measure will produce. I will not take it as if it were the last of a series, and were the crowning act of a long course of justice to the people of Ireland. No, Sir; I shall maintain, as I have hitherto maintained, that with regard to the civil and political privileges of the people of that country, you have yet much to do; that those measures to which the right hon. Baronet the Home Secretary alluded last night, fall considerably short of that which the people of Ireland have a right to require of you, to put them on an equality with the people of England. I think with respect to their ecclesiastical state, that that great anomaly of a large endowed Church for a small minority of the people is an evil which, without entering into the ways in which it might be remedied, Parliament must consider. I will not conceal that opinion. I will not deny that after his measure is passed, I shall, either in support of some proposition from others, or making my own proposition, endeavour to obtain for the people of Ireland that justice which I think was long and cruelly denied to them. If the House will permit me for a few minutes longer, I would beg you to consider how much the power of this country has been injured, how much its Administrations have been disturbed and rent asunder, by these Irish questions. I will not go back to any very remote period, but—going back to the period of the Union—Mr. Pitt was then in the height of his power—opposition, in fact, had almost ceased and disappeared. But in a short time an Irish question broke up his Government. He intended a complete union between the two countries. He intended, as far as we can see from his subsequent speeches, that that union should be attended by a complete relief from political and civil disabilities, and that it should be accompanied by a provision for the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland. That strong Ministry of Mr. Pitt was succeeded by the weak Administration of Lord Sidmouth. Mr. Pitt returned to office, but not with his former power. Lord Grenville, Lord Spencer, and others, who agreed with him on the Catholic question, did not agree in his coming back to office without the Catholic question being proposed to Parliament. The Administration of Mr. Pitt was weakened, and it ended with his death. The Administration which succeeded was strong for a time: it had many men of the highest talents in it. In 1809 it was broken up—broken up on the Catholic question—the question especially affecting Ireland. You had then an Administration based on the principle of refusing all concession. It did not last many years before Lord Castlereagh declared it was necessary that he, differing from many of his Colleagues, should be the advocate of the Roman Catholic claims. That, I always thought, was a legitimate arrangement during the time of war, when the country was opposed to the greatest peril from a foreign foe; when it was difficult to make a compact Ministry either to support or to oppose the Roman Catholic claims. That state of things lasted from 1812 to 1829, weakening every Ministry that was formed, and carried on during that period, when we beheld the spectacle of Secretaries of State, being leading persons, opposed to each other on a question the most vital of our whole domestic policy. In 1828, you had a Ministry of which the leading members were opposed to the Catholic claims; in 1829, they conceded them; but in 1830, in consequence, as I think, of the dissensions that had arisen in the Government on the question, the Ministry was broken up. Lord Grey came in. The Reform Bill was carried. The Ministry which carried it had an immense majority in the House of Commons. Everything seemed easy to so strong a Government; but in 1834 that Ministry was wrecked and divided by Irish questions. Four members, of the Cabinet seceded. Not long after, Earl Grey himself retired from office, and the Ministry before long ceased to exist. Another Ministry was then formed, which was dissolved by a vote of this House on a question affecting Ireland. A new Ministry came in in 1835, having a small majority at first, owing very much to the divisions which had taken place in 1834; but during the whole of the existence of that Ministry, their power was weakened and crippled by dissensions as to the state of Ireland, and a difference of opinion as to the measures they brought in. I have, Sir, on other occasions, and I shall probably on future occasions, refer to the party questions involved in those debates; but what I want to point out now is, that from the period of the Union down to this year, 1845, there has been scarcely a year in which the Government has not been weakened by the state of Ireland, and has not been liable to disruption in consequence of difference as to the condition of the Roman Catholics. Without referring, then, to war, or to any other dangerous contingency, do you not see that if you can conduce by any measure to the tranquillization of Ireland—if you can hit upon any course of policy in which parties generally may agree, or by which you may at length come to some concord, on this question of Ireland—you will be adding immensely to the strength of this country? The petitioners who have laden the Table of the House on the subject, have surely not retraced for themselves the short review which I have just taken of the subject. If they have not indeed considered the immediate reference which this question has to the power and strength of this country, I would earnestly entreat them, and those who think with them, most deeply and seriously to turn their attention to that most grave and deeply important point. And for myself, let me, differing from them—with the utmost respect for the conscientious sense of religion which animates them—let me, using my own conscientious and independent judgment, vote in favour of a Bill which I regard as calculated in some degree to heal the still bleeding wounds of Ireland, which I regard as tending to place that country in the position which she ought to occupy, as the most improving and not the least happy portion of Her Majesty's dominions.

Sir *R. H. Inglis* said, that he had listened with the greatest attention to the speech of the noble Lord the Member for London; and of all the important considerations which the noble Lord, his noble Friend, had urged on the House, none appeared to him more important than that with which he had just concluded, because his noble Friend had indicated pretty clearly the course which, whether in Opposition or in Administration, he should feel it consistent with his duty to take. In no ambiguous terms had his noble Friend adverted to the condition of the Established Church in Ireland as influencing the prosperity of that country, or rather as causing the absence of prosperity; and his noble Friend had told them, that without reference to the articles of the Union, to the obligations which bind us to continue, and which bind our Queen to continue, the perpetual support of that Church, he would take into consideration some mode—he did not say of preserving existing interests, which was the popular phrase when spoliation was intended—but some mode by which that Church might be made more acceptable to the Roman Catholic people of Ireland. The noble Lord adverted to the language which was contained in the petitions that were addressed to this House against the Bill; and he spoke of the language of those petitions in a tone of censure, and in a manner altogether which he (Sir Robert Inglis) had not expected to hear from a great friend of civil and religious liberty. He defied his noble Friend to produce from all those petitions a single phrase which was not to be found in the liturgy, the articles, or the homilies of the Church; and which had not been adopted and maintained on oath by at least two hundred of the living Members of that House. During the course of this debate, which had now continued for six long nights, he had attentively listened to the speeches which had been delivered on the important question before them; and he was rejoiced to perceive that so little had been said which was calculated to give offence at either side of the House. Hon. Members at his side of the House, who were opposed to the policy of the Government on this subject, were not in the habit, and he defied any Member of the Roman Catholic Church in that House to state the contrary—they were not in the habit of addressing themselves to the hon. Members sitting opposite to them, and who differed from them in religious or political opinions, in language different from that which they would use in their own houses: and he could safely say that there was not a single instance in which hon. Members on his side of the House had used language which was inconsistent with a due respect for any of the hon. Gentlemen opposite. However he might feel that it would be inconsistent with his duty and his conscience to regard the religious opinions of some hon. Gentlemen opposite as any other than erroneous—to use the mildest phrase —he hoped that he had always used language towards them which was perfectly compatible with respect for themselves individually. When he considered this, he felt that it was rather hard that the petitioners to this House should not be permitted to use, unblamed, the language of the homilies and liturgy with respect to a question involving the truth or error of religious opinions. He could not agree in any blame which was directed against such language; but if he heard any language used in support of the opinions which he held that was inconsistent with those formularies, then, and not till then, could he acquiesce in such blame or censure. In the course of the debate several questions had been asked with respect to the threefold division of the subject which had first been introduced by his right hon. Friend at the head of Her Majesty's Government when he brought forward the question, namely the continuance of the grant, its discontinuance, or its increase. The hon. Member for Stockport, with a poetry which he (Sir R. Inglis) was not led to expect from him, had assumed an imaginary position for the individual who was now addressing the House, and had asked a question—which was cheered by his right hon. Friend at the head of the Government—whether if he (Sir Robert Inglis) were in that office, "would he *dare* to refuse the grant of the lesser sum?" The hon. Member asked if the opposition to this Bill succeeded now, would he (Sir R. Inglis) not be ready in the course of a few months to come down and advocate at least the renewing of the grant of 9,000*l.*? To that he could answer the hon. Member for Stockport, that not merely the two hon. Members for the University of Dublin, who had, in the present debate, specifically repudiated any grant to Maynooth; but, also every other individual at his side of the House, who, on former occasions, voted against the smaller grant to Maynooth, would be found tonight voting with him (Sir R. Inglis) in the minority, if minority it should be, against the Government; and, having voted on principle, would always vote in the same way. He utterly repudiated the notion that the question before the House was a question of pounds, shillings, and pence. It had been so put by a noble Friend of his who sat opposite, (Lord Leveson) and who asked, what would a distinguished foreigner think of the British Parliament disputing about such a sum; and a Secretary of State had said that this was a question of a few pounds more or less for the pacification of Ireland. It was not a question of mere pecuniary amount; and he believed that every one of those with whom he expected to have the honour of dividing to-night, rejected, as distinctly and emphatically as he did, the idea that it should be looked on as a money question. Whilst he repudiated the feeling of a pecuniary question, he felt it, however, to be his duty to add, that an increase in the sum of money might be capable of rendering an engine which had been useless at one time, dangerous and effective for evil at another; but he would repeat that his objection was not to the large amount or to the 9,000*l.*, but to the principle of the Bill. He had been asked frequently in the course of the debate what he meant by his religious scruples as affecting this principle. Those who with him were opposed to this measure of the Government, had been asked, were they not grossly, scandalously, and more than ludicrously inconsistent? They had been asked, were they not in the habit of granting sums of money to those whose faith they did not recognise as true? and it was demanded of them how they could consistently refuse to vote for the present Motion, when they had in other respects supported a faith which they did not acquiesce in? It was said—" How can you presume to dictate to your fellow subjects, and to tell them that their religion is erroneous?" On this last point he must repeat what he had often asserted in this House, that to each man's conscience on every question must the appeal be made; and that, so far as his own vote is concerned, if that conscience be enlightened, as every Christian man's ought to be enlightened, by prayer for the grace of God's Holy Spirit, he was not at liberty to compromise his own convictions, because his neighbour may have been led to a conclusion totally different. On the contrary, he, and every one who thought with him, were bound not merely to hold, but to promote and diffuse, whatever they believed to be true, and to discourage whatever they believed to be false; leaving, of course, an equal freedom to all who thought otherwise. So much for the general principle: but it is said, " You have already acted, and are daily acting, in contradiction to that principle." Those who opposed the present measure had been told that such opposition was inconsistent with the Colonial system of government which this country adopted; and he (Sir R. Inglis) had been appealed to by the hon. Member for Montrose in consequence of his father's connexion with India, and asked how he could defend the system adopted there, and in the Colonies, consistently with his opposition to this measure for promoting the religion of Ireland. He must take this opportunity of thanking the hon. Member, particularly, for the manner in which he had mentioned that relative so justly dear to him, his father: but he could assure the hon. Member who had so alluded to him, that he was entirely mistaken in relation to the British Empire in India; and he (Sir Robert Inglis) did not believe that the British Parliament was responsible for the good or evil which was connected with the matters the hon. Member called the attention of the House to when adverting to British India. With respect to the endowment of the Roman Catholic Church in Canada and Malta, it should be remembered that this was not the gratuitous act of the Government and Parliament, but it was done by virtue of the Treaties by which those possessions were ceded to us. Some hon. Members who supported the Bill had made allusion to an observation of his on a former night, and said that he had no right to consider in the measure before the House anything but the contents of the Bill, without reference to any presumed intended measures: that they should not regard the almost inevitable consequences of the measure on the endowment of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland; but merely view it as a Bill for the legal establishment and perpetual endowment of the College of Maynooth. But this he conceived to be a very unwise and unstatesmanlike view of the question, and contrary to intimations which had been given of the views of many of the supporters of the Bill. First of all, he would call the attention of the House to an observation of his right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department. After admitting that the measure was one which could no longer be delayed—an expression not very likely to secure a favourable reception of it by those for whose benefit it was intended — the right hon. Gentleman said, "I do not say that this measure will insure pacification in Ireland, but it is the commencement of a happier state of things." His right hon. Friend the Member for Newark (Mr. Gladstone) said they could not stop there: they could no longer resist, on religious grounds at least, any further measures, after having acceded to this. His hon. Friend the Member for Pontefract (Mr. M. Milnes) had said, " that the Bill was good in itself; and good also, for what it promised." On the other side of the House, the hon. Member for the city of Cork said, he welcomed the grant as an earnest of greater things. That hon. Member, therefore, did not value it in a money point of view, but because it was the renewal of Peter pence—a new tribute paid to the Church of Rome. As such he would not say it was tendered, but as such it would be received. The hon. Member for the county of Cork said the sum ought to have been 70,000*l.* His right hon. Friend the Secretary for Ireland censured his right hon. Friend the Member for Newark for his observation respecting further proceedings, and said that he was not the exponent of the minds of the Government, as he had just left them: but he (Sir Robert Inglis) thought on this account he was the fairest man to tell what were the intentions of the Government. [Mr. *Gladstone*: " No, no."] Did he not understand his right hon. Friend to have said that if they acknowledged the principle of that measure, they could not resist, on religious grounds, any further measure in the same direction? Again, the right hon. Secretary at War had alluded to the question whether the measure now at issue were to be the precursor of a measure for the endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy; but he did not touch that question: he only noticed it, and flew from it as he would from a snake in the grass. The noble Lord too at the head of the Woods and Forests said, that this was the first step; then he premised that there must be a second step. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, studiously avoided saying anything on the point. Now, the inference which he drew from all these incidental admissions and omissions was, that, sooner or later—it might be in the year 1845, or in the year 1846, or they might take four years to consider the matter—but that, sooner or later, Her Majesty's Government would be prepared to introduce a Bill following, in the judgment of some of them, almost necessarily and logically, and following, in the apprehensions of the people of England most distinctly, the proposition of the Bill now proposed, namely, a Bill to endow the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland. It was not only by the speeches of the habitual supporters of Her Majesty's Government that that inference was sustained. One of the acutest men in that House, who was formerly Secretary at War—the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Coventry (Mr. Ellice), said, that Parliament had now fairly embarked in a new course. What was that new course, if it were not the endowment of the Roman Catholic Church? It was a complete change of policy, to substitute for the old annual grant, proposed and resisted in every Session, a permanent endowment of three times the amount, resting on the same security as the Civil List of the country. He felt sure that a noble Friend of his would regret a phrase which he honestly believed his noble Friend had hazarded without consideration. He referred to the noble Member for Liverpool (Lord Sandon). He believed the phrase was not intended deliberately; but it had been used as the foundation of considerable agitation in the sister kingdom. Mr. O'Connell had declared that it was no infringement of the voluntary principle (which he had always advocated) to receive by way of "restitution" the means of educating the Roman Catholic clergy, especially when tendered in so conciliatory and satisfactory a way as this measure had been. In a recently reported speech of that hon. and learned Gentleman he found the following passage:—

> "Circumstanced, however, as this country now is, with its ecclesiastical revenues, originally granted for Roman Catholic purposes, now vested in the Protestant Church Establishment, it is no infringement of the voluntary principle to receive, by way of restitution, the means of educating the Catholic clergy."

But the House might be assured that "restitution," if it began in Ireland, would not end in Ireland. There were those in that House, and in the other House, in whose minds that phrase "restitution," as applied to abbey lands and church lands, would not awaken the most agreeable recollections, or present the most pleasing anticipations; and if it were just that the property of the Established Church in the parishes of Ireland should pass into the hands of the Church of Rome, he defied anybody to tell him why the same principle should not be applied in this country; and if they were to endow the Church of Rome in Ireland with the spoils of the Establishment, at least they ought to be prepared with some answer to those who twenty years hence would call on them to make provision for the Church of Rome in this country out of the some source. Nor was this view of the question lost sight of by persons who reasoned and reflected upon the necessary consequences of events. The opinion of an intelligent foreigner is often like that of posterity. The *Journal des Debats*, in a recent article, said:—

> "The measure which the Prime Minister of England has introduced is nothing more nor less than a revolution of the policy pursued in England since the Reformation. It is the greatest concession made by Protestantism, without excepting the Emancipation Act of 1829."

In that view the great body of the petitioners to that House concurred. The writer went on to say,—

> "It is the first step in a new course—a regular and general maintenance of the Roman Catholic clergy by the State. The Protestants are not deceived by this grant. They even consider, and with certain reason, that it would have been more rational in the Government to pay stipends to the existing priests than to take the pains to create and educate more, and thus establish a Roman Propaganda."

Without comparing the talents displayed in the newspapers of the two countries, it must not be forgotten that the writers of the leading journals in France were themselves leading men in their two Chambers; a fact which rendered their opinions more important and influential.

He (Sir R. Inglis) concurred in the idea that it would eventually induce the endowment of the Roman Catholic Church. He wished respectfully to ask his right hon. Friend that he would be pleased to state whether this measure were to be an end or beginning — whether it were to be a grant for the education of 500 priests, or whether it were to be an endowment of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland; and he hoped his right hon. Friend would answer him—not with reference to any Bill which might be now prepared by the Crown lawyers, for he did not think the matter was gone so far as that yet; but that he would state, in order that the country might not be taken by surprise, whether it were in his contemplation at any future time, or, in other words, whether it were consistent with his principles—he would put it in that way—to entertain such a proposition as this, that the Roman Catholic Church ought to be endowed by the State. His right hon. Friend the Secretary for the Home Department, in replying to some taunts levelled against him with respect to the Appropriation Clause, and denying that any such measure was in contemplation, made use of a remarkable expression; for he said, "The propriety—I will not use a stronger phrase — of taking the funds from the Established Church, I will not concede." Was that a phrase which was to be expected from the most determined opponent of the Appropriation Clause? He (Sir R. Inglis) would be ashamed to view this question with reference to mere party politics; and he believed there never was an occasion on which the public mind in England arose more rapidly, more spontaneously, more firmly, and more unextinguishably than it had done upon this question. So far as he was concerned in the matter, he might be allowed to state that, individually, he had been no party to raising the public cry which existed against this measure; but he would, at the same time, beg solemnly to remind the Government that they had alienated the affections of the people from them, and that such public confidence as they had thrown away was not easily to be recovered. The support of a political ally they might recover to-morrow as they had lost it yesterday; but it was not so with the support of the entire country. Having once lost the countenance of the public, they had lost the great element of political strength by which they had been placed in their present position, and they would find it difficult indeed to recover it. For himself, he had but to say that he had compromised nothing He hoped he should be able to maintain the course which he had hitherto pursued; but if, without any compromise on his part, any hon. Members opposite who on other subjects might happen to disagree with him, should in the present instance go out with him, and those who had acted with him, in the lobby, he would certainly most gratefully accept their aid in support of a principle which they all held dearer than any other consideration. The hon. and gallant Member opposite (Sir Charles Napier) had appealed first to his fears, and then to his justice. That gallant Commodore never knew fear in his own profession, in which he had nobly maintained its glorious character, and the triumph of his country, and, he might be permitted to add, the honours of his own distinguished race: and he ought to understand the possibility of moral courage also in civil life. He denied, for his own part, that there was any injustice in a refusal to give gratuitous encouragement to a system which those who withheld their aid thought to be evil in principle. In lower questions, he (Sir Robert Inglis) would undoubtedly look to consequences. In questions of a tariff on corn, or sugar, for instance, he would calculate nicely, and look closely to consequences. But this was a great religious question: and for his part, he would never forget the privileges that were connected with the two words "Christian Protestant." He would not hold back, if he believed that he was acting according to the will of God. In the clear discharge of duty he would fearlessly trust the consequences to His wise and holy Providence. It did not depend on the wisdom or skill of man to maintain or augment the material greatness of this country; it belonged to Him to give the increase, and he believed that even in civil matters, they would most insure success, if, in religious matters, they desired humbly, but firmly, to seek His will and guidance.

Sir *R. Peel:* Sir, I am not about to review the course of this debate. It has been protracted to a period unusually long, but I think it has not been protracted unnaturally or unreasonably, considering the importance of the subject, and the excitement of the public feeling with respect to it. Sir, the course of that debate has exhibited many honourable examples of men, determined at any hazard to express their conscientious feelings upon this question. Many upon this side of the House, who approve generally of the policy and of the conduct of Her Majesty's Government, yet, conscientiously differing from them upon the proposal which they have made on the present occasion, have proved their determination to permit no political or party consideration to interfere with the honest expression of their opinion, whatever may be the consequence of their so doing. Sir, I assure those hon. Members that, however deeply I regret the difference that has arisen between us, I honour them for the course they have pursued. Again, on the other side of the House, we have the same honourable exhibitions; and I must say that my observations are intended to apply equally to hon. Members on both sides. There have been also examples equally honourable on the other side of the House as well as on this, of men prepared to encounter any risk—to brave any disapprobation on the part of their constituents—to relinquish, perhaps for ever, their political station—because they believed this measure to be politic and just, and they have resolved to act on their own sense of public duty, rather than on the feelings which they know to be entertained by their constituents. I say the debate has been honourable both to the opponents and to the supporters of this measure. Sir, I abstain from any minute reference to the line of argument that has been adduced in this debate. Whatever feelings may have been occasionally excited in my mind in the course of it, they are overpowered by, and are merged in, one feeling of deep and earnest hope that you will not become parties to the rejection of this measure. You may think, and perhaps not unjustly, that it would have been better if this measure should have proceeded from the constant and strenuous friends of the Roman Catholics. You may think it right that those who have proposed such a measure should forfeit your patronage. Act upon that principle—inflict that penalty—withdraw from us your confidence—punish the men; but do not disregard the consequences of rejecting this measure as it has been introduced. You tell us—my hon. and respected Friend who spoke last, the Representative of the University of Oxford has told us—that we have forfeited the confidence, not only of a great party in this House, but of a still more powerful party in the country. He says we have destroyed that element of power which constitutes the ability to carry on the public business. I have been told in the course of the night that if I were to appeal even to my own constituents, limited as is their number, and strong as is supposed to be the personal confidence which they repose in me, and that which I have in them, that I should forfeit my seat in Parliament. Well, be it so. Suppose that to be a correct representation of the real state of affairs—do you believe that we would have incurred the hazards, do you think that we should have run the risk, of forfeiting the confidence of the great party by whom we have been supported; that we would have run the risk of losing the confidence of the great body of the people out of doors; that we would have endangered our own existence as a Government, and our seats as Members of Parliament? Do you think that we, who have watched the course of affairs in Ireland; we who have had all the anxieties that accompany the administration of its affairs; do you believe that anything but a sense of public duty would have induced us to incur all these risks which you tell us we have incurred? Sir, I feel bound to answer the questions put to me as the author of this measure, and, as the organ of the Government, to explain—I am afraid I should say, after the length to which I troubled the House on a former evening—to recapitulate the motives of the Government in bringing forward this measure—the object intended by it—the ulterior objects which we contemplate—and the effects upon the state of Ireland, and its relations to this country, which we do think the adoption of this measure may produce. Sir, our motives for introducing this measure are these. In 1843, there was a formidable excitement in Ireland; there were immense meetings held there, menacing the public tranquillity. We did determine to resist the object which these meetings and which that demonstration of physical force had in view, and we were urged by some to demand extraordinary powers, and were taunted by others with inaction. We then thought it unwise hastily and precipitately to interfere. We thought it our duty to have ranged on our side, as we asked for no extraordinary powers—to have ranged on our side, when we did interfere, the force of public opinion. We resisted all the encouragements to precipitate, undue, and hasty action. But when we at length thought the case was clearly established; when we thought that the public peace was endangered; when we thought that the object of these demonstrations was clear and developed, we then did, relying on the justice of our cause, resort to the law of the land, and the result of that resort was the condemnation, in a Court of Law, of the parties concerned in these demonstrations. A temporary calm ensued. There was a universal feeling at that time that you ought not merely to rely on applications of force, but that then was the time—the law and its authority having been vindicated—it being impossible that our conduct could then be imputed to intimidation—there was a feeling, I say, then prevalent, that it was the duty of the Government to take into consideration the condition of Ireland. We were invited to do that by those opposed to us. The noble Lord opposite (Lord John Russell), who, I must say, has in this matter acted on the principle on which I expected he would act, having invited us to take that course, and having informed us that there were measures which, consistently with our avowed principles, we might adopt, which he thought would have a beneficial effect—led us, as the organ of a great party, to infer that if we did adopt them, party considerations should oppose no impediment to an honourable and generous support. We, therefore, determined to take into consideration the social condition of Ireland, in so far as related immediately to the relations of landlord and tenant. We did not yet feel ourselves in a condition to legislate. Local circumstances of the country prevented us. We prevailed on five honourable men—truly representing the state of parties in Ireland—to undertake the local and personal inquiry, which might remove much misconception, and lay the foundation of legislative measures for the improvement of the social condition of Ireland. Towards the close of the last Session of Parliament we proposed a measure calculated, as we thought, to remedy a great grievance. We thought the law relating to charitable bequests in that country, a law justly liable to complaint on the part of the Roman Catholics. It placed the charge of such bequests under the superintendence of a body exclusively Protestant. We determined to alter the constitution of that body which had the charge of charitable bequests; we went further, we expressly enabled the proprietors in Ireland to provide a permanent endowment, by voluntary contribution, for the building of Roman Catholic chapels, and the support of Roman Catholic ministers and churches. That Bill passed with the almost universal concurrence of this House. On the second reading there was, I think, a division, and a majority of about 72 to 5; and the five Members who voted against it were Members of the Roman Catholic persuasion in Ireland; or if there were one or two professing the Protestant faith, they were Members acting immediately in unison with the Roman Catholics in Ireland. The objection to the Bill did not come, therefore, from the English Members of the House, or from those who were, and still are, interested in the maintenance of the Protestant cause. At that time, whether it was that you had a more lively recollection of the state of Ireland in 1843 I know not; but you did almost unanimously approve of the measure brought in by the Government, which expressly permitted, sanctioned, and encouraged the endowment of Roman Catholic bishops and ministers by the advance of money for the building of Roman Catholic chapels. Well, if you then did that, is the religious objection now to be deemed insuperable? You appointed five Roman Catholic Commissioners; ten were appointed in all, and five of them were necessarily to be Roman Catholics, with a Roman Catholic Secretary. The expense of that Commission was defrayed out of the public funds; and we did that in order that we might invite and encourage the voluntary endowment of Roman Catholic churches. We were pressed to bind the discretion of the Crown in respect to the appointment of some of these Commissioners. We undertook, on the part of the Government, to carry out the Bill in the spirit in which it had been adopted. We proposed as these Commissioners prelates of the Roman Catholic Church. They felt it their duty to accept the appointment. They acted from public and disinterested motives. They believed that you were honest in your intentions, in doing an act of justice in a kind manner; and the first result of that act was to break up, in some degree, that formidable combination of laity, clergy, and physical strength, which had heretofore existed. Sir, these prelates had great difficulties to encounter, in undertaking to co-operate with us in the execution of that measure. There was a formidable agitation directed against them but, confiding in the purity of their motives, and in the belief of the honourable intentions of the Government, they resisted the force of that agitation, and we had the satisfaction of seeing prelates of the Established Church, and prelates of the Roman Catholic religion, acting in friendly concert for the promotion of a common object. Let me say, that was no small object to attain, by the execution of the first Act; that Act having received the almost unanimous approbation of both Houses of Parliament. There was no violation of public principle—no sacrifice of the interests of the Protestant religion, to which, I trust, I as firmly adhere, the doctrines of which I hold in as high estimation, as any of my hon. Friends around me; but the result of that measure of justice, offered in the spirit of kindness, was that which I have described. Was not this reason sufficient to induce us to proceed as we have begun? I do not say that it should be looked upon as an encouragement to make any concession inconsistent with religious principle, or inconsistent with any constitutional principle. I say no more than that it was a marked encouragement to proceed in the course of conciliation consistent with the principles of the Constitution. We had then to consider what course we should take with respect to Maynooth. It was forced upon us. Neither you nor we can escape the consideration—what will you do with the College of Maynooth? You have supported it for fifty years. My hon. Friend says (and he escapes from a great difficulty in the argument by the avowal) that he is prepared to withdraw the grant. Sir, I am not. When opposed to Her Majesty's Government, I came down here expressly to support them in the maintenance of that College; and I do not, indeed, believe that there can be ten men found in this House who would have thought it justice, after passing the Act of last Session, having acted in cordial concert with Roman Catholic prelates who consented to be Commissioners in the execution of that Act—I say I do not believe there are ten men in this House who would believe it possible for us to come down this year and state "a conscientious scruple prevents us from continuing the grant to Maynooth." Why, what would have been the feeling of the whole of the Roman Catholic community? We continued the grant, as I said before, for fifty years. But it is not merely the vote which you have passed—you have also passed three Acts of Parliament for cementing your connexion with that institution. You have appointed trustees—you have subjected their by-laws to the revision of the Lord Lieutenant and his approval—you have made the nomination of the President dependent on his approbation. That is the relation in which you stand to Maynooth. You have for fifty years, therefore, been professing to act, as far as you could consistently with our own principles and feelings, in a spirit of kindness to the Roman Catholic community. Can you conceive it possible that I, for example, who in 1840 thought it impossible to withhold the grant, should have this year advised the House of Commons to separate itself from all connexion with it? Surely, there can be but few who would take that course. Well, then, should we continue it? Some hon. Gentlemen have doubted the accuracy of the statements which have been made with regard to the state of the College of Maynooth. One hon. Gentleman has read some account which he had received of the comfortable condition of the students, the appearance of the building, and the general state of the College. Sir, the account which I gave of Maynooth will, I believe, be confirmed by all who know it; that it is an institution, professing to be supported by the Government and by Parliament, which is in a condition utterly unworthy of the patronage of the State. I hold in my hand what I believe to be a much more correct account than that to which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Perth has referred. It was quoted by a noble Lord who, perhaps, is better acquainted with the state of Ireland than any other noble Lord in the House of Peers—I mean Lord Monteagle—it was quoted, I say, by that noble Lord from a book written in the year 1842. The writer says,—

> "An accurate description of Maynooth would be of necessity so disagreeable, that it is best to pass it over in a few words. There is such a look of lazy squalor about it, that no Englishman who has not seen it can suspect. Lecture-rooms and dining-hall, kitchen and students' rooms, are all the same. Why should the place be so shamefully ruinous?"

Such was the place in which the Roman Catholics were educated, you assigning to them only 9,000*l*. a year. Some of the objections which I have heard to Maynooth only confirm my opinion of the policy of increasing this grant. The hon. Member for Dublin says that the Maynooth priests have taken a part in the agitation. Why, can you be surprised at it? Why, by the amount which you have granted, so far from having afforded them the means of liberal and enlightened education, you have compelled them to make their education exclusively theological, and you have compelled them to make that theology exclusively polemical. That has been the consequence of the votes which you have given. You have your three professors of theology; you have these professors living upon some 120*l.* a year, endowed by you, and teaching the doctrines of the Roman Catholic religion. Is it any practical compensation for your sacrifice of principle, that you have endowed them in so niggardly and so parsimonious a manner? I will refer you to a statement that was made before the Committee in 1826, although I believe things have somewhat improved since, by one of the professors — the professor of the Greek and Latin languages—a gentleman of the greatest distinction, who had taken almost every prize as a Dunboyne student. He was afterwards, as I have said, professor of Greek and Latin, and he was asked,—

> "Do you receive anything from the annual vote?" —"I do." "What is your stipend?" —"It is 80*l.* a year Irish, from which thirty guineas are deducted on account of groceries and other necessaries."

Do you then mean to continue that state of things, and do we violate any principle in improving it? I will not, I cannot, be a party to this. I will not send out fifty theologians to be parish priests in Ireland educated in this wretched way, and amongst such scenes as I have described. What we propose is to increase the comforts, to elevate the condition of the professors, and to enable them to remain longer at the College. They are men now of great acquirements—they are men, I believe, of highly respectable talents — they devote themselves to this toil at their miserable salaries, from the pure zeal which they entertain for the interests of religion and the cause of education. I beg to ask, do we do any thing inconsistent with the Protestant religion, or injurious to the Protestant faith, if we raise their character, or at least their position in society, and give them the means of supporting themselves with decency and in comfort? Now, mark what the bearing of this will be on your Endowment Act. You have encouraged voluntary endowments on the part of the great landed proprietors in Ireland, and I do hope that the landed proprietors of Ireland will avail themselves of the facilities which have been afforded them under that Act. I cannot conceive a better mode of endowment, one more pregnant with advantage to the public interest, or more calculated to assuage the evils to which difference of religious faith gives rise, than by establishing a connexion between the Protestant proprietors of Ireland and the Roman Catholic clergy. But if you make the Roman Catholic priest merely a skilful polemic devoted to his religion—this advantage is not so likely to accrue, as if you give him the means of acquiring scientific and scholastic knowledge. If you make him a good chemist, in short, a proficient in modern science, then, probably, the landed proprietor will feel an inducement to avail himself of his power, and by voluntary contribution to make an endowment for him. The increase of this vote to Maynooth, therefore, has a material bearing upon, and greatly facilitates the operation of, the Charitable Bequests Act. We are told that this institution of Maynooth is of a monastic and ascetic character. Whose fault is that? Not that of the Roman Catholics. In 1795, at the institution of the College, Mr. Grattan presented a petition from the Roman Catholic body against that clause in the Act which prohibited the education of Protestants at Maynooth. The trustees of Maynooth were desirous of establishing a lay college. They did not wish it to be of an exclusive character. They, however, were interfered with and prevented; and Mr. Abbott informed the secretary that the creation of a lay college would be contrary to the intentions of the Act; and, in consequence of the intervention of the British Government, it was prevented. Therefore, the Roman Catholics themselves are not responsible for the peculiar character of the education. At the same time, my belief is that any attempt now to make it a condition that the education to be given them should be that of a mixed or secular character, would be totally fruitless. It would alter the character of your liberality, and prevent its acceptance. It was Mr. Burke who inculcated on the British Government the necessity of providing spiritual education for those who had to discharge the functions of Roman Catholic priests. Well, Sir, we determined then that it was desirable to increase this grant; and, in determining to increase it, to make the offer in a manner which should be thoroughly acceptable to the Roman Catholic people. We considered well the question; we did not act lightly in this matter. We considered the question—shall we before we propose this increase institute an inquiry into the course of instruction at Maynooth? We referred to the inquiry which was made in the year 1826, and I own that we came to the conclusion that no benefit would result from a new Commission of Inquiry sent to examine Maynooth. Was that inquiry to be conducted in a friendly or a hostile spirit? No Commission which you could appoint would be satisfactory, unless it contained the names of men hostile to the course of education there. We foresaw, therefore, that the consequences of the appointment of such a Commission would only be to generate a hostile theological controversy; and after mature consideration, we came to the conclusion that it was better to adopt Maynooth as we found it. We did not expect any new light to be thrown on the state of Maynooth beyond that which the Commission of 1826 affords; and we determined to trust for the beneficial effect of our interference to the liberality and confidence of Parliament. We propose that the Vote should be a permanent one, instead of an annual one. We do not think that by making the Vote for Maynooth permanent, you interfere with any existing principle, and we do think that to remove it from annual controversy in the House of Commons, will conduce to peace, and relieve us from painful debates. We have incorporated the trustees, because we have thought that in so acting we do that which is conformable to the spirit of the original Act which was passed on this subject. When you appointed trustees, you so appointed them to enable them to acquire land; but, in refusing to incorporate them, you disable them from possessing land without being put to great and constant expense in the law courts. In incorporating them, you relieve them from litigation; but the principle was admitted when the trustees were appointed, that they might be prepared to acquire land; and we propose to incorporate them, and give them the power of holding land, without the necessity of constant litigation. That is the whole of our proposal. I see in that proposal, though the vote be not annual, but that the measure is to be permanent — I see, I say, no violation of principle which does not apply to a continuance of this Vote for another fifty years in the way in which it has been formerly granted. In each case, the money will be distinctly applied, under the authority of Parliament, in the inculcation of the tenets of the Roman Catholic belief. It is said, that the Roman Catholic people of Ireland are indifferent to this proposition. We are asked what impression do we anticipate to make on the professors of Maynooth by it? We are told that they will reject it as an unnecessary boon; and that they will laugh at us for our liberality. In this respect you do injustice to their feelings. The generosity with which you have acted has excited gratitude in them. When they heard of the proposition, they wrote immediately a letter, of which I will read a part to the House. I think there are seventeen professors at Maynooth; and the letter addressed to me is signed by sixteen out of the seventeen, the other one being incapacitated by illness. In that letter they thus express themselves:—

> "The undersigned beg leave most respectfully to express our deep sense of gratitude for the very liberal provision which you, as the head of the Government, have proposed for the education of the Roman Catholic clergy, and still more for the kind and gracious manner in which you have recommended the measure to the friendly consideration of the House."

If you ask me whether I prefer that the education of the Catholic clergy should be entrusted to men influenced by such grateful feelings, rather than to men whom you have starved by the paltry and shameful pittance you have hitherto given them, I do not hesitate to say, if I am to entrust the education of men who have to inculcate peace and good order—if I have to provide for what I believe to be the general interests—nay, what I believe to be the interests of the Protestant religion—then I would rather commit the instruction of the young men who are to be the spiritual guides of the people in another faith, who are to be their instructors through life, to persons grateful for your liberality, than to men who view with indignation the paltry pittance you assign to them, under a pretence of making a provision for their education. I do not pretend to say that they will be satisfied with institutions as they exist at present. I do not pretend to say that this will produce permanent satisfaction — I do not say that it will induce these men to compromise a single principle. I cannot go so far as that. I do not guarantee the Vote for Maynooth as a final and complete measure. I cannot say that; but I can give you a proof that they are not indifferent to your liberality; and that, under the generous impulse of their feelings, they declare that this is an honourable and liberal proceeding. This is all I profess—these are the motives on which we acted when we made this proposal. My hon. Friend asks me two questions. He asks me this. He calls upon me to state whether or not this is part of a preconcerted system, the whole of which we have not developed; and whether the proposal with respect to Maynooth is not brought forward designedly for the purpose of facilitating the endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy. I answer my hon. Friend that this proposal is brought forward singly and exclusively on its own abstract merits. It is a proposal by itself, and not a part of a preconcerted system; it is not brought forward with the design of facilitating the endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy. We have had no communication on this subject with any authority in Ireland or elsewhere. We have not had that subject in our contemplation. You may suppose—as I have seen rumours of it elsewhere—that though we have had no communication with the Roman Catholic authorities in Ireland, yet that we have had some secret negotiations with Rome. I state explicitly that the report is altogether without foundation. I have a strong impression that we should do no good in Ireland by any secret, unavowed negotiations at Rome, to which the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland is not a party. By such a negotiation, fettering the independence of the Church — I mean the Roman Catholic Church—or establishing any connexion between the State and that Church, as it exists in Ireland, of which members of the Church were not cognizant, and to which they were not parties, I do not think any such arrangement could be satisfactory to them, or beneficial to the country. I have said that this measure forms no part of a general system; that it is not brought forward designedly for the purpose of forming the foundation of a future proposal for an endowment. I say, also, as to endowment, that I think there are very great objections to it. I do not believe that it would be acceptable to the Roman Catholic laity; nor have the Roman Catholic clergy exhibited any inclination in its favour. Perhaps the declaration recently made by the hon. Member for Kildare with respect to endowment may be in your recollection. He distinctly declared that the clergy and laity were opposed to the endowment of the Roman Catholic Church, and it is impossible not to see, from the many demonstrations of feeling in this country, that here also there would be great difficulties with respect to such a measure. I have stated precisely the truth with respect to endowments. But my hon. Friend proceeds to ask, "Will you make a declaration that it would not be consistent with your principles that at any future time there should be an endowment of Roman Catholic ministers?" I must say I think my hon. Friend has no right to require such a declaration. I have stated to you most explicitly the truth, but I will make no such declaration. This I will not do; and I beg you to draw no unfair inference from it—I will not hamper or embarrass any future Government by a declaration upon that which is now a difficulty that I know to be altogether insuperable. I see great difficulties in the way of such a measure; but I do not think any one has a right to call upon me now to give a public opinion that those difficulties, can never, at any future time, be overcome. I think it would not be right in me, for the purpose of purchasing a relaxation in the opposition to the measures which I now propose, to place on record a declaration which may fetter the action of those who may hereafter be responsible for the government of the country. My hon. Friend asks me whether I do not consider there is some principle of religious objection opposed to endowment. In refusing to state the objection as one at all times insuperable, I cannot say there is a decided religious objection to it. I think that this measure has no bearing on the religious question, and, so far as religion is concerned, does not affect the question of endowment. I believe that the Endowment Act of last Session, by which you constituted a Board for facilitating the endowment of Roman Catholic bishops and ministers, and for building Roman Catholic chapels, had a much more material bearing upon the religious principle than the present Bill for a permanent grant to Maynooth. I am bound to say, with all respect for my hon. Friend, that I cannot concur in his doctrine, that it is an offence in the eyes of God to support the tenets of the Roman Catholic Church, and that that same religious principle which compels me to dissent from, excludes me also from contributing to the support, under all circumstances, and in all times, of any body of men who adopt the tenets of the Church of Rome. I do not see how my hon. Friend can get over the difficulty with regard to our Colonies. He says, of Malta that having taken that Colony, and having a capitulation, you are bound by the terms of that capitulation to support the Roman Catholic religion there. But why did you take Malta? Because it was a convenient position in the Mediterranean; and being so convenient for your purposes, you are now ready to go to war rather than abandon it. But if, as my hon. Friend says, there is some high religious principle which prohibits you from connecting yourselves in any way with the Roman Catholic religion, why did you go to war and incur great loss of life in conquering Canada? and why did you accept Malta with this condition? You do not overcome the difficulty by saying that this is a colony, and we are bound by the terms of the capitulation. If the religious principle be good for anything, it should have prevented you from accepting the Colony, and entering into that capitulation. Then as to the other point, I think, too, the doctrine of my hon. Friend is dangerous with reference to the interests of the Established Church. The principle of that doctrine is, that it is a violation of conscience to contribute to the support of a religion from the faith of which we dissent. I can understand saying to the Dissenters, "The Established Religion is a great national institution—all Christians are interested in its maintenance; we ask you to contribute to its support—in doing so you violate no conscientious scruple, and it will aid the cause of religion generally by keeping up such an Establishment as the Church of England." But, if I say to the Dissenter, "There is no tax I can impose upon you for the maintenance of the Established Church, which does not violate your conscientious scruples," then I make him who might have been willing to contribute to its support, if he thought that in doing so there was no violation of religious principle, object to a pecuniary impost for such a purpose, because by my own confession I accompany the levy of the tax with an avowed expressed injury to his religious feelings. My hon. Friend says,—"The Established Church is supported by tithes; tithes are a charge upon property; the Dissenter, therefore, who acquires or inherits property takes it with its incumbrances; and contributions to the church being one of those incumbrances, it is no violation of conscience on his part to discharge a legal obligation." The hon. Gentleman says the same of church-rates; but what does my hon. Friend say of church extension? Tithes may be a legal incumbrance upon property; church rates may partake of the same character; but, supposing this House, for the interests of religion, were to think it advisable this year and next year to do what they have done in former years—make a grant for the construction of religious edifices in connexion with the Church of England, would it not be better that we should be enabled to say to the Dissenter, "We call upon you to contribute to this object, meaning to impose no violation upon your conscience," than that we should say, "We make you contribute to the support of a Church from whose doctrines you dissent, and we tell you it is a violation of your religious scruples if you consent." It is no answer to say to them, "I am a Member of the Established Church, and you are Dissenters." We must admit that, in respect of conscientious scruples, there is no difference between us. If it violates my conscience to contribute towards the support of the Protestant Dissenters in Ulster, it equally violates the conscience of those Protestant Dissenters to contribute to the support of the Established Church. I will take it on another ground. I would say to the Dissenters that there are great public interests involved in the maintenance of the Established Church; I say the maintenance of that Church is important to all religious sects; I call upon them to contribute to this, as I call upon the Quaker to contribute to the support of the army, and I intend to impose no obligation onerous to any man's conscience. But I do shrink from telling the Dissenter, "I not only subject you to the tax, but I tell you that by paying it you violate your conscience." On that ground, I cannot agree to the doctrine that this measure is prejudicial to the best interests of the Established Church. So far as to the objects of the Government. With regard to the Established Church in Ireland, the opinions I have declared I still adhere to; but I do think, looking at the condition of Ireland, looking at the importance of the question, and taking into account the position of the people, and all its past evils, I do believe this measure, proposed by us for the permanent endowment of Maynooth, is a measure just to the Roman Catholics, while it violates no principle of ours. We hope for the acquiescence of the House in this Vote as proposed by the Government; the willing adoption of which, we feel confident, will produce a kindly feeling in Ireland. It has produced that effect; it has been received with a grateful feeling, and with a spirit corresponding to that in which it was proposed. I hardly expected it would have produced such an effect as has already attended it. I do not believe the gratitude which is expressed by the Irish people for this measure is connected with any feeling or wish for future encroachments on the interests of the Established Church. I believe that it is the natural effect of a kind and generous policy, producing grateful and kind feelings. I might have been tempted, at an earlier period in the debate, to refer to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Macaulay); but the taunts and imputations in which he indulged against the Government I will forbear from noticing. I will rather follow the example of the noble Lord, and abstain altogether from any thing like recrimination. I think, however, if I were so inclined, I could prove, from the admissions of the right hon. Gentleman himself, in that part of his speech which was addressed to his constituents, as to there being no violation of principle in this measure, as to its being a mere question between 9,000*l.* and 27,000*l.* a year, and as to his not conceiving it possible that any mind could be so obtuse as not to see that there could be no difference in principle, between 9,000*l.* and 27,000*l.* a year, that he is the last man who should throw an imputation on the Government for departing from past principles. With me every feeling as to the imputation of inconsistency, every feeling with regard to the suspicions thrown upon the sincerity of the Government, every other feeling is subordinate to one—my desire that you should not reject this measure. I do not regret the course I have taken. I know not what the consequences may be in respect to the more kindly relations between Ireland and this country. It has produced in the minds of a generous people a kindly and a grateful feeling. As I said before, punish us; visit us with censure; let the two parties combine against us on the ground that the policy we are adopting ought to be carried out by its original promoters; take what other course you please; but let not your indignation fall on the measure—let it be confined to those who proposed it. I don't rest the measure on any question of mere compact. I say an honourable engagement does exist, which makes it impossible for you to withdraw the support from Maynooth without wounding the feelings of the Roman Catholics of Ireland. It is not the amount of the grant; but, after granting it for fifty years, it could not be withdrawn without exciting suspicion as to your motives. But I say again, I do not defend the measure on the ground of compact; I defend it because I believe it to be a wise and a just measure, and far better than the continuance of the present system. I say that without the least hesitation; and I call on you to recollect that you are responsible for the peace of Ireland. I say, you must break up, in some way or other, that formidable confederacy which exists in that country against the British Government and the British connexion. I do not believe you can break it up by force. You can do much, consistently with the principles you avow, as to the maintenance of the Union and the Protestant Church. You can do much to break it up by acting in a spirit of kindness, forbearance, and generosity. And I believe it is essential you should break it up, in order that you may carry on the work of good government in Ireland, and in that you may strengthen the connection between the two countries and maintain, unimpaired, the power and dignity of the United Kingdom. When I proposed this measure on Thursday week, I did so, having given notice of it during the last Session of Parliament, and without reference to events that have since taken place. But on the day after I gave notice of this measure, and introduced it to the consideration of the House, our attention was called to a matter of great importance, and the noble Lord (the Member for the city of London) did feel it to be his duty partially to raise the veil which conceals the distant future. On the far horizon of the West there rises a cloud—a cloud small indeed, but threatening future storms. It became my duty on the part of Government on that occasion, temperately, but distinctly to state, that while we are most anxious for an adjustment of the impending differences—while we will leave nothing undone to effect an amicable settlement—yet I did feel it to be part of my duty—of the duty of the First Minister of the Crown—to state that, if our rights be invaded, we were determined and prepared to maintain them. I own, Sir, that when I was called upon to make that declaration, I did recollect with satisfaction and consolation that the day before I had sent a message of peace to Ireland. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Canterbury who spoke last night, thought it not impossible that the time would come when this country would be compelled to summons all her energies for action. Sir, I heard that speech of the right hon. Gentleman with great satisfaction, from the ability and eloquence which it displayed. I heard also the speech, differing as I do from many of its positions of the noble Lord (Lord John Manners) who also on the same evening addressed the House, with great satisfaction—I differing from him with respect to his views upon the Revolution, and also with respect to that illustrious person whom he called a Dutch Stadtholder. It was still impossible for me to listen to his speech, as well as to that of the hon. Gentleman, without very great satisfaction at the bright views they indicate of great future eminence. I remember having foretold to the hon. Gentleman—I know not whether he recollects it—when, through the embarrassments of youth, others thought that he had failed—I remember I tried to console him; and I told him my conviction was, that he was destined for future eminence. Sir, in his speech last night, that hon. Gentleman said that he thought it probable that, in case it should be necessary to summon the energies of this country in defence of her honour and her interests, that to my hand would the high task be confided. Now may God avert so great an evil as war! May God forbid that this time of general peace should be so awfully disturbed! But if it is to be so, if war is to come, I doubt much, considering what is now before me, whether the vindication of our honour and our interests will not be confided to other hands. But to whomsoever they be committed, I shall take my place beside them, encouraging them by every support which I can give in a just and honourable cause. And if that calamity should befall us, it is my earnest hope that when it shall occur, it may find the people of this Empire united in loyalty to the Throne, and in determination to support the common interests. It is my earnest prayer, that every pulse throughout this mighty frame shall beat in harmonious action—that Ireland shall stand ranked with us; and then, Sir, confiding in a good cause—confiding in the valour and perseverance, and fortitude of every part of this great Empire—I shall await the result with perfect composure, being assured that the energies of an united people will ensure a glorious triumph to a just cause.

The House divided on the Question that the word now stand part of the Question:—Ayes 323; Noes 176: Majority 147.

List of the Ayes.

Acland, Sir T. D.
Acland, T. D.
A'Court, Capt.
Adare, Visct.
Adderley, C. B.
Aglionby, H. A.
Ainsworth, P.
Aldam, W.
Anson, hon. Col.
Archbold, R.
Armstrong, Sir A.
Arundel and Surrey, Earl of
Bagot, hon. W.
Baillie, Col.
Baird, W.
Barclay, D.
Baring, rt. hon. F. T.
Baring, T.
Baring, rt. hon. W. B.
Barnard, E. G.
Barneby, J.
Barrington, Visct.
Bell, M.
Bell, J.
Bellew, R. M.
Bentinck, Lord G.
Berkeley, hon. C.
Blackburne, J. I.
Blake, M. J.
Bodkin, W. H.
Boldero, H. G.
Botfield, B.
Bowes, J.
Bowles, Adm.
Bowring, Dr.
Bramston, T. W.
Broadwood, H.
Brotherton, J.
Browne, hon. W.
Brownrigg, J. S.
Bruce, Lord E.
Bulkeley, Sir R.B. W.
Buller, C.
Buller, E.
Butler, P. S.
Byng, G.
Byng, rt. hn. G. S.
Campbell, Sir H.
Cardwell, E.
Carew, hn. R. S.
Carew, W. H. P.
Carnegie, hon. Capt.
Castlereagh, Visct.
Cavendish, hon. C. C.
Cavendish, hn. G. H.
Chapman, B.
Charteris, hon. F.
Chelsea, Visct.
Childers, J. W.
Cholmondeley, hon. H.
Clay, Sir W.
Clayton, R. R.
Clerk, rt. hon. Sir G.
Clifton, J. T.
Clive, Visct.
Clive, hon. R. H.
Cobden, R.
Cockburn, rt. hn Sir G.
Colborne, hn. W. N. R.
Colebrooke, Sir T. E.
Collett, J.
Collins, W.
Coote, Sir C. H.
Corry, rt. hon. H.
Courtenay, Lord
Cowper, hon. W. F.
Craig, W. G.
Cripps, W.
Currie, R.
Dalmeny, Lord
Dalrymple, Capt.
Damer, hon. Col.
Dawson, hon. T. V.
Denison, W. J.
Denison, J. E.
Dennistoun, J.
D'Eyncourt, rt. hn. C. T.
Dickinson, F. H.
Divett, E.
Dodd, G.
Douglas, Sir C. E.
Douro, Marquess of
Dowdeswell, W.
Drummond, H. H.
Duncan, Visct.
Duncannon, Visct.
Duncombe, hon. A.
Dundas, D.
East, J. B.
Easthope, Sir J.
Eastnor, Visct.
Ebrington, Visct.
Egerton, Lord F.
Ellice, rt. hon. E.
Elphinstone, H.
Emlyn, Visct.
Escott, B.
Esmonde, Sir T.
Estcourt, T. G. B.
Ferguson, Col.
Ferguson, Sir R. A.
Fitzmaurice, hon. W
Fitzroy, hon. H.
Fitzwilliam, hon. G. W
Fleetwood, Sir P. H.
Flower, Sir J.
Follett, Sir W. W.

Forster, M.
Fox, C. R.
Fremantle, rt.hn.SirT.
French F.
Gaskell, J. Milnes
Gibson, T. M.
Gladstone, rt.hn.W.E.
Gladstone, Capt.
Godson, R.
Gordon, hon. Capt.
Gore, M.
Gore, hon. R.
Goulburn, rt. hon. H.
Graham, rt hn. Sir J.
Granby, Marquess of
Granger, T. C.
Greene, T.
Grey, rt. hon. Sir G.
Guest, Sir J.
Hale, R. B.
Halford, Sir H.
Hamilton, W. J.
Hamilton, Lord C.
Harcourt, G. G.
Hatton, Capt. V.
Hawes, B.
Hayter, W. G.
Heathcote, Sir W.
Heneage, G. H. W.
Heneage, E.
Herbert, rt. hon. S.
Heron, Sir R.
Hervey, Lord A.
Hinde, J. H.
Hobhouse, rt. hn. Sir J.
Hogg, J. W.
Hollond, R.
Holmes, hn. W. A'C.
Hope, hon. C.
Hope, G. W.
Horsman, E.
Howard, hn. C. W. G.
Howard, hon. J. K.
Howard, hn. E. G. G.
Howard, P. H.
Howard, hon. H.
Howard, Sir R.
Howick, Visct.
Hume, J.
Hutt, W.
Ingestre, Visct.
Irving, J.
James, Sir W. C.
Jermyn, Earl
Jocelyn, Visct.
Johnstone, Sir J.
Kelly, F. R.
Knight, H. G.
Labouchere, rt. hn. H.
Lambton, H.
Langston, J. H.
Lascelles, hon. W. S.
Leader, J. T.
Legh, G. C.
Lemon, Sir C.
Lennox, Lord A.
Leveson, Lord
Liddell, hon. H. T.
Lincoln, Earl of
Lindsay, H. H.
Listowel, Earl of
Loch, J.
Lyall, G.
Macaulay, rt. hn. T. B.
Mackenzie, W. F.
Mackinnon, W. A.
Macnamara, Major
McGeachy, F. A.
McNeill, D.
Mahon, Visct.
Mangles, R. D.
Manners, Lord C. S.
Manners, Lord J.
March, Earl of
Marshall, W.
Martin, J.
Martin, C. W.
Martin, T. B.
Matheson, J.
Mildmay, H. St. J.
Milnes, R. M.
Mitcalfe, H.
Mitchell, T. A.
Murphy, F. S.
Murray, A.
Napier, Sir. C.
Neville, R.
Nicholl, rt. hon. J.
Norreys, Lord
O'Conor Don
O'Ferrall, R. M.
Ord, W.
Ossulston, Lord
Oswald, A.
Oswald, J.
Owen, Sir J.
Paget, Col.
Paget, Lord W.
Paget, Lord A.
Pakington, J. S.
Palmerston, Visct.
Parker, J.
Patten, J. W.
Peel, rt. hon. Sir R.
Peel, J.
Pendarves, E. W. W.
Pennant, hon. Col.
Philips, G. R.
Phillpotts, J.
Pigot, rt. hon. D.
Pigot, Sir R.
Ponsonby, hon. C. F. A.
Praed, W. T.
Pusey, P.
Rawdon, Col.
Redington, T. N.
Reid, Sir J. R.
Repton, G. W. J.
Rice, E. R.
Roebuck, J. A.
Ross, D. R.
Round, J.
Rous, hon. Capt.
Rumbold, C. E.
Russell, Lord J.
Russell, Lord E.
Russell, C.
Russell, J. D. W.
Rutherfurd, A.
Sandon, Visct.
Scott, R.
Scrope, G. P.
Seymour, Sir H. B.
Sheil, rt. hon. R. L.
Shelburne, Earl of
Sheppard, T.
Sheridan, R. B.
Smith, B.
Smith, J. A.
Smith, rt. hon. T. B. C.
Smythe, hon. G.
Somers, J. P.
Somerset, Lord G.
Somerville, Sir W. M.
Somes, J.
Sotheron, T. H. S.
Standish, C.
Stansfield, W. R. C.
Stanton, W. H.
Staunton, Sir G. T.
Stewart, J.
Stewart, W. V.
Stock, Serjt.
Strutt, E.
Sutton, hon. H. M.
Tancred, H. W.
Tennent, J. E.
Thesiger, Sir F.
Thornely, T.
Tollemache, hon. F. J.
Tomline, G.
Towneley, J.
Traill, G.
Trelawny, J. S.
Trench, Sir F. W.
Trevor, hon. G. R.
Tuite, H. M.
Vane, Lord H.
Vernon, G. H.
Villiers, hon. C.
Villiers, Visct.
Vivian, J. H.
Walker, R.
Wall, C. B.
Walsh, Sir J. B
Warburton, H.
Ward, H. G.
Watson, W H.
Wawn, J. T.
Wellesley, Lord C.
White, S.
Whitmore, T. C.
Wilde, Sir T.
Williams, W.
Wilshere, W.
Winnington, Sir T. E.
Wodehouse, E.
Wood, Col. T.
Worsley, Lord
Wortley, hon. J. S.
Wortley, hon. J. S.
Wrightson, W. B.
Wynn, rt. hon. C. W. W.
Wynn, Sir W. W.
Wyse, T.
Yorke, H. R.

TELLERS.

Young, J.
Baring, H.

List of the NOES.

Ackers, J.
Acton, Col.
Antrobus, E.
Arbuthnott, hon. H.
Arkwright, G.
Astell, W.
Bagge, W.
Bailey, J. jun.
Bankes, G.
Baskerville, T. B. M.
Bateson, T.
Beckett, W.
Beresford, Major
Bernard, Visct.
Blackstone, W. S.
Blewitt, R. J.
Bouverie, hon. E. P.
Boyd, J.
Bradshaw, J.
Bright, J.
Brisco, M.
Broadley, H.
Brocklehurst, J.
Brooke, Sir A. B.
Bruce, C. L. C.
Bruen, Col.
Bruges, W. H. L.
Buck, L. W.
Buckley, E.
Buller, Sir J. Y.
Burrell, Sir C. M.
Burroughes, H. N.
Campbell, J. H.
Chapman, A.
Chetwode, Sir J.
Christie, W. D.
Christopher, R. A.
Codrington, Sir W.
Cole, hon. H. A.
Colvile, C. R.
Compton, H. C.
Conolly, Col.
Copeland, Ald.
Crawford, W. S.
Curteis, H. B.
Darby, G.
Dawnay, hon. W. H.
Deedes, W.
Denison, E. B.
Dick, Q.
Disraeli, B.
Douglas, Sir H.

Douglas, J. D. S.
Dugdale, W. S.
Duke, Sir J.
Duncan, G.
Duncombe, T.
Duncombe, hon. O.
Du Pre, C. G.
Eaton, R. J.
Egerton, W. T.
Egerton, Sir P.
Entwisle, W.
Ewart, W.
Farnham, E. B.
Feilden, W.
Fielden, J.
Fellowes, E.
Ferrand, W. B.
Filmer, Sir E.
Fitzroy, Lord C.
Ffolliott, J.
Forbes, W.
Forman, T. S.
Fox, S. L.
Fuller, A. E.
Gisborne, T.
Gore, W. O.
Gore, W. R. O.
Goring, C.
Greenall, P.
Gregory, W. H.
Grimsditch, T.
Grogan, E.
Hallyburton, Lord J.
Hamilton, J. H.
Hamilton, G. A.
Hampden, R.
Hanmer, Sir J.
Hardy, J.
Harris, hon. Capt.
Hastie, A.
Hayes, Sir E.
Heathcoat, J.
Henley, J. W.
Hepburn, Sir T. B.
Hindley, C.
Hodgson, F.
Hornby, J.
Hughes, W. B.
Humphery, Ald.
Hussey, A.
Hussey, T.
Inglis, Sir R. H.
Jervis, J.
Johnstone, H.
Jolliffe, Sir W. G. H.
Jones, Capt.
Kemble, H.
Knight, F. W.
Knightley, Sir C.
Law, hon. C. E.
Lawson, A.
Lefroy, A.
Leslie, C. P.
Long, W.
Lowther, Sir J. H.
Lowther, hon. Col.
Mackenzie, T.
Maclean, D.
McTaggart, Sir J.
Mainwaring, T.
Marton, G.
Masterman, J.
Maule, rt. hon. F.
Maunsell, T. P.
Maxwell, hon. J. P
Morris, D.
Mundy, E. M.
Muntz, G. F.
Neeld, J.
Neeld, J.
Newdegate, C. N.
Newry, Visct.
Northland, Visct.
O'Brien, A. S.
Packe, C. W.
Palmer, R.
Pattison, J.
Plumptre, J. P.
Polhill, F.
Pollington, Visct.
Powell, Col.
Pringle, A.
Protheroe, E.
Rendlesham, Lord
Richards, R.
Rolleston, Col.
Round, C. G.
Rushbrooke, Col.
Ryder, hon. G. D.
Sanderson, R.
Shaw, rt. hon. F.
Sibthorp, Col.
Smith, A.
Smyth, Sir H.
Smollett, A.
Spooner, R.
Stanley, E.
Stewart, P. M.
Stuart, H.
Talbot, C. R. M.
Taylor, E.
Taylor, J. A.
Tollemache, J.
Tower, C.
Troubridge, Sir E. T.
Turner, E.
Turnor, C.
Tyrell, Sir J. T.
Verner, Col.
Vyvyan, Sir R. R.
Waddington, H. S.
Wakley, T.
Welby, G. E.
Wyndham, Col. C.

TELLERS.
Ashley, Lord
Colquhoun, J.

Bill read a second time.

Sir *R. Peel* afterwards moved,—

"That this House will, upon Monday next, resolve itself into a Committee, to consider of making provision out of the Consolidated Fund for the maintenance of the College of Maynooth."

Sir *R. Inglis* objected to fixing the day so early.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* defended the course of proceeding moved, as being usual in money bills.

Mr. *Plumptre* wanted to know distinctly what would be the order of proceeding.

Sir *R. Peel* explained that the Committee on the Consolidated Fund Act would be taken on Monday, and that the Committee of the House upon the Bill itself would follow on Friday.

Lord *John Russell* observed that the hon. Member for East Kent had not been present at the discussion in the earlier part of the evening. The Committee on the Bill was postponed to Friday next. The question of the grant being a charge on the Consolidated Fund must be moved in the previous Committee, and that Committee, as he understood from the right hon. Baronet, was to be taken on Monday. Upon that day the hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Ward) would bring forward his Motion.

Mr. *T. Duncombe* said he should certainly bring on his Resolutions respecting the Railway Department of the Board of Trade, of which he had given notice, before this, on Monday night.

Mr. *Speaker:* Will you divide on it?

Mr. *T. Duncombe:* Yes.

The House divided on the Resolution moved by Sir R. Peel:—Ayes 61; Noes 25: Majority 36.

List of the AYES.

Acland, Sir T. D.
A'Court, Capt.
Adderley, C. B.
Aldam, W.
Archbold, R.
Baring, rt. hon. F. T.
Barrington, Visct.
Boldero, H. G.
Brotherton, J.
Bruce, Lord E.
Bruges W. H.
Cardwell, E.
Childers, J. W.
Clayton R. R.
Clerk, rt. hn. Sir G.
Collett, J.
Corry, rt, hn. H.
Craig, W. G.
Cripps, W.
Darby, G.
Dickinson, F. H.
Eastnor, Visct.
Escott, B.
Fitzmaurice, hon. W.
Fremantle, rt. h. Sir T.
Gaskell, J. M.
Gibson, T. M.
Goulburn rt. hon. H.
Graham, rt. hn. Sir J.
Greene, T.
Hamilton, W. J.
Hawes, B.
Heneage, G. H. W.
Herbert, rt. hon. S.
Hinde, J. H.
Hope, G. W.

Jermyn, Earl
Labouchere, rt. hn. H
Lincoln, Earl of
Macnamara, Major
Marshall, W.
Martin, J.
Martin, C. W.
Murray, A.
Nicholl, rt. hon. J.
Parker, J.
Peel, rt. hon. Sir R.
Pigot, rt. hon. D.
Redington, T. N.
Russell, Lord J.
Sheridan, R. B.
Smith, rt. hn. T. B. C.
Strutt, E.
Sutton, hon. H. M.
Warburton, H.
Ward, H. G.
Wawn, J. T.
Wellesley, Lord C.
Whitmore, T. C.
Worsley, Lord
Wortley, hon. J. S.

TELLERS.

Young, J.
Lennox, Lord A.

List of the NOES.

Bagge, W.
Buller, Sir J. Y.
Clive, Visct.
Colvile, C. R.
Curteis, H. B.
Duncan, G.
Duncombe, hon.
Ferrand, W. B.
Forbes, W
Hamilton, G. A.
Hastie, A.
Henley, J. W.
Hindley C.
Maclean, D.
Maule, right hon. F.
Morris, D.
Muntz, G. F.
O'Brien, A. S.
Pack, C. W.
Plumptre, J. P.
Shaw, rt. hon. F.
Sibthorp, Col.
Spooner, R.
Taylor, J. A.
Waddington, H. S.

TELLERS.

Duncombe, T.
Inglis, Sir R. H.

House adjourned at half-past three o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, April 21, 1845.

MINUTES.] BILLS. *Public.*—2ª· Death by Accidents Compensation.

3ª· and passed:—Sheriffs (Wales).

Private. — 1ª· Wallasey Improvement.

2ª· Amicable Society Assurance; Birmingham and Staffordshire Gas Light Company; Manchester Stipendiary Magistrate; Forth and Clyde Navigation.

PETITIONS PRESENTED. By Bishops of London, Bangor, St. David's, and Down, Earls Falmouth, Fortescue, Roden, Clare, and Eglintoun, Marquesses of Londonderry, and Breadalbane, and by Lords Brougham, Farnham, Stanley, and Wodehouse, from Clergy and others of Merston, and numerous other places, against Increase of Grant to Maynooth.—By Earls of Winchilsea, and Fortescue, from Carn Madryn, and 9 other places, for the Suppression of Intemperance, especially on the Sabbath.—By Bishop of London, and Earl of Winchilsea, from Clergy and others of the Archdeaconry of Essex, and several other places, against the Union of St. Asaph and Bangor.—From Grand Jury of Carnarvon, and from 5 other places, against the Union of St. Asaph and Bangor, but in favour of the Appointment of a Bishop of Manchester.—From Merston, for the better Regulation of Beer Houses.—By Bishop of Down, from Kilsyth, and Newtown Barry, for the better Observance of the Sabbath.—By Earl of Clare, from Bishop of Down and Connor, and Dromore, and of Clergy of the united Diocese, and from Inhabitants of Kilbride, and numerous other places, for Encouragement of Schools in connexion with the Church Education Society (Ireland).—By Earl Fortescue, and Lord Stanley, from Tradesmen and others of Congleton, and several other places, for Repeal of 57th Clause of the Insolvent Debtors Act Amendment Bill, except as to Debts not exceeding 5*l.*—From Landowners and others of County of Rutland, for Protection to Agriculture.—From Congregation of the Free Church of Pollockshaws, and 6 other places, for Inquiry into the Course of Instruction adopted at Maynooth College.—By Earl of Clare, from Lisburne, Kilkeel, Downpatrick, and Dundalk Unions, for Alteration of Poor Law Act (Ireland) in respect to Repayment of Money advanced for building of Workhouses; and from Inhabitants of Ballyculter and Inch, for Revision and Alteration of the Rubrics.—By Earl of Haddington, and Bishop of Down, from Dunbar, in favour of the Increase of Grant to Maynooth College.—By Earl of Eglinton, from Ministers and Elders of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, for Improving the Condition of Schoolmasters (Scotland).

MAYNOOTH.] The Earl of *Roden* said, he had a great number of petitions on that absorbing subject which now occupied the Protestant mind of this country. They, however, differed in their effect, some of them being directly opposed to the Bill now in progress in the other House, and these he should not present to their Lordships at that time, but should reserve until the period when the Bill should be before their Lordships' House. He had other petitions of a general nature, praying their Lordships not to agree to any endowment of the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth, and also petitions praying their Lordships to appoint a Committee of their Lordships' House (prior to their agreeing to the second reading of the Bill) to inquire what were the tenets, dogmas, and class books taught at that college. With respect to the petitions connected with this last subject, he confessed that he could conceive nothing more fit, more natural, or more right, than that their Lordships, before consenting to such a measure as was now in progress in the other House, and against which so large a portion of the Protestant population had entered their dissent, should appoint a Committee up stairs to inquire into the tenets which were taught at Maynooth College, and which it was now proposed should be taught to a greater extent by the means of additional funds given for that purpose. It was desirable that a Committee of Inquiry should be appointed, because then an opportunity would be afforded of proving, if possible, that what was taught at Maynooth College was not what it ought to be, but had interfered in many respects with the well-being of the country at large. On the other hand, if this were not the case, a Committee of Inquiry would afford an opportunity of disproving the allegation to that effect, and this would tend very much to allay that very great excitement which now prevailed in the Protestant mind throughout England, Ireland, and Scotland. Should it, however, appear that the tenets and class books taught at Maynooth College were highly detrimental to the best interests of the country, then he thought that Her Majesty's Ministers in that House would not venture to carry this Bill into a law. He did not wish now to say anything that would excite discussion, nor would he say whether what was taught at Maynooth was right or wrong; but the best means of arriving at the truth was by appointing a Committee of Inquiry before the second reading of the Bill in their Lordships' House, and with that view it was his intention (if he should have the opportunity) to propose, before such second reading, that a Committee be appointed up stairs for inquiring into the subject. The noble Lord then presented petitions to the effect stated.

Lord *Brougham* said, he had to present a petition to the same effect as the bulk of those presented by his noble Friend, from the members of the Independent chapel in Wellington-street, Portobello. Though he greatly respected these petitioners, as well as others whose petitions he had presented on the same subject, he was under the necessity of saying that he differed from them; and he could not help wishing that his noble Friend who had just sat down, had pursued the same course. But every one was convinced of the entire honesty and conscientious conviction of his noble Friend in respect to any matter on which he delivered his opinion, and more especially on a matter which had so long occupied his attention. But, as to his noble Friend moving for more information on this subject, perhaps it would be more convenient to those whom he represented, and whose vehemence shone forth in their petitions—it might be more beneficial to their cause, that if statements were to be made with respect to Maynooth College, they should be made in the freedom of debate, than upon oath before a Committee. It would be better that such assertions should be made with that manly freedom with which persons were in the habit of asserting things in debate, and which was very different from statements made upon oath and liable to cross-examination. Not that he meant to say that he should not give credit to any statement made by his noble Friend; he should believe him just as much in one capacity as in the other; but should prefer if those persons whom he so justly represented in that place, would give their body of facts in any way rather than in sworn evidence before a Committee, where they must submit to be cross-examined. But it would not do for them to prove, even if they could, that those bad books and doctrines were taught in Maynooth College; it would not do to say—" Don't add so many thousands to the old grant." Why, did not his noble Friend come forward every year, and with the same objection, for fifty years back? If it was bad to give 30,000*l.* to this College, was it not bad to give 9,000*l.*? The amount did not alter the state of the case as to principle. The opponents to the increased grant reminded him of the frail lady who admitted that she had had a child, but said it was only a very small one. They objected to the present proposition, yet they never said a word against the grant before. He was astonished to see the great flame which had been raised against this increase; whereas the old grant had been received with total silence from year to year. But he was more astonished to hear people say that this grant was an endowment of Maynooth. It was not an endowment. It was the grossest perversion of intellect, and the greatest abuse of language, to represent it as an endowment. But, let that be the case or not, they would only just be endowing what they had been endowing as hard as they could for the last fifty years; yet all at once the four corners of the world were to be set in a flame by the report of the endowment of a Popish College. He felt humbled, degraded, and mortified, in the greatest degree, to see so many of his fellow countrymen led away by such furious nonsense. With all possible respect—not with all respect, but with all possible respect for the petitioners, he did not agree with them in thinking that by agreeing to the increased grant to Maynooth they would be putting souls in jeopardy, or that statesmen would be guilty of every sort of departure from principle. Why was that said? Oh! because it was an endowment of Maynooth College, and the next thing would be an endowment of the Catholic clergy. Why, that did not follow. Parliament might stop where they were. But suppose they did go further, they would only do what had been done before. Twenty years ago he supported Lord Francis Egerton in the House of Commons in a resolution to this effect:—"Resolved, that it is expedient,"—not that it is irreligious, not that it puts immortal souls in danger, not that it is endowing heresy, and error, and idolatry; no such thing; but "that it is expedient to grant a sum sufficient to provide for the maintenance of the secular Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland, exercising their religious functions"—those functions now called superstitious and idolatrous—"in Ireland." That was carried by 200 odd votes against 160 odd, giving a majority of forty-three. At that time he heard nothing like what was advanced at the present time. The present Chancellor of the Exchequer and the present First Lord of the Treasury took this ground:—"They said they had not the least objection to the principle," but, said Sir R. Peel, "I should vote for it if the Catholic question were carried." That Resolution involved the endowment of the Roman Catholic hierarchy and clergy in Ireland to the extent of 240,000*l.* It was carried by a great majority, and would have been finally, had the other question been carried. It was called the clerical wing, and the other the freeholders' wing; and the two were to go on *pari passu.* But, the one being rejected, the other was not carried; otherwise there would have been an endowment of the clergy as a condition and stipulation for the security of the Protestant Church in Ireland. For one who had wished well to the progress of human knowledge, he must say that he had hoped never to hear such sentiments as he now heard upon this subject, and he repeated that he could not support the prayer of the petitioners.

The Earl of *Mountcashell* said, he was of opinion that it was contrary to the usage of their Lordships' House to have any question discussed in detail on the occasion of presenting a petition. He could answer every word of the noble and learned Lord. He could prove the fallacy of what the noble and learned Lord had stated, but the proper time was not yet come; when it did come, however, he would be ready to take up the subject. He had no doubt that when the question should come before their Lordships in the regular way, many things would be brought forward that must make some of their Lordships pause before they came to a decision. It would be very much better for noble Lords to listen, first of all, calmly and fairly to all the arguments which could be advanced on both sides, and then decide, and not come forward on the presentation of petitions and make assertions, and say,—"I have made up my mind to give my vote in a particular way before I examine into the merits of the question, or hear them discussed." He thought such a course unconstitutional and improper. He, therefore, found fault with the noble and learned Lord for setting a bad example in that House. He trusted their Lordships would not follow that example.

Lord *Brougham* confessed that he stood corrected by the noble Earl, and he felt deeply grateful to him for not inflicting upon him the punishment he had threatened — for not doing what he said he would—answer him. No doubt the noble Earl would answer him; but he hoped the noble Earl would give him a further respite. In fact, he did not wish ever to suffer under that infliction, after the specimen the noble Earl had given that evening. But he must say that when he found how his noble Friend who preceded him had entered largely into the question while presenting petitions, he certainly thought that what was good for one would be good for another.

The Earl of *Clare* said, that, in consequence of the lamented death of his noble Friend the Marquess of Downshire, he was called upon to present certain petitions to their Lordships. In doing so he would take the opportunity of saying how deeply he regretted the cause by which this duty had devolved upon him—the death of a nobleman who, from his admirable conduct in his sphere of action—from the way in which he discharged his duties as a landed proprietor—from his liberal encouragement of every institution in both countries for the improvement of society, and from the part also which he took in the debates in that House—he must say that he considered the death of that nobleman was both a great public and private loss; but he believed that his memory would be warmly cherished with undiminished affection by every person in every class of society who had known him.

Lord *Wharncliffe* said, that he had made some inquiry with regard to the refusal of the coroner of Thetford to make a return of the number of inquests held on infants, and found that there was no record at the Home Office of any reply to the coroner's letter, as to the payment for his trouble in making out the return; but if the noble Earl would now move for a special return from that coroner of his inquests on infants under one year old, for the ten years ending June 30th, 1842, he (Lord Wharncliffe) would take care that the gentleman should be told that he must make the return, without trying to make any stipulation whatever with respect to payment.

The Earl of *Mountcashell* moved accordingly; and the Return was ordered.

Death by Accidents Compensation Bill.] Lord *Lyttleton* moved the second reading of this Bill. At present, a person who suffered by an accident arising from the negligence of another, might obtain compensation in damages if he recovered from the injury, but if he died, the right of action died with him. By this Bill his family, or his parents, if he left no wife or child, would be entitled to the same remedy as he would (if he had survived) have been entitled to. This was the law already in France; and as the value of a man's life was calculable, juries would soon get into the habit of assessing damages quite as well as for an injury to his person.

Lord *Campbell* thought the Bill a most signal amendment of the law, and gave his entire approbation to the principle at least; indeed, he should hardly venture to abolish the system of deodands, however absurd, until there was some check upon negligence substituted. There had been suggestions to give a power to coroners to inflict a fine upon those who might be in fault; but they were often very much excited by the sight of the dead body and the detail of the circumstances, and he did not think that the proper tribunal which would mete out equal justice between the parties. He hoped that the Deodands Bill, which he had suspended, would go *pari passu* with this Bill, and that their march would be triumphant through the other House.

The *Lord Chancellor* said, he had no disposition to oppose this Bill, especially as his noble and learned Friend the Chief Justice of England, approved of its principle. He thought, however, that it would require a considerable alteration in its details, and recommended that it should go to a Committee up stairs. If compensation were required to be given to the children of a murdered person, application must be made to the Secretary of State to suspend the execution of the murderer. He should not object to the second reading of the Bill, and recommended that it be referred to a Committee above stairs, to see in what shape it could be put in order to fulfil the object of the noble Lord.

Lord *Lyttleton* was understood to consent to this course. Bill read 2ª.

House adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, *April* 21, 1845.

Minutes.] New Writs.—For Denbigh County, *v.* Sir Watkins Williams Wynn, Bt., Steward of Bromfield and Yale; for Peebles-shire, *v.* William Forbes Mackenzie, Esq. Commissioner of the Treasury; for Leominster, *v.* Charles Greenaway, Esq., Chiltern Hundreds.

Bills. *Public.*—1°· Malt Drawback.

5°· Colonial Passengers.

Reported. — Infeftment (Scotland); Heritable Securities (Scotland).

3°· and passed :—Customs (Import Duties).

Private.—1°· Calvert's Estate; Boileau's Divorce.

2°· Coventry, Bedworth and Nuneaton Railway; Wilts, Somerset, and Weymouth Railway; Cromer Protection from the Sea; Direct London and Portsmouth Railway; Chester and Holyhead Railway (Mold Branch and Purchase of Chester and Birkenhead Railway) (No. 2); Liverpool and Bury Railway (Bolton, Wigan, and Liverpool Railway, and Bury Extension); Southampton and Dorchester Railway; Lynn and Dereham Railway; Dunstable, and London and Birmingham Railway; Northumberland Railway; Edinburgh and Northern Railway (No. 2); Saint Ives Junction Railway.

Reported.—Newcastle-upon-Tyne Coal Turn; Bridgwater Navigation and Railway; Newcastle-upon-Tyne Port.

3°· and passed : — Wallasey Improvement; Devonport Gas and Coke Company; Plymouth and Stonehouse Gas.

Petitions Presented. By Sir John M'Taggart, from Portpatrick and Stranraer, for better Observance of the Lord's Day.—By several hon. Members, from an immense number of places (198 Petitions), against the Grant to Maynooth College.—By the Earl of Arundel and Surrey, Mr. T. Duncombe, and Sir R. Peel, from several places, in favour of the Grant to Maynooth College.—From Royston, for supplying Grant to Maynooth College from the Revenues of the Established Church.—By Mr. Barneby, from Worcester for Relief from Agricultural Taxation.—By Colonel Powell, from Tregaron, for Establishment of County Courts.—By Sir James Graham, from the Vicar of Alton, for Alteration of Law relating to Highways.—By Mr. J. Bailey, Mr. H. Berkeley, Mr. Hussey, and Mr. Warburton, from several places, for Repeal or Alteration of Insolvent Debtors Act.—By Sir J. Graham, and Mr. Henley, from several places, against Justices' Clerks and Clerks of the Peace Bill.—By Mr. Langston, from Guardians of the Poor of Oxford, against Parochial Settlement Bill.—By Lord J. Russell, from University College, and King's College, London, for Alteration of Physic and Surgery Bill.—By Mr. Bankes, from Mold, for Diminishing the Number of Public Houses.—By Mr. Henley, from Witney, for Alteration of Law relating to the Sale of Beer.

Absence of Members from Committees.] Viscount *Palmerston* appeared at the Bar, and reported from the Committee on the Lynn and Ely Railway Bill, that Mr. Wyse and Mr. Berkeley were not present that morning for one hour after the time fixed for the meeting of the Committee; that in half an hour after they attended; but that the Committee had not suffered any inconvenience from their temporary absence.

Lord *G. Somerset* said, that as this was the first instance of non-attendance, and as they were then commencing a new system, he did not wish to take any notice of the circumstance; but in future he should take steps to enforce attendance, in which he hoped the House would support him, by moving that Members who should be absent without sufficient cause should be taken into the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms.

Mr. *Wyse* was understood to say, that his absence was accidental, and to express a hope that it might be passed over.

Mr. *H. Berkeley* said, that having many other things to occupy his mind, he had altogether forgotten the hour of attendance. He suggested that when Members were named on a Private Bill, they should have a note sent to them reminding them of the hour.

Lord *G. Somerset* had no objection to adopt that suggestion, but in the present case the hour of attendance was mentioned in the Votes of Saturday.

Subject dropped.

After a short time,

Mr. *Barneby* appeared at the Bar, and reported from the Barnesley Junction Railway Committee, that from the time fixed for the meeting of the Committee, Mr. Joseph Somes was not in attendance for one hour; that in half an hour after that time he attended, and stated that his absence arose wholly from his having made a mistake as to the hour; and that the Committee had not suffered any inconvenience from his temporary absence.

STANDING ORDERS ON RAILWAYS —THE BOARD OF TRADE.] Mr. *T. Duncombe* rose to move, according to Notice, that Section 11 of Standing Order No. 87 which requires Committees on Railway Bills to make a Special Report to the House of the reasons which may induce them to adopt or reject the recommendations of the Board of Trade, be discharged. The Standing Order in question having been read, the hon. Member proceeded to say, that in asking the House to agree to the discharge of this order, he hoped he might be allowed to state his belief that the time had arrived when they ought to come to some understanding as to the position in which the House stood in relation to the Railway Department of the Board of Trade, more particularly when they recollected that the Committees of the House had that day commenced taking into consideration a portion of the many Railway Bills introduced in the present Session. The decision on those Bills involved an immense mass of property—not less than 100,000,000*l.* in value, and an extent of 4,000 miles of railway. On the decisions of those Committees would depend the fortune or the ruin of thousands. The time had arrived, therefore, when the public ought to know whether the Committees of that House were to be the mere puppets of the Board of Trade, especially when they looked at the dissatisfaction given by the Railway Department of that Board throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland. The public ought to know whether the House would submit to be the subordinate branch of a subordinate department of the Government. How these Committees were to perform the duties required of them he could not understand. To Committee A. there were referred no less than twenty-three Railway Bills, including the Kentish and South-Eastern lines; twenty-three lines would have to be decided on by the five Gentlemen who had the misfortune to sit on this Committee. An attempt had been recently made to restrain the number of speeches of counsel before Railway Committees; but even if the proposition had been agreed to, still they would have twenty-three opening speeches, twenty-three speeches in opposition, and twenty-three speeches in reply on every Bill—in all sixty-nine speeches from the counsel on these twenty-three Bills. In addition to this, they would have the opposition incidental to all railways, emanating either from other companies or private parties. And, besides all this, there was to be, it seemed, a third party before the Committee. It was to be obliged to report the reasons why it differed from the recommendation of the Board of Trade in reference to any competing line; thus, supposing the Board had recommended one line in preference to another, the Committee was to draw out its reasons for dissenting from that recommendation. The Railway Department of the Board of Trade was far from being efficient. As an instance of the manner in which they sometimes discharged their functions, he would remind the House that not long since the Speaker had called their attention to a clause that had been inserted in the Midland Counties Railway Bill by the company, which empowered them to go through any land, and even within a mile of the dwelling-house of the proprietor, without notice to such proprietor. That clause had not been discovered by the Board of Trade, nor was it seen till the Speaker called the attention of the House to it. The fact was, that the Bill came before the Board of Trade as an unopposed Bill. The agent did not intimate that there was in the Bill any departure from the usual course, and the Board of Trade, therefore, did not institute any inquiry. This mode of performing their duties on the part of the Board of Trade was not at all satisfactory to the public. They did not preserve secrecy, and the manner in which information as to the Great Northern and its competing line had transpired, had led to some strange proceedings in the money market. The information had caused a great change in the price of shares in the Direct Northern and the London and York lines. He must also complain of the manner in which the Board came to their decisions, laying down a great principle one day, and infringing it the next. This was particularly the case with regard to the London and York, the Newcastle and Berwick, and the Eastern Counties Railways. The Board usurped powers which were never intended to be exercised by it. As an instance of this, he would refer to the circular addressed by them to the agents for Bills, in which they expressly referred to their supervision of Bills during their progress through Parliament. Now, he denied that by the Standing Orders they had any such power. All they had to do was to examine the different projects before they came to the House. After that they had nothing to do with them whatever. He had felt it his duty to draw the attention of the House to this Standing Order. It had been agreed to at a time when there were no Members of the House present but the Members of the Government. Had the attention of the House or the public been called to the subject, that Standing Order would never have been passed. He now called their attention to it, in the hope that the true position and duties of the Railway Department of the Board of Trade would be ascertained.

Sir *G. Clerk* begged to make a few remarks in reference to the conduct of the Railway Department of the Board of Trade. After the insinuations which had been uttered in that House, and out of doors, he was anxious to know what charges were to be brought against the conduct and proceedings of that Department. The hon. Gentleman said, that the Reports which had emanated from that Department, and their discussions in reference to the various schemes brought before them, had given general dissatisfaction. He believed the very reverse of this was the case. In general, the public were highly satisfied with their Reports, and the only dissatisfaction which was expressed in reference to them had been expressed by parties immediately and directly interested in those schemes against which the Railway Department of the Board of Trade had thought it their duty to report. The hon. Gentleman, in common with others, had borne ample testimony to the assiduity and diligence with which the President of the Board of Trade had directed the proceedings of the Railway Committee of the Board. He would not claim to himself any share of the merit which those had a right to claim who were chiefly concerned in making the Reports. He was, however, very ready to take his share of the responsibility which devolved upon that Department. The importance of railway legislation had for many years past attracted the attention of that House, and several Committees had observed upon the imperfection of the system of legislation which formerly obtained upon that subject. These Committees had uniformly concurred in viewing Railway Bills not so much as private and Local Bills, as measures affecting the general interests. The local interests involved in them would receive attention from proceeding in the ordinary manner upon them; but it was found that there were public interests which could not be attended to unless the care of them should be committed to some Public Department, regularly constituted for that purpose. It was the object of the Committee of last Session, that all railway schemes, before being brought under the notice of Parliament, should be submitted for previous investigation to a Department of the Board of Trade; and they distinctly averred that their recommendation did not contemplate the superseding the authority of that House, but that the duties of the Railway Committee of the Board of Trade should be merely to collect information, and to give to the House the result of their investigations, with regard to all questions affecting the public safety, or in any way involving the general interest. Although willing to admit that the question was not entirely free from difficulty, he believed that the course which had been adopted by the Railway Department of the Board of Trade, was strictly in accordance with the views of the Select Committee of last year, and that it was calculated to carry into effect in the most complete manner the recommendations of that Committee. When he heard surmises made, and insinuations uttered against the Members composing that Department, that they, with a view of favouring the gambling speculations of certain parties, had given information to these parties, prior to the public notification of their decisions in the *Gazette,* he begged the House to recollect the difficult position in which these Gentlemen were placed, who were thus liable to such general accusations, which it was impossible for them to meet, notwithstanding the explicit declaration which had already been made in that House and elsewhere, that the utmost secrecy had been observed, by all the parties charged, and no word had been breathed of what these decisions were, until they appeared in the public *Gazette.* He would again, on behalf of the Board of Trade, declare explicitly, in that House, that no Member of the Railway Department ever did, either directly or indirectly, convey to any parties interested in these schemes the slightest inkling of what their decisions were likely to be, until the public notification had been made in the *Gazette.* The hon. Gentleman referred to the sudden change which had taken place in the value of the shares of the Direct Northern and the London and York schemes, immediately previous to the notification of the decision of the Railway Committee in regard to them. But that was the result of speculations on the Stock Exchange, and was totally uninfluenced by the Department complained of. The hon. Gentleman also alluded to the coalition which had taken place between two lines — the Direct Northern and the Lincoln and Cambridge. That coalition was determined upon by the parties interested themselves, and the decisions of the Board of Trade in respect to them had no connexion with that proceeding. It was perfectly well known the day previous to the notification of these decisions appearing in the *Gazette,* that this coalition had taken place; and that coalition itself was likely to lead to the change which had taken place in the value of the stock of the Direct Northern and the Lincoln and Cambridge lines. The Committee had, in every case on which they had reported, stated fully and distinctly the grounds of their several decisions, and the results which they contemplated would ensue from the adoption of their decisions by the House. They left it to the Committees of the House to judge how far they were borne out in their recommendations by the facts which would necessarily be submitted to these Committees, appointed for the purpose by the House. With regard to the Standing Order sought to be rescinded by the present Motion, that Order required the Committees of the House to report which of the recommendations of the Committee of the Board of Trade they had adopted. If, in the majority of instances, the Committees adopted the recommendations of the Board of Trade, that would be a proof that the House had adopted the wiser course, in subjecting railway schemes to the preliminary examination which they underwent before that Department; but inasmuch as all matters of merely private and local interest were, by the terms of the appointment of the Committee of the Board of Trade, excluded from their consideration, it might frequently happen that Committees of that House might be disposed to reject schemes which, on public grounds alone, were approved of by the Board of Trade, because they might find such strong obstacles of a private and local nature as would prevent the possibility of their giving them their sanction. It would be only in furtherance of the views of the House, that its Committees should make a Report to the House as to the instances in which they deemed it proper to adopt the views of the Board of Trade, as well as to those in which they did not. At page 55 of the Standing Orders, in cases of Railway Bills, it was laid down that if any Report, made under the authority of the Board of Trade, on any Bill, was laid before the House, such Report would be referred to the Committee on the Bill. The House then having resolved, as part of the experiment which they were about to try, for the first time, that, in the first place, all Reports from the Board of Trade should, as a matter of course, be referred to the Committees on the respective Bills in question, and also required that these Committees should report to the House which of the recommendations of the Board of Trade they had adopted, and which of them they had rejected. He trusted that the House would not at present agree to any alteration in these Standing Orders, and that they would concur with him in the view which he took of the matter, that it would be infinitely better to give the experiment adopted a fair trial, and wait until the end of the Session, and see in what manner the Reports of the Board of Trade were dealt with by the several Committees on Railway Bills. Experience would then much better enable them to suggest any alterations which it might be expedient to make. He wished to suggest to the hon. Gentleman, as he had given notice for certain Resolutions which he intended to move to-morrow, and as he had only the same remark to make with regard to them, that they were questions for future consideration, that it would be better to postpone these Motions to the end of the Session. He had only to say that he believed the Railway Department of the Board of Trade had fulfilled its onerous duties ably and satisfactorily to the country; and he trusted that, before the House expressed a decided opinion upon that subject, they would wait to see what might be the judgment of the several Committees, to whom the Reports of that Department were referred, and whose duty it would be to investigate them fully, and in detail, instead of prematurely pronouncing an opinion upon the subject.

Mr. *Labouchere* said he apprehended that the object of his hon. Friend in making this Motion was to express to that House an opinion that the Reports of the Board of Trade were not entitled to credit. He confessed that he was not inclined to take that view, believing it to be altogether premature. They had imposed on the Board of Trade a most arduous duty, in the performance of which they had prepared various Reports. He was not prepared to say either that those Reports were or were not entitled to credit; but by the end of the Session, when the Reports of the Committees had been made, there would be abundant material for judging whether they were entitled to confidence, or whether they deserved the reproach which had been cast upon them. He was much too well aware of the extreme difficulty of the task submitted to the Railway Department of the Board of Trade, to be desirous of passing any harsh censures upon the way in which they had carried that task into effect; and he was quite ready to bear his testimony to the industry, impartiality, and integrity with which the business of that Department was conducted. He considered, however, that the composition and constitution of that Department was quite anomalous as contrasted with the other administrative arrangements of the country; and it was his opinion that the Committee of the Lords of the Privy Council for the Affairs of Trade ought to have reserved to themselves the sole responsibility of that part of their duties which related to the affairs of railways. In his opinion, the constitution of that Department, as a separate tribunal, was a mistake, and a mistake from which important consequences had followed. It was a most cumbrous and inconvenient machinery; and he hoped the Government would reconsider the subject, with a view to discover whether they could not make some improvement in it. Without wishing to cast censure on that Department, he could not help thinking that in some degree they had been mistaken in the nature of the task which had been submitted to them. The Railway Department ought to be the instrument of affording information to the Committees of the House of Commons; they ought not to pronounce peremptory decisions. In many cases he thought the decisions they had come to were too peremptory. They appeared to him to meddle with some topics which they ought to have avoided altogether. The errors to which he meant to refer were of this description: for instance—in some of these Reports this very important consideration was introduced; they said, "We recommend this or that railway, because we have obtained from them an agreement that their fares shall be very reasonable and low;" but then in other Reports relating to other railways, he found this stipulation was omitted altogether. Thus the whole communication between London and the West of England was given to one company. He did not mean to say that that was not very right; but then he found no bargain of this kind in favour of the public had been made with them.

The general error which he thought the Department had committed was, that principles and considerations were not suggested for the guidance of the Committees of the House; but down they came with peremptory decisions on this and that point, and not always in consistency with what appeared in others of their Reports. Still there was nothing he should more regret than to leave on the House an impression that he cast any censure on this Department, or that he was not sensible of the great difficulties which surrounded the subject. Thinking the Motion a most unparliamentary and injudicious course to pursue, he should oppose it.

Mr. *Gladstone* hoped that the House in general, and the hon. Member for Finsbury in particular, would acquiesce in the construction which the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Labouchere) had put upon the Motion now under discussion. It was, he thought, perfectly plain, that, whatever merits might attach to that Motion, yet those merits were not such as, under the circumstances, would render it advisable to agree to the Motion. For they now stood in this dilemma: every one of the Reports which had hitherto been made by the Railway Department of the Board of Trade was upon the Table of the House. Some of them had been referred to Committees, which had already been constituted, and others were about to be referred. The objections which were made to the Railway Department and their proceedings might or might not be well founded; but the evils connected with them had taken place, and the House had the Reports before them which were the result of the system. Now he submitted that unless all these Reports were positively mischievous in themselves—not only of little value, but positively worthless and worse than useless—they could not take a more ill-advised course than that of depriving themselves of whatever information and assistance might be afforded, even in the worst view that had been taken in these Reports. Generally speaking, he considered the Reports were manifestly documents of great value; for even if they were not right in their conclusions—and he had a strong opinion upon the generality of them with regard to their conclusions—no one could help perceiving that generally they opened up the question from the very root, and therefore would be of the greatest value in directing the course of inquiry by the Committees of this House. He thought, therefore, that at this moment there was neither argument nor shadow of argument for withholding these Reports from the consideration of the Committees. If such authority had been assigned to these Reports as to render it necessary for the Committees of this House to give reasons, *pro* and *con*, for accepting or rejecting the Reports of the Board of Trade, he thought there would be some force in the Motion; but he thought it was desirable that they should assure themselves that the attention of the Committees had been called to particular Reports. There were some other points upon which he desired to say a few words. The hon. Gentleman stated that the Standing Order was almost smuggled through the House in the last Session, and complained of the lateness of the period when the debate on the Standing Order came on. He agreed with the hon. Member in lamenting the lateness of the debate, but could assure him that no person was to blame for that. Not a day was lost from the beginning to the end of the Session, and the Minute of the Board of Trade constituting the Railway Department was brought forward as early as possible. He begged to say also that the Standing Order was not smuggled through the House. This very point was fully discussed in the last Session, and there certainly appeared at that time an almost unanimous acquiescence in the propriety of the plan. He did not mean to say that the whole question was not surrounded with difficulty, and if any error were committed it might be to some extent pardonable; but, at the same time, he believed that it was not possible to have conducted the business of the Railway Department, such as it had been during the last six months, in the manner pointed out by the right hon. Gentleman, that was, as one among the many branches of the Board of Trade. Whether the present was a convenient arrangement or not, he should say most confidently that the railway business could not possibly be conducted as part of the general business of the Board of Trade. If the right hon. Gentleman was aware of the enormous mass of business connected with that Department of the Board, he would be of the same opinion. For the time it lasted it demanded undivided attention, and unless the Board of Trade were prepared to perform the duty in a very slovenly and unsatisfactory way, it would be utterly impossible for the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman to be carried out. The right hon. Gentleman said the Railway Department had misconceived the task submitted to them; and he (Mr. Gladstone) agreed with him thus far—he thought that the Reports had gone further with regard to the number of details they went through, the views they presented, and the decisiveness of the tone they assumed—he granted, as a matter of fact, that they did go further than was in the contemplation of the Select Committee last year. But he begged the House not upon that account, at this moment, to pronounce or imply any condemnation of the Board of Trade. The fact was that the Railway Department of the Board of Trade were greatly in advance of the Committee of last year in respect to experience; and he thought the right hon. Gentleman was prejudging the case, as well as the hon. Member for Finsbury. He agreed that the Reports were not uniform upon the question of making stipulations as to fares and tolls for public advantage; but it did not follow, because that course was taken in one case with good and sufficient reason, that, therefore, it must be taken in every other. They must not look for a rigid uniformity as to the rules which the Railway Department were to adopt. What they were to expect was, that the recommendation of the Board should be truly adapted to the circumstances of each case as it arose. If any company expected to make great gains, they might put limitations on it with advantage to the public; but in cases where the company had no such expectation, it would scarcely be right to impose any limitation. But with respect to those Reports, he thought the sentiments of the public were in favour of them; and if they were to go before the Committees for consideration, nothing could more distract the minds of the Members of those Committees, or of the public, than to take opportunities of this kind to attack those Reports, and raise *ex-parte* arguments upon the subject. The hon. Member for Finsbury had particularly made the Report on the London and York Railway the subject of attack. He (Mr. Gladstone) thought that nothing could be more mischievous than making attacks on those Reports, especially on that particular one, at a time when they were, as in that instance, about to be submitted to the most stringent investigation. There was another point to which he wished to refer, the want of publicity to the proceedings of the Railway Department of the Board of Trade. He would grant that want of publicity to be an objection perfectly unanswerable, if it were true that those Reports would carry any undue weight and authority with them before the Committees—if they were to be made excuses for avoiding examination, and if they were to be anything more than mere guides to the Committees in their investigations. If they were to be more than that he would grant that the objection of want of publicity would be a fatal one. There might, probably, be cases in which the Board of Trade might turn out to have been wrong; in such cases he did not believe that their Report would place the parties, to whom it was adverse, in any disadvantage. The Reports would be subjected to the strictest examination; and if justice had been in the first instance not awarded, the parties would succeed in obtaining it just as effectually as if there had been no Report whatever from the Railway Department. With regard to the Motion of the hon. Gentleman, he sincerely trusted, not that the House would reject it, but that the hon. Gentleman himself would not press it to a division.

Mr. *Gisborne* did not wish to attack the composition of the Board; but he thought that it was impossible for the Board to do its duty to the public, considering the disadvantages of the situation in which it was placed. The Railway Department of the Board of Trade engrossed the whole railway system of the country. He believed that their Reports would have the greatest influence on the Committees; and when these Committees found themselves in any difficulty, they would seek to escape from it by referring to and acting upon the suggestions of the Reports. How were these Reports made? The process had been described in a very able pamphlet, which said, "That the ingenuity of man could scarcely have devised a more certain means of error." He now asked, if, in addition to all the other labours they were about to put on the Committees, they would impose upon them the burden of determining whether the Reports of the Board of Trade were right or not? This engrossing Department—if he might so call it—not content with giving Reports as to the merits of the lines submitted to them, had become general essayists on railway legislation; and though the House might not be in a position to judge of the value of their opinions upon the several cases on which they had reported, they were in a position to judge of the value of their essays. It would be remembered that one question that arose last year in reference to this subject of railway legislation was, whether competition was generally conducive to the public benefit or not? That question the Railway Department of the Board of Trade had, in one of their essays, taken upon themselves to answer. They had decided that competition was not generally advantageous to the public; and, as confirming that view, had quoted a long passage from the Report of the Railway Committee of last year. It was well known, he believed, however, that the public had derived great advantage from the competition in railways, in increased accommodation and cheaper fares; and the complaints which were made last year were now no longer heard of. This was the result of competition; and if the lines now projected were carried out, the benefits of competition would be extended to all parts of the kingdom. On this subject it was manifest therefore, he thought, that the Members of the Railway Department had not become wiser than they were last year; and he should not be surprised if it should turn out that the authority which the writer of the essay quoted in support of his views was his own. It would appear, in fact, that the Commissioners proceeded upon the supposition that those railways which had done the least before for the public convenience, were those most likely to do most in future. Look, for instance, at the Cambridge line, which in eight years had completed only thirty miles of railway, and of which it might be said, as the nigger said of his pig, that "though little, it was d——d old." He might quote the cases of the Harwich lines, and many others, as showing that the Reports of the Railway Department of the Board of Trade did not carry with them much weight. He thought that Department might well have been entrusted with the duty of classifying the several schemes that came under their notice. He could see no reason why the decisions of the Board of Trade should be published so long—in some cases as much as two or three months—before the publication of the Report containing the reasons for those decisions, unless it were for the purpose of raising the shares of one railway and depressing those of another in the share-market, and encouraging speculation. Then it was impossible, take what precautions they would, to keep their intentions altogether a secret previous to the publication of their decisions. They could not ask questions of the parties connected with the line without showing at least an indication of their leaning; and that, he thought, by giving an impetus to the spirit of unfair speculation, and encouraging gambling transactions, was a mischief so great, that no advantage which could result from these one-sided Reports—drawn up, he admitted, with great ability, in many instances; but still, from having heard one side only, in ignorance of the whole facts and bearings of the case — could counterbalance. He thought it essential that a Parliamentary or legislative constitution should be given to this Board, if it should continue to exist, for it was most objectionable that such great powers — powers affecting property to so large an extent, should be as it were picked up by a Department of the Government on the unadopted Report of a Committee.

Colonel *Sibthorp* thought every day's experience showed the correctness of the opinions he had so often stated to the House. With regard to the hon. Gentlemen who sat on the Treasury Bench, and those who lately sat on the Treasury Bench, he hardly understood their position. He did not know whether the right hon. Member for Newark spoke as the President of the Board of Trade, or only as the late President of the Board of Trade; for, though speaking on behalf of that Department of the Government, he still found him sitting on the benches below those occupied by the Treasury Members. There was one hon. Gentleman, however, (Mr. Pringle) whom he supposed he might now look upon as a late Member of the Government; and much as he had honoured the hon. Gentleman before the event which had made him a late Member, he honoured him much more since. Nothing could be more objectionable than the constitution of this Railway Department of the Board of Trade, and nothing was more calculated to encourage gambling speculations than their Reports. In a Report which had been made to that House in 1808 he found described the evils of an extensive system of gambling, such as was now going on with regard to these railway speculations. It was then shown that ruin, crime, madness, and suicides were the inevitable consequences of such practices. Let them look at the number of these railway schemes brought forward, and the immense amount of capital thus involved: it was impossible for any Board to consider them in the time with sufficient attention to be enabled to make anything like a satisfactory Report upon them. If five angels came down from heaven, and sat four hours a day as a board, they could not do it; and yet they were told that these five Gentlemen, who constituted this Railway Board, had given the fullest consideration to every railway scheme upon which they had reported. In one instance he found they decided in favour of one of two competing lines, on the ground of economy. Why, what did it matter to them if one company would spend ten millions to complete a line, upon which another would spend only five? What they should look to was the public accommodation to be given. But the proceedings of this Board were only a part of the same system that pervaded all railway business. He remembered the Railway Consolidation Bill—a Bill containg 476 clauses—was brought forward for consideration one day at twelve o'clock, in a House consisting, for a great part of the time, of not more than fifteen Members. He wished to know what was the nature of the hon. Member for Finsbury's Motion. If it had been for censuring the Government who had brought forward this Board—who had packed it, and made it their own—he would have supported him; but the present Motion was so mysterious, that he could not understand its object. As it appeared to him, the object was to do away with the independence of the Committees. He could not support that; though he confessed, not being on the Treasury Bench — and he was not sorry for it—for he never would be—he did not know what independence now meant.

Mr. *Bernal* was convinced that a vast deal of benefit would accrue to the public from the consideration of this subject, and pursuing it to some definite and prospective end. A great deal had been said on the constitution of the Railway Department of the Board of Trade. Now, all he could say was this, that they were incepting a course of experiments, and could not say yet how they would turn out. But he remembered what was said by the right hon. Baronet on the other side when the subject was under discussion in that House; and the right hon. Baronet was rather severe upon him (Mr. Bernal) for the observations he then made: he would not enter into that further than to say that he then entirely dissented from the views of the right hon. Baronet, and all he would answer was, that he hoped the experiment would be successful. He hoped, too, that the Committees who were appointed to sit on railway projects, might turn out advantageous and beneficial in a practical point of view, and might have the effect of counteracting the existing evils, and putting a check upon the inordinate speculations which were going on, and which would some day end in the ruin of thousands. He repudiated the notion that there was any ground for impugning the integrity of those Gentlemen who constituted the Railway Department of the Board of Trade. With one of the Members of that Department he was acquainted, and he honoured that gentleman not only for his integrity but for his ability. The other Members of that Department he knew by reputation; and he was convinced that not one of them would be guilty of such dishonourable conduct as disclosing the facts of which they were officially cognizant, and so affecting the interests of persons who had embarked their property in railway projects. When a numerous deputation attended the Board of Trade, and made representations to that Department which were supported by arguments, and upon which opinions were expressed, it was not surprising that some intimation of what occurred at such interviews should be given to the public. He believed that the reports which were so frequently current on these subjects, and which produced most mischievous results, might be traced to this source. He thought the hon. Member for Finsbury had misunderstood the Standing Order of the House which he proposed to rescind;

and he (Mr. Bernal) would move the following Amendment—

> "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that Her Majesty will be graciously pleased to direct that all Documents and Statements received by the Railway Department of the Board of Trade, in relation to any Railway Bill or Project upon which that Railway Department has reported, be laid before this House; and that the promoters and opponents of every such Bill, and their counsel and agents, shall agree to inspect, and at their own expense obtain copies or extracts of such Statements or Documents."

He was aware that this Amendment might be somewhat irregular in point of form; but if such were the case he hoped the right hon. Speaker would assist him in rendering it conformable to the rules of the House.

Viscount *Howick* seconded the Amendment. He thought that the House and the country were much indebted to the hon. Member for Finsbury for having brought this subject forward in the manner he had. He agreed, however, in the reasons assigned for not pressing the Motion to a division. He thought that the hon. Member had not correctly read the Standing Order, and that there did not exist sufficient ground for rescinding it as proposed. But the offer made by the right hon. Baronet opposite, the Vice President of the Board of Trade, to place the originals of the documents in question before the House, would be a most valuable concession, and one quite sufficient for his hon. Friend to obtain. It was most important, however, to have had an opportunity of discussing the weight of the authority which ought to be attached to these Reports of the Board of Trade. The right hon. Gentleman the late President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Gladstone) had stated, that it was premature at the present time to discuss the manner in which their duties had been performed by the Railway Department of the Board of Trade, and to go into the merits of particular Reports. On this point he did not altogether agree with the right hon. Gentleman. These Reports were calculated to exercise a certain degree of weight on the deliberations of Committees, as coming from a Department of the Government, and, unless some discussion in this House should prevent it, they would have the effect of making out a sort of *primâ facie* case in favour of those schemes for which Reports were made, and unfavourable to those against which the Board of Trade had decided. If, however, any prejudice were thus created to the disadvantage of projects against which the Board of Trade had decided, an injustice would certainly be done. They should, therefore, look to the manner in which its duties had been exercised by the Board. And he might be permitted to say that, in his opinion, no blame whatever attached to any individual Member of the Board. They had all conscientiously performed their duties. He went further. In his opinion they had shown considerable diligence and considerable ability; but still he did not believe that their duties had been satisfactorily performed—not from any fault of theirs, but because Parliament had burdened them with duties which it was physically impossible for them properly to accomplish. But, then, if these duties were not properly performed, it was only justice to the parties affected by them that the fact should be brought before the House; and he took this opportunity of stating, that in his opinion both the manner in which the Board of Trade had carried on its proceedings, and the Reports which were the results of those proceedings, were in the highest degree unsatisfactory. First, as to the mode of carrying on business. The course of proceeding was this. The Board of Trade received the statements of parties—they looked into these statements, but without submitting to opposing parties the data and reasonings of their opponents. No opportunity was afforded to those interested of pointing out errors in point of fact, or refuting mis-statements or misrepresentations which might be made. In the same way interviews had taken place, at which only one party had been heard. Now, was this mode of proceeding likely to succeed in eliciting the real facts of a case? How was it possible that in this manner the Board of Trade could detect errors or ascertain misrepresentations contained in the statements laid before them? Accordingly, if they looked to these Reports they found existing in them direct and palpable blunders, in point of fact, of the most serious importance. He would not go into a number of these cases, but he might point out one instance which had already been brought under the notice of the House. A petition was lying upon the Table from the Croydon Railway Company, complaining of the Report of the Board of Trade on the Kentish and South-Eastern Railway. To this petition there was a distinct allegation of material errors in point of fact in the Report of the Board of Trade; and the parties preferring it were so sure that they could make good their statements, that all they asked for was to have the Report referred back to the Board of Trade. An hon. Member connected with the part of the country interested, the Member for Maidstone, had made a Motion to that effect; and it did so happen, that, taking an advantage of a technical difficulty in a point of form, the right hon. Baronet representing the Board of Trade avoided the discussion upon the point. Now, the allegations in this petition were specific, and capable of being at once proved to be unfounded. If such were the case, then, under the circumstances, he could not hesitate to assume that these allegations of error were correct. They were told that the Report of the Board of Trade had fallen into these errors. First, they had stated, in comparing two lines, that one—that reported against—had considerably heavier earth-works than the other. Now, this was denied in point of fact. Then there was an allegation with reference to the number of miles of new railway required to supply due accommodation to the public. In this point also an error was ascribed to the Board of Trade. But blunders of still greater importance were pointed out. One of them was with respect to the fares proposed to be charged. The Report of the Board of Trade stated, that one company had agreed to carry at lower rates than the other, while it omitted to observe that the latter had offered to carry at still lower rates than those the concession of which upon the part of the former was made use of as an argument in its favour. Then it was a recommendation of the original Committee upon Railways that the Board of Trade was to direct its attention specially to matters connected with the public safety. Now, had this been done? The General Committee had pointed out two facts affecting public safety, which were to have been specially attended to. When a long line merged into another shorter, and possessing a smaller extent of traffic, and used two or three miles of it as a main route, there was a special recommendation that, in all such cases, a distinct notice should be given of that portion of the plan by the Board of Trade. Now, there was such an arrangement proposed upon the Kentish and South-Eastern lines; but, in the Report of the Board, that important fact was not at all introduced to the attention of the House. Again, the House entertained such strong objections to a railway crossing a public road, particularly at a level, that, by the Standing Orders, any such case was ordered to be pointed out for the consideration of the Committee on the Bill. Now, in dealing with these South-Eastern schemes, how had the Railway Department of the Board of Trade performed this part of its duty? The fact was, that the line of railway which they recommended had twenty-five such level crossings, including four over streets in the populous town of Deptford; but not a word was to be found upon the subject in the Report of the Board of Trade. But to show, however, that such parts of plans were not considered immaterial by the Board, he held in his hand extracts from another Report of that body, referring to a different set of lines in Scotland; and in that Report he found it stated that the Board directed the attention of the Committee on the Bill to a crossing proposed to be made in the line of the Glasgow and Paisley Railway over the turnpike road from Glasgow to Govan. Here they had one crossing mentioned in the Scotch line, while the four proposed to be made in Deptford were passed over without notice. There were also omissions of particular facts, and errors in respect to others, which made those Reports most untrustworthy guides for the deliberations of the House. They did not fulfil their main object, of affording good materials for the House upon which to come to a decision with respect to Railway Bills presented to them. Besides, the more he looked at these Reports, the more he was struck with their inconsistencies. As regarded fares, short distances, and gradients, the recommendations of different Reports differed *in toto* from each other. And more than that, he could not help noticing a circumstance pointed out by the right hon. Member for Taunton, namely, that these Reports resembled rather the *ex-parte* recommendations of an able advocate, than the judicial decisions of an impartial tribunal. In many cases—perhaps in a majority of cases—he coincided with the conclusion arrived at; but even when that was the case, it struck him that the Reports were impressed with the character he had attributed to them. Every point which made against the line recommended, and in favour of that rejected, was passed by either without notice, or kept as much as possible in the back ground, while every point in favour of the line recommended was against that rejected, and urged with great minuteness and ability, and put in the strongest light. Now he did not mean to insinuate that this was wilfully and knowingly done, but it was the case to such an extent that some explanation was desirable. Admitting that such was the character of the Reports, he thought that it might be accounted for upon the supposition that the Board of Trade had come to their decisions some time before they drew up the Reports. Perhaps two or three months elapsed from the time when they decided upon the general character of a Report, to the period at which it was actually prepared. What was the legitimate inference? Why, that being oppressed by business, and anxious to get through as much as possible, the Board, on a superficial examination of the documents before them, made up their minds as well as they could; and having done so, published in the *Gazette* what their determination was, and then proceeded to another case. Having in this way advertised their decisions in a great number of cases, they proceeded afterwards to draw up their Reports. In the meantime these decisions were criticised—their justice questioned. There arose, therefore, naturally a strong disposition on the part of the Board of Trade to make out as good a case as they could in favour of their own decisions. In one of the most important of these Reports, the whole argument was drawn obviously from a speech delivered at a public meeting some months ago by one of the promoters of a line. It was a statement ridiculously partial—open to answer in fifty places; but the obvious answers were left unnoticed, and this glaring *ex-parte* statement was adopted as being worthy of guiding the determination of the Board of Trade and of Parliament. But the blame of all this rested with themselves. Great mischief was, no doubt, done by these imperfect, unsatisfactory, and *ex-parte* Reports; but it was the House which was to blame. As had been admitted by an officer of the Board of Trade, it was physically impossible for that Board to enter into a close scrutiny of opposing statements, and draw up Reports in which all the facts established should have been sifted out from the mass of conflicting evidence. And indeed, when they looked back to the original Railway Report, they could not but be struck by its vague and unsatisfactory character. He admitted having been a consenting party to the adoption of the system recommended in that Report, not having very clearly perceived the inconveniences which would result from it. But be the blame whose it might, he thought that they had adopted most hastily and rashly the Report of the Committee on Railways; for when they agreed to the Standing Order now proposed to be rescinded, they did not think that they were investing the Board of Trade with such a power as that of virtually deciding on all the railway schemes which came within their notice. If they had, they would have proceeded much more cautiously. They would have limited the powers to be granted, and laid down some general rule for the guidance of those into whose hands those powers were to be put. But if they intended that the Reports of the Board of Trade should be used in some other way, they should have adopted precautions to prevent the public from being deceived by the notion that five subordinate Members of a Government Department, sitting almost in secret conclave, were to be allowed to dispose of property to such a vast extent. However, the mistake had been committed, and it was not easy to see how it could be remedied. He hoped, indeed, that Committees upon Bills would not take the Reports of the Board of Trade in favour of certain schemes for anything more than mere statements of the cases of the lines which they recommended. But if this was all that the Board had effected, the Gentlemen composing it had been put to much unnecessary trouble; inasmuch as solicitors and agents could have got up *ex-parte* statements just as well as the Board of Trade. If the Report were to have more authority than *ex-parte* statements, he wished to know how much more, and where the line limiting the degree of authority was to be drawn. The right hon. Gentleman the late President of the Board of Trade admitted that the Reports had gone further than Parliament had intended them to go. Now, he entertained great jealousy of a body of this sort going beyond the line of inquiry committed to them. The right hon. Gentleman had, indeed, contended that in acting as they had done, the Board could not have been actuated by mere abstract love of labour. He admitted that although there might be no such thing as abstract love of labour, there might be—whether abstract or not—a love of authority, which would lead those feeling it to go further than they ought, as in the case in question he believed that the Board of Trade had gone. He hoped that this discussion would neutralize any evil which might result from the mistake of last Session. It was admitted that the duty of Committees on Bills was to weigh well the Reports laid before them, to see how far the facts stated there were correct—not to take it for granted that the Board of Trade had made that examination, but to search for themselves. If such would be the case, no great evil would, perhaps, after all arise. But before they came to another Session, it was incumbent upon them to do one of two things, either to put an end to this system of the Board of Trade, or else clearly to define and describe the functions to be entrusted to it, and then to invest it with adequate powers for the performance of its varied duties. His own leaning was in favour of putting an end to the system altogether. It would always be a matter of difficulty to use the agency of any Department of Government in assisting Parliament in the discharge of its legislative functions, without allowing those whom they meant to be their servants to become substantially their masters, and the virtual authorities upon the subject. He concurred with the opinion so well expressed by the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government, that they should not allow such important functions to be transferred to other hands. He believed that the system of legislating for private business would, on the whole, with all its abuses, be infinitely better than the plan adopted in other countries of placing such business in the hands of the Executive Government. He believed that the latter system led to greater abuses and more dangerous corruption. We ought, however, to improve to the utmost the machinery of our private-business legislation. He trusted his hon. Friend would accede to the Amendment of the hon. Member for Weymouth; and by its adoption he was sure a circumstantial advantage would be gained.

Lord *G. Somerset* was glad to be able to concur in the latter observation of the noble Lord. He owned he was very much astonished at the misconception which prevailed as to the Reports of the Board of Trade; for although they were drawn up with great ability, and though in most instances he was inclined to agree with them, they were never looked on either by the Committee that recommended the appointment of this Department, or by the Board itself, as at all binding. He had always thought that many of the misapprehensions that prevailed in the public mind would have been removed, if the language of the Committee which appointed the Railroad Department of the Board of Trade had been referred to. That Committee merely pointed out the necessity of taking evidence and making a Report, without at all saying it should be decisive. He was perfectly incompetent at that time to determine whether the decisions of the Board of Trade were correct or not. The matters decided on would be subject of consideration by separate Committees, and it was not until those Committees had pronounced their opinions that he should be prepared to say how far the experiment had been successful. Every one of these Reports of the Board of Trade would be severely scrutinised by a competent tribunal. As to the objection that these Reports were not recognised, there was a Standing Order of July last, in which it was laid down "that such Reports should be referred to the Committee on the Bill." It was impossible to say that the Resolution constituting the Railway Department of the Board of Trade was adopted without full and fair consideration. To the Motion before the House he entertained decided objections. Though he did not agree with some of the Reports, he thought on the whole that by the end of the Session, after the investigation of the Committee, they would be found generally satisfactory.

Mr. *Hawes* said, nothing was more remarkable in the administration of the several Departments of our Government, than the purity of those connected with them. This was the only Department that had ever been suspected; and though he believed it had been very improperly suspected, still the suspicion, however groundless, was calculated to do harm. This Department should have been at all events careful as to the facts which it stated. But, as an instance of their mode of doing business, he might state that a more careless and inaccurate Report, and in which there were more important omissions, than the London, Croydon, and South Eastern Report, had never issued from any public body. He did not blame the tribunal itself so much; for he believed it was found utterly impossible to get through the mass of documents in many cases; and so overwhelming was the amount of business, that he understood one very able Member of the Board was completely knocked up. The noble Lord who last spoke said that the Railway Department of the Board of Trade had no power of deciding the questions which arose as to the various lines. How, then, was to be understood the language of the circular addressed to the agents of the various Bills? It was this:—

> "I am directed by the Lords of the Privy Council of Trade to call your attention to the course of proceeding as to the Railway Bills entrusted to your charge, and which will become necessary in order to give effect to the proposed supervision of the Board of Trade over such lines during their progress through Parliament."

Was it intended by this, that the Board of Trade should have the power of backing up their Reports by instructing the Members of the Committee that sat to examine, or employing agents for that purpose? Then the investigation took place with closed doors; and documents, which were often not accredited, through some inadvertence, were accepted by the Board of Trade after the notification as to a particular line in the *Gazette*. They often considered topics, too, which did not fairly come before them. In the Report as to the Newcastle and Berwick line, they went into the respective merits of the atmospheric and locomotive systems, showing they were decidedly biassed as to one in preference to the other. The best proof that the House was not satisfied with the reasons adduced by the Board of Trade was, that it had since appointed a Committee to collect information on this very subject. He confessed he rather gathered from the tone of the noble Lord (Lord G. Somerset) that some alteration was contemplated in this Board. If he were right, he hoped that Parliament would clearly define the duties to be performed by any Board hereafter appointed.

Mr. *B. Denison* did not wish to take any part in the discussion, connected as he was with the London and York Railway, which had been reported against by the Board of Trade, and he would rather have refrained from saying anything until after the Bill had been considered in Committee, where its merits could be fully discussed; but after the pointed allusion which had been made to him by the hon. Member for Finsbury, he could not help making two or three remarks. He certainly did say that he was in a condition to prove that four days before the decision of the Board of Trade was published, a report was circulated in the City, and letters went into the country, to the effect that the London and York line would be reported against, and that the Cambridge and Lincoln line would be favourably reported upon, and that a portion of the Direct Northern (and this was the most singular part of the matter) would also be favourably considered. This intelligence was circulated on the Saturday, and the decision was not given in the *Gazette* until the Tuesday following. It was an extraordinary thing how the Direct Northern should have retired from the contest, and consented to an amalgamation with another line, unless the Directors had known they were to be reported against. It was quite clear that they must have had some foreknowledge of the facts. If the Direct Northern had been reported against as a whole, that would have been intelligible; but he wanted to know how they could have ascertained that part of the line was to be reported on, unless they had received some communication from the Board of Trade on the subject. He had been in communication with these authorities, but merely laid certain statements before them without asking a single question, because he thought that improper. In his opinion the Board of Trade had far exceeded the powers intended to be given to it, and had in many respects lowered itself in public estimation by the inconsistency of its Reports. The London and York Report was quite inconsistent in various parts. It would have been much better if the Board had confined itself to the written statements sent in to them; but unfortunately, the officers of the Board had entered into conversation with different parties, in consequence of which those parties had been induced to go into the City, and speculate for or against railroads. He submitted that the decision in the *Gazette* and the Report ought to have come out simultaneously. There was no doubt that parties did go to the Board of Trade and make representations respecting lines which had been gazetted, in consequence of which alterations were made in the Reports. With respect to the documents that had been laid before the Board of Trade, he thought the public ought to be allowed to inspect them, because he believed in some cases they would contain the very language which had been adopted in the Reports. He knew an instance of one gentleman complaining to another of the inaccuracy of a Report; on which the latter said, "For Heaven's sake don't decry it, for I drew it up myself." He thought the exertions of the Board of Trade would have been very beneficial if they had confined themselves to a classification of the Bills, leaving the Committees to decide upon their merits; but his conviction was that the Reports of the Board of Trade would in many instances puzzle the Members who constituted the Committees, instead of assisting them. He thought it would be much better for the Committees to deal with the groups of Bills themselves, and relieve the Board of Trade from the irksome duty imposed upon them, which they had so unsatisfactorily discharged.

Sir *G. Strickland* said, that the whole Rules and Orders and mode of legislation on this subject, were in a deplorable state of confusion. To both landed proprietors and to speculators in railroads, the greatest injustice was done by the legislation of that House. The Reports of the Board of Trade, from their mistaken mode of proceeding, had greatly aggravated this injustice; and he trusted that the House would not separate this year without considering what were the rules and regulations and orders, in order materially to revise them. It was evident that the rage for making railroads was increasing; and next year they would be overwhelmed with railroad schemes. He believed that the public was dissatisfied with the Reports of the Board of Trade; and the impression was that it had lost sight of the public interest in sanctioning railroads, which had given too much weight and power to the existing railroad monopolies, in order to increase their profits. They had generally set their faces against private and new speculations, in favour of those which were brought forward to aggrandize existing railroad companies. He was sorry to say that he thought the Reports of the Board of Trade would throw no light upon the subject; and in his opinion the Committees on the various Bills would be still less able to do justice to the public interest than they would have done had the Reports never existed. The general rule proposed to be enforced with respect to the railway profits was, that wherever they exceeded 10 per cent. the public was to reap the benefit of the surplus by the reduction of the fares; but, in order to evade this regulation, the railway companies threw out branch railroad schemes, not with the expectation of deriving any profit from them, but in order to spread the surplus profit of the original line over these new lines; so that it was not so much a question whether these branch lines were absolutely wanted, as whether it suited the interests of the companies to construct them; and the Railway Department of the Board of Trade had, in the vast majority of instances, decided in favour of these branch roads. He, therefore, felt justified in asserting that, by their proceedings, the Railroad Department of the Board of Trade was cutting up the country in all directions by sanctioning these branch lines, which he felt convinced would never pay one shilling of profit on the capital expended, but would merely enable the old companies, by whom they were constructed, to avoid lowering their rates of transit charges, by expending the surplus above the 10 per cent., yielded by the old lines in bringing the rate of profit on the branch lines up to the 10 per cent. guaranteed to the shareholders. The noble Lord (Lord G. Somerset) had expressed his desire to suspend his judgment on the different railway projects until they came under the consideration of the Committee. He (Sir G. Strickland) wished to draw attention to the effect which this mode of proceeding would have. He would suppose that one of these branch railways went through the property of some one who was not an affluent man The company offers him a small or rather an inadequate compensation, with which he is dissatisfied. How does the matter work? The noble Lord said the decision would be deferred until the railway project came before the Committee. But then the person whose property was thus inadequately compensated for was not able to go before the Committee to oppose the Bill because of the expense, and therefore the branch railway would succeed in passing through the ordeal of an examination before the Parliamentary Committee, especially if the Board of Trade had already reported in its favour. For the reasons he had assigned he highly approved of the hon. Member's Amendment; and he trusted, before the next Session of Parliament, the Reports of the Railway Department of the Board of Trade would be entirely put a stop to.

Mr. *Banks* said, that the impressions created in his mind by an attentive consideration of the Reports of the Railway Board had led him to form the same conclusions to which the hon. Baronet who spoke last had come—namely, that the Railway Board had almost invariably given a preference to the existing rich and powerful companies, and had thus thrown a damp over the projects of new companies; in many respects he considered this to be highly injurious, by arresting free competition; and likewise, extremely prejudicial to the interests of individuals. There was also another injurious effect resulting from giving so decided a preference to the old companies, namely, that the complaints and remonstrances of individuals against the new lines projected had far less hope of obtaining that fair attention to which they were entitled, when they came in competition with the old and powerful companies, than they would have had were they directed against new companies. He thought the Board of Trade had greatly exceeded the powers intrusted to it by the House, and this in more respects than one. He held in his hand a Report issued with respect to the Great Western line, by which the Members of the Railway Board not only assumed the power of sanctioning a junction formed by this company with another railway company; but they also constituted themselves umpires in case any dispute should arise between the two companies thus coalescing. Now, no such power as was arrogated had been granted to that Board by the House, and moreover it appeared that the Railway Committee of the Board of Trade considered itself to be a regularly constituted permanent authority. If it did not so consider itself, how could its Members assume the power of deciding upon the future quarrels of companies? The whole proceedings of that Board had tended to throw additional power into the hands of companies already extremely powerful, by which means the complaints and remonstrances of those whose property was injured or depreciated by the railway operations, did not meet with that attention or obtain that redress which they would have received from smaller and less powerful companies. He held in his hand a statement containing grave matter of complaint against one of the railway companies. The complaint proceeded from a person of rank, and it had already been made the subject of comment in another place. He would merely state what its nature was at that moment, as he was sure the House would receive it with attention. The complainant was a lady of high rank, Lady Georgiana Fane, who resided in the mansion of her ancestors, near which one of the projected lines of railway was to pass. Unhappily for this lady, she was in this case opposed to one of the powerful companies, and they made a boast that they could command a hundred votes in that House. They had, by this statement, obtained the assent of a number of the proprietors through whose lands their line passed, who were alarmed and intimidated. But the lady in question would not assent to a proceeding so injurious to her house and property. He would cite one of the allegations of her petition, which at a future day he should ask leave to lay on the Table. The petitioner stated, that at the latter end, about the 25th, of January last, an agent called and showed her the plans and maps of the projected railway, and stated at the same time that no deviation would be allowed of a greater extent than 100 yards on either side of the line, of which he then gave her notice; and he was at that time informed that the petitioner would never consent to a line which approached so near her mansion. The petitioner went on to state, that on the same day on which she had expressed her dislike of this proposed line of railway, the agent called on one of her tenants, who declared his intention of being guided by his landlady's wishes, and who was induced to sign a paper upon its being represented to him that his landlady had given her assent to the line—she having expressed her strong dissent from it that very morning. He had referred to the petition in question, as he understood the proceeding therein complained of was an every-day occurrence; but the answer made by the railway companies to this lady's complaint was, "Oh! she must get used to railways as others have done." He was quite ready to admit that the rank or station of the lady in question made no sort of difference in the facts; nay, more, he would recall an observation made by the right hon. Gentleman the late President of the Board of Trade, who said that one advantage which would result from the Reports of the Railway Board was, that they would be sifted before the Committees by the wealth that was ranged on opposite sides. But there was in many instances no wealth to sift these Reports. It was quite true the case to which he had just referred was one wherein a person of rank and wealth was the complainant; but how many cases of similar oppression and injustice were there in which neither wealth nor rank could be brought to the assistance of the injured party? All these evils resulted from giving a monopoly of the lines of railway to large and wealthy companies, who could muster, as they boasted, a hundred votes in that House. In the light in which he had exhibited it, the Railway Department of the Board of Trade had proved injurious to the individuals whose property was affected by the great lines of railroad, and not beneficial to the country. What the companies chiefly, indeed solely, considered, was the benefits which they should reap, and not those which the country would derive from their operations. He would cite another instance of a different character to the one he had referred to as exhibiting the nature of the railway companies' proceedings. It happened, that on the same line of railway as the one already alluded to by him, the property of a gentleman of rank and station was affected to a very considerable degree. He accordingly set about meeting the company, and in a manner much more effectual. He had their surveyor taken up under the Wilful Trespass Act, who was fined 5*l.* This prompt and vigorous proceeding alarmed the company; and when they came to recollect that this gentleman had connexions in that and the other House of Parliament, they consented to make a very considerable deviation from their originally projected line, which put them to a considerable expense. But with respect to the lady to whom he had referred, he must observe that there was this peculiarity about her case to those of others similarly circumstanced, that she had had no notice of the line of railway until January—just sufficient to legalize the proceedings in that House. She, therefore, had not had time to take any steps to oppose the company, and she had no other resource than to throw herself upon the mercy of the Committee, which he trusted would pay that attention to her remonstrances, and do her that justice, which her case called for. It was, he must say, one of those cases which were marked by great hardship, for a deviation of half a mile only would remove her objection entirely to the line; whereas, not only had this slight accommodation been refused, but she had met with insult when she remonstrated with the company. Under the circumstances, he rejoiced that the discussion had taken place, and he was convinced that the more the nature of the proceedings of the Railway Board were considered, the greater would be the difficulty in deciding as to what the functions and duties of that body really were. All he could say with respect to the results which had attended the constitution and the proceedings of the Board was, that the 21st day of April had arrived, and yet there had only been that morning for the first time instituted three Railway Committees.

Mr. *Colquhoun* said, that as an allusion had been made to him by the right hon Gentleman the Member for Newark, he would beg permission to make a very few observations on the subject under discussion. It certainly was very true that last Session he had expressed an opinion favourable to the Railway Committee of the Board of Trade; but he must say that, after hearing the discussion of that evening, and after listening to the speech of the right hon. Baronet the Vice-President of the Board of Trade, he no longer entertained that opinion. For even the noble Lord the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster was so doubtful on the point, as to have asked the House to suspend its opinion until the Reports of the Railway Board came under the consideration of the Committees of the House. For his own part, he was by no means sure if it was possible for any preliminary inquiry to be such as would prove satisfactory to all parties; for what was it that the Board of Trade was called upon to do? There were about 200 Bills placed before it; and without examining any one of the parties, without any evidence, with difficulties to wade through which were very great, and with questions of the most perplexed nature, such as would puzzle the brains of the Committees which confined their attention to only one Bill, with all the aid of counsel and witnesses, the Railway Board came to decisions which they qualified as accurate, and pronounced their opinions upon the conflicting lines in the most positive and authoritative terms. He had always understood the Railway Department of the Board of Trade to have been constituted for the purpose of offering suggestions only to the Committees on the Bills. But they did not confine themselves to that occupation. They pronounced their peremptory decisions by the medium of the *Gazette*, and these decisions often preceded the Reports by several weeks. These decisions had produced an effect in the money-market that it was not too much to state gave rise to dangerous speculations. Indeed, unless their reports and decisions were founded on larger views and more general principles, not the smallest benefit could be expected from them. In many instances so narrow were the grounds of the decisions as to be quite at variance with the other reasons for portions of the same line of railway pronounced upon. His attention had been called to one of the Reports from the Board of Trade in which a certain set of gradients were laid down—it was on the Birmingham and Gloucester line; and he found it stated in the evidence of one of the engineers—a man of skill and eminence—that the part of the line to which the gradients applied would be rendered quite dangerous thereby in consequence of the declivity. Such discrepancies as these greatly shook his confidence in the decisions of the Board; nor did he think the Committees on the Railway Bills would be much assisted by them. He thanked the hon. Member for Finsbury for having brought the subject before the House in a tangible form; and although he thought that the hon. Member was quite right in withdrawing his Motion in favour of the Amendment, he considered that great benefit would result from the discussion.

Mr. *T. Duncombe* said, he was happy to give his assent to the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Weymouth, the more so as it was one of the Resolutions which it had been his intention to move on Tuesday; and, consequently, its adoption that evening would save him and the House some trouble. At the same time, he must observe that the right hon. Baronet (Sir G. Clerk) had not given any distinct or intelligible answer to a question which he had put to him, and which his hon. Friend the Member for Lambeth had reiterated, namely, what degree of authority was to be given to the circular issued by the Railway Board to all the Parliamentary agents, whereby that Board assumed to itself the power of supervision over the Railway Bills whilst going through Parliament. He wished to know by what right the Board of Trade demanded that a printed copy of every Amendment in Committee should be deposited by the agents of the Bill at the office of the Railway Department of the Board of Trade at least three clear days before the Report should be brought up and received by the House. He wanted to know whence the Board of Trade derived their right to call upon the agents for a copy of the Bill as amended by a Committee of that House. He maintained that the Board of Trade had the single duty to perform of examining all railway projects previous to their entering the House, and to give such suggestions as they might think right, founded upon the facts before them. The moment they had made their Report and had laid it on the Table, their functions ceased—they had no right to go before the Committees; much less had they a right to order copies of the recommendations agreed to that they might have a "supervision" over the Bills. Such a word was an assumption of power, and a very impertinent assumption of power, and he wanted to know what they meant by it, and whether the right hon. Baronet did claim for the Board of Trade any right of supervision during the progress of Railway Bills through Parliament? It was strange that some twenty Gentlemen should have spoken in the course of that discussion, and that not one had risen to uphold the Reports of the Board of Trade. They had indeed been told, on the contrary, that their Reports should have no more weight with the Committee than the paper on which they were written; and that appeared to be about their value. He was very glad that this discussion had taken place, as it would show to the public the real value of those Reports. The private business of that House had been thrown back at least for a full month waiting for those

Reports, and now they were worth nothing. With the leave of the House he would withdraw his original Motion and accept the Amendment in its place.

Sir *G. Clerk* said, that the word "supervision" was that which had been used by the Committee of that House in determining what powers should be intrusted to the Board of Trade. One of their duties was to consider the different schemes previous to their introduction into the House; and another was, to watch the Bills themselves, that they might point out to the House any clauses that might be desirable to insert, and prevent the insertion of improper clauses. It was necessary to that end that they should have the power complained of by the hon. Member.

Mr. *T. Duncombe* hoped the Parliamentary agents would not comply with the request of the Board then. Such an order could only come with propriety from that House. If he moved an Amendment to any one of those Bills, was the Board of Trade to send down to the agents for it to see whether it squared with their views? He considered it to be a gross infringement of their rights as Members of that House.

Motion withdrawn, and Amendment agreed to.

MAYNOOTH COLLEGE.] On the Order of the Day for going into Committee to vote the Maynooth College Grant out of the Consolidated Fund,

Sir *R. Inglis* said: I trust, Sir, I shall be excused for calling, not your attention, but that of Her Majesty's Ministers, to the clock. I ask whether it be fitting that the most important stage in this Bill should be commenced at the present hour? The question at issue is whether the Consolidated Fund of England shall be charged in perpetuity with the amount which Her Majesty's Ministers propose for the maintenance of the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth. I ask this House, and especially I ask Her Majesty's Ministers, whether it be fit to commence such a measure at such an hour as the present? I believe that many Gentlemen—one I know on the opposite side of the House has done so—have expressed an opinion that it is impossible to commence such a discussion at such a time. I, therefore, must resist the pressing forward of this measure at this hour, and I hope it will not be necessary for me to resist it in any other way than by appealing to the right feeling of my right hon. Friend. It is now a quarter past ten o'clock, and I feel that it would be unworthy the magnitude of the subject and of the sense that the people entertain of it, at such a time to commence this discussion. I trust that Her Majesty's Ministers will not rely solely upon their numerical majority, but will yield to what I think is a most reasonable request on my part.

Sir *R. Peel* said: I sincerely regret that my hon. Friend makes any objection to the progress of this Bill. I did understand from an hon. Gentleman who has given notice of a Motion on this subject, that he should hardly think it his duty to bring forward his Motion at a later hour than ten o'clock, and I may as well tell my hon. Friend that I do not mean to give him the advantage of the opportunity of saying that I have hurried on this business unnecessarily; but I do at the same time think, considering that the measure is now introduced, and considering the manner in which it has been received, that it is of vital importance that no delay should take place. I may say also that no effort on my part shall be wanting to conduct it to a successful issue. With the exception of business of pressing importance to the Public Service, I will not bring forward any Government measure until it shall have been disposed of. I shall, of course, fulfil the pledge which I gave—not for seeing the extent of the opposition which this measure has met with—to the Members representing Scotland, and on Friday next state to the House the general outline of the measure which it is the intention of the Government to propose with respect to banking in that country, in order that those hon. Members may have an opportunity of considering it. I am sorry I was obliged to give that pledge, but I should be also sorry to break it, and I therefore feel myself compelled to adopt the course I have stated. Trusting that those hon. Members will be satisfied with the announcement of the general principles of the measure, and content to reserve the discussion of it for a future occasion, I therefore propose that we shall enter into a Committee upon this vote on the earliest day I can propose, namely, Wednesday next. At the same time I have no power to compel Gentlemen who have notices for that day in reference to Bills undertaken by individuals, to give me precedence. If they are willing to wave their right in that respect, I shall certainly avail myself of the permission, and bring forward this measure on Wednesday; if unwilling then, I must only bring it forward on Friday immediately after I shall have given an outline of the measure affecting the banks of Ireland and Scotland. But I repeat, that no effort upon my part shall be wanting, to advance the measure now before the House with the utmost expedition.

Mr. *Hindley* thanked the right hon. Baronet for giving way on this occasion, and considering the measure to be of a highly injurious character, he should oppose it to the utmost; at the same time he was sure the right hon. Baronet would not injure his own cause by not proceeding with that indecent haste which he had attempted on a former occasion. Those who opposed this measure, had been charged with bigotry; but he had just as much right to make a charge of robbery against those who supported it. If, as a Dissenter, he was obliged to support his own church, to build his own chapels, and to endow his own colleges, he asked what right the Government had to put their hands into his pockets and make him pay for a religion which he did not approve of? He did not wish to speak disrespectfully of his Roman Catholic fellow-subjects. Their cause, and the cause of the Irish people, he had at all times promoted by his votes in that House. As far as regarded civil privileges, he should continue to do so; but he thought it extremely uncivil that they should desire to put their hands into his pockets for the support of their religion.

Sir *R. Peel* hoped that if the consideration of the measure was to be postponed, hon. Members would not now attempt to raise a discussion on it.

Viscount *Howick* regretted that they could not at all events commence the discussion that evening. However, as the right hon. Baronet thought it better to yield, he had nothing more to say upon the point. But he could not help suggesting to the right hon. Gentlemen that the Scotch Representatives would, he thought, be very willing to relieve him from the pledge which he had given to begin the business of Friday by a general statement of his plan respecting Scotch banks, if he would consent to postpone his measure upon the subject to another Session. He was prepared to support the right hon. Baronet in all his measures upon the subject, his opinions being much the same as those upon which the right hon. Baronet founded his measure of last year; but, looking to the mass of business upon the books, and to the certainty that they should soon, perhaps immediately after Whitsuntide, begin the process of lopping off Bills, he would ask, whether they might not consider this Scotch measure as one of those which had better be reserved for another Session? He could not help thinking that the remedy which the right hon. Baronet wished to apply to the evils existing in the currency of Scotland, was not pressingly required at this moment, and that probably a little longer experience of the working of the English measure might facilitate in a future year the passing of a measure with respect to Scotland and Ireland. It was clear that if the right hon. Baronet proceeded with his intended measure, it would be met by a vast amount of opposition. They all knew that when hon. Gentlemen began to talk about paper money it was not easy to foresee when they would stop; and looking to the Maynooth and other momentous questions to be disposed of in the present Session, he strongly recommended the right hon. Baronet to postpone his banking measure, and proceed with that now before the House on Friday.

Sir *R. Peel* thought there could be no objection to his stating the nature of the measure, which included Ireland as well as Scotland, on Friday next; particularly as he did not feel it consistent with his duty to comply with the request of the noble Lord.

Order of the Day read and postponed.

CUSTOMS' (IMPORT DUTIES) BILL).] The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved that the Customs' Import Duties Bill be read a third time.

Mr. *Kemble* rose to call the attention of the House to the case of the holders of staves on which the duty had been paid in the bonding warehouses on the 14th of February, and not since removed. He insisted upon the grievance sustained by those parties who still held staves on which they had paid the duty, in being brought into competition with the holders of staves which had been imported since the duty had been removed. He considered that their claims to a return of the duty rested on the same grounds with the claims lately set up by the holders of sugar. Indeed, their case was stronger; for it was evident to every body that the Sugar Duties would be altered this year, whereas the duty on staves had been so lately altered by the Tariff in 1842, that no one could suppose a second alteration would take place within so short a period. There could be no fear of fraud in this case, because relief was only asked for those who had their goods under the Queen's lock; and, as the principle had so lately been admitted in the case of the Sugar Duties, he trusted no objection would be made to the relief in this case.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, the House would recollect, when the propriety of allowing a drawback on the sugar was under consideration, he stated that it would give rise to applications from every person having goods in bond where the duties had been reduced. Notwithstanding, the House thought that sugar was an article on which they ought to make an exception; they did it principally on this ground, that the time fixed for the expiration of the Sugar Duties had been anticipated by about three months. He was not disposed to acquiesce in the proposition of his hon. Friend with respect to staves, because there was no peculiarity in the article which did not apply to others where the duties had been reduced. There was this peculiarity also against a return of the duty—that the coopers themselves urged the abolition of the duty; now, a certain number of them came forward to get a return of the duty upon their stocks in the Queen's warehouses; thus obtaining a preference over those who had taken their goods out of bond. On these grounds he could not accede to the proposition.

Mr. *Hawes* said, the application was made, not by the coopers, but by merchants who had bonded staves for the use of the coopers. He thought that wherever it was possible to estimate the loss, and the goods were in the state in which they were unsorted, Government ought to allow the drawback.

Mr. *Hume* said, that when the Government undertook a great measure like the present, they ought to act upon general principles, not to favour one party because they had powerful advocates in this House, and oppose those who were weakly supported. The speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not rest upon any principle, and it was against all the precedents that had been established for the last sixty years. The precedent was, that whenever Government abolished duty on goods, they relieved those goods that were previously liable to duty wherever it could be done. [The *Chancellor of the Exchequer:* Never.] That was invariably the case. He would challenge the right hon. Gentleman to name an instance to the contrary. Whenever goods were under the lock and key of the Excise Office that was done; and those goods being under lock and key of the Customs, he did not see that there was any difference.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, what the hon. Member had stated was quite true of the Excise, but not of the Customs; and, for this simple reason, that when the duties were increased, the increase was not laid upon the goods in bond. The principle had only been violated in the case of sugar, and that for the special reason he had mentioned.

Mr. *Gladstone* said, the analogy that had been attempted to be drawn between this case and the wholesale dealers in sugar would not hold, for he recollected that in that case the remission of the duties was forced upon the Government, not simply on the ground that it was impossible to commit fraud, though that was a necessary part of the case, but on the ground that the alteration of the Sugar Duties took place three months earlier than parties could have anticipated. It appeared to him that the House was treading on slippery ground in discussing a question of this kind. In 1842, a large number of sweeping reductions were made without affording any relief to a single party. It appeared to him that the Motion of the hon. Member, under the colour of equity and kindness, would yet, if adopted, give rise to infinite embarrassment.

Sir *Robert Peel* was altogether opposed to the principle of allowing drawbacks in any case. The general rule on the remission of Customs' duties ought to be to make them without compensation to any parties. The hon. Member for Montrose had warned them of the evil of giving way to powerful interests, and not giving weak ones the same advantage. Now it happened that they were resisting the claims of the wholesale importers of staves, because they knew it would injuriously affect the interests of coopers and small dealers, who had already paid the duty for staves, and used them so soon as they were imported. There had been a great outcry against the duty on staves. It was said, "Repeal the duty, remove the restriction, and the trade will flourish." Well, they had removed the duty, and the parties in that trade would, of course, derive the benefit of it. As a general rule, the importer should take the increased trade consequent on the decreased duty as a compensation for any small additional cost he might have paid for the article as duty before its reduction. In the case of the holders of bonded sugar there was a peculiarity, which distinguished it from the present case of the holders of staves. The Sugar Duties were imposed annually, and according to the Act of Parliament those duties would not have expired until the month of July, so that the parties importing sugar had a right to calculate that the duties would continue until that period. But even in the case of the Sugar Duties, the allowance of a drawback was a measure rather forced upon the Government than as one proceeding from them, as it was in opposition to the general rule, which he considered it was always desirable, if possible, to adhere to.

Bill read a third time and passed.

PHYSIC AND SURGERY.] Sir *J. Graham* said he intended to make certain alterations in the Physic and Surgery Bill, which then stood for its Second Reading, but he was not prepared to state what they were, arrangements being still pending with regard to them. Considering the state of the Session, he wished to make some progress with the Bill, and, though he did not think it right to press the second reading of either the Physic and Surgery Bill or of the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons Bill that night, he proposed to fix the second reading positively for Friday next; and he trusted that then the House would allow him to take the second reading of the two Bills. On a subsequent night he should propose to go into Committee *pro formâ*, in order that he might introduce into the Bills all the alterations and amendments which he had in contemplation. He should next move, on an early day after the Whitsuntide holidays, that the House should go again into Committee, for the purpose of discussing the details of the Bills.

Mr. *Wakley* said, that until the alterations were made, they did not know what they had to discuss. There was much anxiety felt on this subject, in consequence of the profession considering that there was a great disagreement between the speech made by the right hon. Gentleman and the Bill he introduced. They did not consider that the right hon. Gentleman had carried out his own views in his own Bill; and one of his correspondents had suggested that perhaps the right hon. Gentleman, in taking out a Bill from one of his official pigeonholes, had hit upon a wrong Bill. He understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that before Whitsuntide he would go into Committee upon the Bills *pro formâ*, and that then he would have them printed, so that they might be in a perfect state in the hands of the profession. If the profession had an opportunity of considering them for a fortnight or three weeks after the alterations were made, he (Mr. Wakley) should have no objection to this arrangement.

Bills postponed.

House adjourned at twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, April 22, 1845.

MINUTES.] BILLS. *Public.*—$1^{a.}$ Customs (Import Duties); Oaths Dispensation; Church Buildings Act Amendment.

$3^{a.}$ and passed:—Railway Clauses Consolidation; Lands Clauses Consolidation; Lands Clauses Consolidation (Scotland); Railway Clauses Consolidation (Scotland).

Private.—$1^{a.}$ Devonport Gas; Plymouth and Stonehouse Gas; Bradford Gas; Molyneux's Estate.

Reported. – Kingston-upon-Hull Docks.

PETITIONS PRESENTED. By Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishops of Winchester, and Chester, Earl of Enniskillen, and Marquess of Aylesbury, from Clergy and others of Clapham, and several other places, against Increase of Grant to Maynooth College.—From Derryvullan, for Encouragement to Schools in connexion with Church Education Society (Ireland).—By Lord Stanley, from Bedford, in favour of Increase of Grant to Maynooth College.—From Little Eaton, for the better Observance of the Sabbath.—By Earl of Auckland, from Schoolmasters of Dunfermline, for Improving their Condition.—By Bishop of Chester, from Clergy and others of Pontesbury, Castleton, and Llanelly, against the Union of St. Asaph and Bangor.—From Clergy and others of Dursley, and 5 other places, against the Union of St. Asaph and Bangor, but in favour of the Appointment of a Bishop of Manchester.—From Dundee, for the Suppression of Intemperance, especially on the Sabbath.—From Landowners and others of Chepstowe, for Protection to Agriculture.—From Tradesmen of Chepstowe, for Repeal of the 57th Clause of the Insolvent Debtors Act, except as to Debts not exceeding *5l.*

RAILWAY CLAUSES CONSOLIDATION BILL.] The Earl of *Dalhousie* moved the Third Reading.

Lord *Brougham* said, he had so often had occasion to address their Lordships in reference to railway legislation, that he would only occupy their attention for a short time on the present occasion. The course they were now pursuing had from small beginnings waxed exceedingly great, and almost overpowering. The great mischiefs of that course were, in his opinion, twofold. First, the very great and almost unavoidable haste and want of due deliberation with which the several measures were of necessity carried through the different branches of the Legislature, inasmuch as it was impossible physically for those branches of the Legislature, the two Houses of Parliament, to bestow the requisite attention either to the principle or the details of each measure, when there were 240 of those Railway Bills at one and the same time before them; the consequence was very great haste, inattention, error, and inaccuracy, and above all, very great injustice to the individuals concerned in the progress of those lines. Now, the remedy suggested for this was of two kinds; the one was the constitution of what was called the Railway Board, and the other the consideration, systematically, of the general principles of Railway Bills, as in the Bill before their Lordships; but which Bill his noble Friend (the Earl of Dalhousie) would admit had never been opened or discussed upon principle, that having been put off from time to time till the present moment, when it had reached its last stage. [" Hear, hear."] He had no recollection of the Bill ever having been discussed in any former stage; if so, he must have been absent. Those two remedies for the haste and inattention which seemed to be thought inevitable in order to facilitate the passing of Railway Bills, were not sufficient. He pretended not to say, nor at any time had he said, that there should be no Board of the nature of the Railway Board, that there should be nobody to consider the Bills which were proposed in rapid succession, apart from Parliament, and to aid and assist Parliament, preparing the ground, as it were, for the diligence of Parliament. On the contrary, he felt from the beginning that, if possible, some exceedingly advantageous consequences might arise from that course being taken. He by no means pretended to say, that there should not be selected a number of principles applicable to cases of this sort, and that those principles having been duly considered, then they should frame a Bill, as the Consolidation Clauses Bill now before their Lordships. But it was to the mode in which this was done that he objected. His opinion had been that nothing worse could be contrived than that tribunal commonly called the " Railway Board." He did not mean to say, that it ought not to be connected with the Board of Trade. He did not mean to say, that the individual under whom the Board was placed, his noble Friend opposite, was not admirably calculated to hold that office, not only from his excellent talents, but from his situation as President of the Board of Trade. No doubt his noble Friend had exerted himself with the greatest possible diligence; and that he had had thrown upon him a greater amount of business, of extra business, and of extraordinary business, not formerly belonging to his department, than ever was by any arrangement of business thrown upon any Member of the State, all of a sudden. But, though this mass of business had been cast upon his noble Friend the President of the Board of Trade, over and above the business of that Board, he had conducted it most cheerfully and with great diligence. But, while he admitted this, he must add to the admission one of the great reasons why he thought this arrangement a bad one; it was, that the addition of this great amount of business must needs have overwhelmed the Board, and have given rise to arrangements which could hardly have been avoided; such as no person having a great deal to do and a great number of cases to decide could possibly get through. No astronomer would deny that there were only twenty-four hours in the day in the year 1845, any more than he would have done in the year 1835. Consequently, it was utterly and physically impossible, that the Board could have examined the evidence in each of those cases; and yet, in order to help the House of Commons, to be ancillary to that House, to be of any use to that House, they must have examined all the cases, and the whole of each case. But then he was told, " They don't examine the whole case; they only examine one party—the projectors of the railway." Then how could they be of any assistance to the House of Commons, which was bound to examine all parties? The fact was, that the help thus given was the help of the blind man to the seeing man. It was not the blind leading the blind; that was absurd enough in itself; but it was the blind leading the seeing person. The House of Commons saw the whole of it; the Board of Trade saw half; and yet the half-seeing Board of Trade was to help the whole-seeing House of Commons. But how was it with respect to justice? Great interests were determined by the Board of Trade. It was said they were not to decide cases. But then it was confessed, that if they gave their consent to a Bill, it was 100 to one that it would pass; and if they decided against a Bill, it was 100 to one that the Bill would not pass. That was very nearly a decision, if not quite one; for it greatly influenced the decision of the House of Commons; and if it did not influence their decision one way or the other, it did very little or no good. If the Board was to go through one-tenth of the business, he did not see how they could be of much assistance to those who were to go through the nine-tenths and the other tenth besides. He confessed he was totally unacquainted with the subject; but that was the view which a rude and unenlightened person took of it. But this was the way in which property was injured. A shareholder might invest 100,000*l.* in a railway; a speculator not as many pence. All speculations, no doubt, were objects of care. But their shares when the Report of the Board was made in favour of the Bill might mount up 10 per cent.; or should the Report be against it they might tumble down 10 per cent. So that the Railway Board was of consequence, dealing with the value of a man's property, and large sums of money were at their mercy. Then it was curious to observe, that the judge who was to decide on a Railway Bill, in which he might be concerned to the extent of 100,000*l.*, was to hear only one party; not him, nor his advocate—not the friend of the Railway Bill, but the enemy. Suppose he (Lord Brougham) were a proprietor—which he never was of anything of the sort—of a railway going to the southern direction in competition with the South-Eastern Railway, and had a great number of important reasons to urge against the South-Eastern; and, if allowed, could probably destroy all chance of the South-Eastern being accepted, he would not be permitted to urge even one tittle of evidence or of his objections against the Bill. The only person who would be heard was the projector of the South-Eastern Railway; but, had his objections been heard, they would have prevailed; had his evidence, it would have prevailed; but only the evidence for the South-Eastern must be taken, and then a vote in favour of that line must be passed, and then down must tumble stock in the new railway, the competing line, as it was called. Yet had he been heard, he should have proved against his adversary, who would have been postponed. That was an odd sort of way of dealing with the rights of property; that the Railway Board should hear only one side, and decide in favour of the heard party, and against the unheard party. This was, indeed, a very dangerous precedent, though it came from a high authority, a Sovereign, a royal author, an eminent author, King James I., who once went into a court of law. The Chief Justice allowed him to take possession of his seat, but the King was a little surprised when he was told that he might dispense with giving any decision on the case under hearing; he was surprised that he should sit there and not have the opportunity of deciding and showing his ability. After hearing the arguments on one side he said his mind was made up. Then came the other side, after hearing which, he declared it to be one of the most troublesome, disagreeable, and useless things that could be, for it was much easier to decide on hearing one side only, than to be plagued, and troubled, and pestered with the other arguments. So it was with the Railway Board; they "might go further and fare worse," as His Majesty said, and so he did. The Board was ordered to be kept in the dark itself, for the purpose of assisting the House of Commons; for the purpose of doing justice to the parties they were to hear only one side, and then they were called upon to report their opinions to the honourable the House of Commons, and the right honourable the House of Peers. There was another curious contrivance in that dark and invisible tribunal. Much depended upon the state of the votes; because the opinion of the Railway Board was wanted to go to the House of Commons. Now, suppose the Members of the Board should be divided, three against two. He might be permitted to say, that he had known instances even in that House—perhaps he might find one that very night—where the minority was right and the majority wrong; and he confessed that he had yet as much to learn of the infallibility of majorities as he had to learn of that of a certain foreign bishop. He said that with the greatest possible respect to some of his noble Friends; but he must repeat, that he had yet to learn the necessary infallibility of majorities. He had known a majority of 300 to 200, which was in the same proportion as three to two; and yet the 200 were right. That was proved by the majority afterwards coming round to the opinion of the minority—as on the question of Catholic Emancipation, for instance. [The *Marquess of Lansdowne* was here understood to remark that the contrary was sometimes the case.] That might be so; but it was quite clear that it was a very material thing to ascertain whether a minority was right or wrong. It was very material to those who were guided in their opinions by the Board to know whether they were unanimous, or whether the Bill was not carried by a very narrow division. But what if it were two and two, which happened in that very case of the South-Eastern Railway? The Chairman having a casting vote, voted twice, and the others voted once. In point of voting that was decisive; but in point of authority it was no decision at all. Another thing was, that every Member of the Board signed the Report, as though the whole of them were of the same opinion. That was not fair; it was not fair to the other party, because it tended to make it appear that the party had been defeated by the unanimous voice of the Board. It was not fair to the House of Commons, whose opinions it was intended the Board should aid, because it tended to show them what was contrary to the fact—namely, that all the five Members, or four Members, as the case might be, had all agreed; whereas they had differed by the smallest and narrowest majority of three to two, and by no majority in other cases without the casting vote of the Chairman. Nothing was more improper and unnecessary than that such a rule should be laid down by the Railway Board; nothing could be more unsatisfactory. He might be told that it was the common course, that the Admiralty orders and the Treasury orders were signed by the whole of the Members of the respective Boards, as if they were all agreed. Why, in the first place, he had never heard that there was any tendency to a difference of opinion in those Boards; he had always believed them to be a very reasonable, tractable set of people. But in the second place, what possible similarity was there between the Railway Board, which was a tribunal to give an opinion upon facts laid before it, and those Boards, who merely signed an executive order? No doubt orders for a ship to sail, or a regiment to be set in motion, were given unanimously. But in the other case it might just as well be said that a judgment was unanimously given by five lawyers, three being of one opinion and two of another. Therefore he held this constitution of the Board to be eminently little calculated to attain the object intended. He should abstain from entering into other topics; but he must not omit to notice the secrecy of this Board giving rise to speculation, or gambling, or even to actual jobbing, or at all events to great suspicion of jobbing; and they would never eradicate that from men's minds as long as that tribunal was secret. In an open court all that passed would be seen by every one. No man could run into society and entrap his neighbour, and influence the market by what he had picked up with respect to the probable disposition of the Board. No man could then cheat another—for really it amounted to cheatery—of his property by false reports. No man could overreach his neighbour in the purchase, and sale, and traffic of shares. No doubt the tendency of an open court would be to lead to much greater delay than a secret court would. But perhaps the delay would be wholesome; perhaps the rapidity was bad. Perhaps the greatest mischief was done through the public not being in full possession of the proceedings of the Board. The constitution and practice of the Board would probably be found very much to have diminished the effect of its operations—to reduce greatly the value of the industrious labours of the Board. He praised its Members, but he blamed its construction. He was sorry to say that so much of their labours, as to the result, might be found to have been thrown away; because it had got abroad that the inviolability of the Board was not such as was expected at first; and he thought it would be found in many cases that those Bills which had been adopted by the Board had been rejected by Parliament, and those which had been rejected by the Board succeeded elsewhere. Therefore the labours of the Board had only been an impediment to public business, and did not expedite it. To a certain degree the evils of the present railway system were attempted to be met by the Bill before their Lordships. But, besides the defective constitution of the Board, there were other great mischiefs—the increase of speculations in railway shares, the frenzy of gambling in railway projects. He could not help thinking that the manifest disposition of Parliament to encourage all these speculations was very much to blame for the spreading of this delusion. That, indeed, was his objection to the Bill, pregnant as it certainly was with some good in expediting railway business. For the purpose of enabling Railway Bills to go on by wholesale and at railway speed, the Government brought forward Bills of this extraordinary kind, the House was to pass one Statute with 150 clauses, and another (the Lands Clauses Consolidation) with nearly as many, methodizing, systematizing, reducing actually into a code, the principles of constructing these acts, giving systematic powers and facilities to projectors, taking away in the same systematic mode the rights of private property, and facilitating and quickening, (so to speak) by a sort of *corpus juris,* a code of railway legislation, the passing of Bills to conflict with, upset, subvert, and confound all the rights of private property; and what was the natural conclusion? Either that locomotion was by far the most important of human concerns; that railways were the breath of the community, without which we could not exist; that they were "like the air we breathe—if we have them not we die;" or that, whether they were or not, and without inquiring whether they were or not, Parliament was resolved to encourage, by every means in its power, the passing of Railway Acts—that is, to encourage railway speculation. That was the inevitable conclusion, for, if only half-a-dozen or twenty were to pass in a Session, it would be wholly unnecessary to have such a railway code. Then, after lending itself to this mania, could the House complain or wonder if the people gave into it, if speculation was rife, if share gambling covered the whole length and breadth of the land? Or could their Lordships blame—could they do other than pity their fellow countrymen, and recollect who it was that helped to prompt them to it; who it was that, instead of mitigating it, increased it; instead of applying a remedy by giving time—the great curer of all these delusions—brought into one or two years the projects that might have been spread over several? When the reaction should take place, when the money market should be in a state of convulsion (such as it had been in with infinitely less speculation), must not Parliament blame itself that it had encouraged, almost created, or at least done nothing in its power to mitigate, or relax, or extinguish this passion, and therefore, in part, been the cause of those fruits that would be reaped probably somewhere about December or January next? His opinion had always been (though he blamed no Government) that it was very unfortunate that we allowed our neighbours in France to be so much ahead of us in the sound mode of dealing with these questions; for there the Government, though not without great opposition, in a manful and statesmanlike fashion, insisted on taking the matter into their own hands, allowing very few railways for some time, and then only leasing them for forty-five years, or thirty-five, or less, after which they were to revert to the public, who might renew the lease on condition of lowering the fares, or on other advantageous terms. Under proper limits these enterprises were of the greatest possible advantage, no doubt; but as far as this mania went, they ought not to be encouraged. He had lately gone into the subject of the hardship to private property—the manner in which men's rights to their ancient possessions were set at nought, and he had really some heart-breaking cases from poor persons, who were trampled upon by these companies, having no means to resist. Since his last notice of this, some of the parties, wealthy proprietors, had found no longer the same indisposition to come to terms, but the poor could be safely threatened and oppressed; though to the credit of some honourable persons to whom he had alluded, they refused to avail themselves of the offer to keep the railway further off, when they found that it would thus be carried through the gardens of some cottagers. One gentleman they treated in this way—and it was a common device with these companies; they said: "Our railway can pass through a corner of your kitchen garden; but if you do not oppose us we will only go through your avenue, or a piece of your pleasure ground." Under the threat of cutting off a leg, a man was expected to let his hand be cut off, to save the more important limb. An aged clergyman found one of these railways was actually to overshadow his library and study; being only an incumbent for life, he must sit down with it. Another, an incumbent under 300*l.* a year, could not throw away any money in resisting a powerful company, who carried all before it. But the clause which he must single out as the most objectionable, as systematizing injustice in the most marked manner, was the 32nd Section of the Railway Clauses Consolidation Bill; such powers might be given in some road acts, but now they were to belong to all Railway Companies. It provided that it should be lawful for the company, at any time before the period limited for the completion of the railway (as if it were not nuisance enough to have the works going on for two or three years, and all sorts of labourers brought into the neighbourhood), whensoever they pleased, without making any previous payment, tender, or deposit, to enter upon any lands within the precribed limits; or if no limits were prescribed (and they never would be hereafter), then upon any land within 200 yards from the centre of the railway, not being a garden, orchard, avenue, and so on, and not being nearer than 500 yards to the mansion house of the owner, and to occupy the said land so long as might be necessary for the construction or repair of the works, for any of the following purposes:—for taking earth or soil from side-cuttings, for obtaining materials therefrom for the construction or repair, for forming road thereon to or from or by the side of the railway, and also to manufacture materials (as if a brickground would be a very pleasing and savoury appendage to a gentleman's country house), and to dig and take from out of such land, clay, gravel, &c., and to erect thereon workshops, sheds, and other buildings of a temporary nature. This power was to extend to 200 yards on each side—a quarter of a mile broad all along the line; and if, as he had observed the other night in the case of the farm in Essex of 200 acres, through which seven railroads were to be run, the whole of it would be absorbed. Such were a few of the consequences of the Legislature determining to pass Railway Bills by wholesale and without stint, for the purpose of gratiying the propensity of the public—a propensity largely shared by the two Houses of Parliament—largely shared (it was always more agreeable to name the present than the absent)—largely shared by their Lordships' House. It would be unjust to omit, in reference to the clause just noticed, that compensation was to be paid for the damage actually done, but nothing more. It was to be assessed by arbitrators — a very great improvement upon the system of going before juries; and for this mitigation of the despotism he tendered his thanks. In some cases, however, the question of relief was to be decided by two justices acting for the county, giving the company the power of going to any justice for the county that they pleased —a very objectionable provision; for, while he (Lord Brougham) should have full confidence in the justices in his neighbourhood, at Penrith or at Carlisle, he should have no knowledge of and no confidence in justices selected from Whitehaven, or some other remote part of the county; it was like another county. Surely, a company asking for these powers should have made up their minds to the direction in which they proposed to carry their line, and not have power to deviate 100 yards on either side. Why should they not be compelled, if they deviated, to do it with the consent of the owners of the land? This power to change placed the landowners at their mercy. He meant to propose a clause, providing that no company, having once obtained permission to make a certain line, should be allowed to deviate more than twenty yards on either side—that was the very utmost they ought to be allowed. It was satisfactory to him (Lord Brougham) to know that his recent cautions had not been without use; but he had thought it right to make these further observations.

The *Earl of Dalhousie* said, that since he had introduced the measure then under consideration in their Lordships' House, his noble and learned Friend, who had just sat down, had occupied much of the time of the House with the subject of railways. His noble and learned Friend had delivered a long and eloquent address that evening, but how much of it was applicable to the question before the House he (Lord Dalhousie) would leave it to their Lordships to determine. As far as he could form an estimation of his noble and learned Friend's speech, he would say that his noble and learned Friend had dwelt for somewhat about three-quarters of an hour in complaints against the Railway Department of the Board of Trade, for another quarter of an hour or upwards in a lecture against what he termed railway gambling, and for about ten minutes on the subject before the House. The address of the noble and learned Lord was, indeed, "a pennyworth of bread to a huge quantity of sack." He should, therefore, with great respect for their Lordships' House, and certainly with no feelings of disrespect towards his noble and learned Friend, beg leave to decline entering into all the subjects which the noble and learned Lord had brought under their notice. At the same time, in order that no misapprehension should exist in their Lordships' mind, or should go forth to the public, in consequence of his silence on what he believed to be the irrelevant topics introduced by his noble and learned Friend, he would venture to remark that of all the facts put forward by the noble and learned Lord in the course of his speech, there was, perhaps, but one alone, namely, the fact of which the noble and learned Lord had thought it necessary to assure them, that there were but twenty-four hours in the day, to which he could give his unqualified assent. His noble and learned Friend had stated, as a fact capable of proof, that the Railway Department of the Board of Trade, in coming to their decisions on the various schemes submitted to them, had heard only one side of each case. To that assertion he should give the most distinct and the most positive denial. The noble and learned Lord said also, that the Board received the statements from which they formed their decisions from the projectors of the railways only; that he should also deny. It was true the Railway Department of the Board of Trade did seek interviews on the subject on which they were to decide; but when they were first appointed, a public intimation was given that the Board were ready to enter upon the question of all railway schemes, that they were ready to proceed with the consideration of these schemes with reference to certain points. Immediately after that notification applications were made to them by various parties for interviews, but in no one instance did the Railway Board seek such interview themselves in the first place. He could also add, that in no one instance, as far as he was aware, had the Board denied any interview that was demanded of them, unless a previous interview had been had. These interviews were not confined to the projectors of the railway schemes alone, as his noble and learned Friend had sought to insinuate, or rather as he had directly alleged, but they were open to all parties demanding them. The Board had certainly objected to hear parties who were anxious to oppose particular lines or companies on private grounds, as they were precluded from entering upon such matters; but they always told those parties that if they had any objection to make against the scheme on public grounds, they were quite ready to hear them. It must be perfectly clear to the House, for it never had been concealed, that it was not on the personal communications received at these interviews that the decisions of the Board were founded. It was always admitted that the substantial decisions of the Board were founded on the written communications which were laid before them, and on which they had time to deliberate, and separately to form their opinions. When, therefore, his noble and learned Friend asserted that objections were entertained by the Railway Board to receiving information from any parties, it was clear that he had been misinformed, and that whoever he had received any such information from must have been altogether wrong. Interviews with the Railway Board were open to all who demanded them; and so far from the decisions of the Board being founded on information received from one party only, he was not aware of a single case in which a railway had been objected to where written statements had not been offered on both sides, where the fullest information had not been sought, where the utmost consideration had not been given to all the evidence laid before them, and where a partial decision had ever been arrived at by the Board. With respect to the charge made by his noble and learned Friend, that the existence of the Board had given rise to railway speculations which otherwise would not have arisen, he begged altogether to deny its accuracy. That much speculation in railway shares existed, nobody could deny; but he denied that the desire for speculation was increased by the existence of the Railway Board. He should even contend that but for that Board speculation would have proceeded much further than it had already gone. Every one acquainted with the subject was aware that before that Department of the Board of Trade had been formed, speculations in railway shares were as rife as at any period since. It was well known, for instance, that a few years ago speculations were carried on in the scrip of the shares of the Brighton Railway Company while that case was before Parliament. He should deny, therefore, the accuracy of the opinion that the existence of the Railway Board had any effect in increasing speculation in railway schemes. On the contrary, in his belief, it tended materially to check, instead of encouraging, speculation. But his noble and learned Friend seemed to imply that not only did the Board foster speculation, but that speculation of a peculiar character went on, because partial information was promulgated of the decisions of the Board before those decisions had been publicly made known. That was a matter which had been before alluded to in their Lordships' House, as well as elsewhere. There were one or two points stated on that subject in another place on which he would wish to offer some explanation; but he would confine himself to what had taken place in their Lordships' House. His noble and learned Friend had stated that the institution of the Board was calculated to raise partial speculation.

Lord *Brougham:* Not the institution, but the constitution of the Board.

The Earl of *Dalhousie* said, the noble and learned Lord attributed partial speculation either to the constitution or to the institution of the Board, or else to their carelessness in the transaction of business.

Lord *Brougham:* I never said that. I only alluded to their working in the dark.

The Earl of *Dalhousie* hoped the noble and learned Lord would give him leave to proceed with the remarks which he had to offer to the House. His noble and learned Friend, at all events, thought that there had been partial decisions made by the Board; and he had also adverted on a former occasion to partial revelations having been made, by persons connected with the Board, of the decisions to which they had afterwards arrived. He had, therefore, a right to refer to that subject; and he had also a right to require that he should be furnished with specific allegations of the cases in which that partial revelation was alleged to have been made. Until these special allegations were made, he could do no more than again give a general and positive denial to the statements. There were three cases in which complaints of this nature were made. One of these was the South-Eastern scheme. It was alleged that, in consequence of an improper revelation, holders of the stock of the company had been injured; but on that point he had already given a full explanation. Another case was that of a certain shadowy individual, who somewhere, and at some time, had made a sum of 40,000*l.* by means of a similar revelation. But who that person was, what was the company, or how, when, or where the transaction had taken place, he had never heard declared; and until the case came before him in some specific shape, he had a right to say that the charge against the Board was unfounded. There was only one other instance in which such a complaint was made against the Railway Board, and that was in the case of the London and York and the Direct Northern schemes. For weeks before any Member of the Board had formed an opinion on the matter, an alleged decision of the Board was announced in the public journals. The rise in the price of shares took place in the afternoon of Monday, the decision of the Board being made on the Tuesday. A rise in the shares of one line, and a fall in the stock of the other line, certainly did take place at that time; but as he before stated, that circumstance was to be attributed not to any knowledge of what the decision of the Board would be, but from a coalition having been just formed between the Direct Northern and the Cambridge and Lincoln lines. Even his noble and learned Friend admitted at the time he gave that explanation before, that it was sufficiently satisfactory. But while he thus alluded to these charges, he should altogether refuse to notice, to argue, or to be judged by any vague allegations, not founded on facts, or brought forward in a tangible and satisfactory manner. Without occupying their Lordships' attention farther with these matters, he would beg leave to express a wish that if his noble and learned Friend did really mistrust the constitution of the Railway Board, he would proceed to bring the matter to an issue by moving a direct Motion upon the subject. His noble Friend said there were only twenty-four hours in the day, and but five Members on the Board, while there were some 248 railway schemes to be decided upon by them; and he then proceeded to show by the rule of three it was impossible they could devote more than a certain time to the consideration of each; and impossible also that the Board could come to a sound conclusion. But in reply to his noble and learned Friend, he would ask the House to wait until the Reports of the Board were put to the test of the Parliamentary Committees. When that was done, he would be then himself the first to ask their Lordships to decide how far the Board required any excuse or censure. He would not attempt to detain their Lordships by a description of the manner in which business was done by the Board when the flood of Railway Bills came upon them under the most unfavourable circumstances. He would defer entering upon any explanation of that matter until the conclusion of the Session, after the decisions of the Committees on these same Bills would be made known. He would next proceed to consider the two principal points to which his noble and learned Friend had adverted. The first was the objection which he had raised to the 32nd Clause, which gave power to companies to take temporary possession of land within a certain distance of the railway. His noble and learned Friend formerly held very different language. But if his noble and learned Friend wished to take credit for the very strong expressions which had fallen from him on a former occasion upon this subject—if he wished to take credit for the desire which he at one time expressed in such eloquent terms, that he might see the country yet covered with a network of railways, he should afford the necessary means for their construction. The noble and learned Lord claimed the merit of still adhering to that opinion of the utility and importance of those great works, and he, therefore, did not object to railways in the abstract; but he at the same time took care to object to the construction of every particular railway in detail. Surely, if his noble and learned Friend took away the only clauses by which a company could be enabled to construct a railway, it was no use to express his approval of the principle of railways generally. His noble and learned Friend said he would agree to the formation of a company to make a railway from London to York; but he would take care that they should not have a barrowful of clay or a cartload of gravel for the construction of the work. His noble and learned Friend was, in fact, a worse than Egyptian taskmaster. Others were content to out-Herod Herod; but his noble Friend emulated the hardships and unreasonableness of a darker and more barbarous age. He not only out-Heroded Herod, but he out-Pharaohed Pharaoh. The persecutor of the Israelites refused that oppressed people straw, while he compelled them to furnish bricks; but his noble and learned Friend said, "You are to construct railways, you are to erect bridges and viaducts along the line, but you shall have neither bricks, nor clay, nor stones, nor gravel." But these clauses to which his noble and learned Friend objected were not new. They stood in almost every Railway Bill that had been passed up to the present time, not identically in the terms in which they appeared in the present Bill, because alterations had been made in them: they had been improved, and these alterations and improvements were, every one of them, in favour of the landed proprietors. His noble and learned Friend did not enter fully into the terms of the clauses to which he had referred. He did not state the disadvantages under which the railway companies would be placed. It was true that a power was given them to take temporary possession of land, but they were obliged to give notice of their intention of doing so to the proprietor; and if the latter objected, on the grounds of these lands being essential to him in order to the enjoyment of other lands belonging to him, or that other lands lying contiguous or near the lands proposed to be taken, would be more fitting to be used for such purposes by the company, then it was in his power to go before two justices, who were authorized under the 31st Section of order that the lands and materials shall not be taken; and by the subsequent section it was provided that the justices shall have power to order the company to take possession of other lands, even if belonging to a different proprietor, provided they are not at a greater distance than the prescribed limit of 200 yards from the works. His noble and learned Friend had, indeed, made an objection with respect to the justices to be selected, which would be most singular coming from any noble Lord, but which was extraordinary indeed when proceeding from a judicial Member of their Lordships' House. His noble and learned Friend complained of the company not being obliged to go before any two justices residing near the proprietor who complained against them, but having a right to call for the decision of justices living in another part of the county, who know nothing about the proprietor, should they think proper to do so; and thus it would appear that his noble and learned Friend had put forth the strange opinion that no such tribunal would be satisfactory to him unless he could secure for himself a partial judge. But to return to the clause to which his noble and learned Friend objected. One of his objections was, that the company were not bound to make any tender of compensation in the first instance; but by the 34th Section the company were obliged—

"Before entering, under the provisions hereinbefore contained, upon any such lands as shall be required for spoil-banks or for side-cuttings, or for obtaining materials or forming roads as aforesaid, the Company shall, if required by the owner or occupier thereof, seven days at least before the expiration of the notice to take such lands as hereinbefore mentioned, find two sufficient persons, to be approved of by a Justice in case the parties differ, who shall enter into a bond to such owner or occupier in a penalty of such amount as shall be approved of by such Justice, in case the parties differ, conditioned for the payment of such compensation as may become payable in respect of the same, in manner herein mentioned."

And the 36th Clause went on to provide, that—

> "In all cases in which the Company shall, in exercise of the powers aforesaid, enter upon any lands for the purpose of making spoil-banks or side-cuttings thereon, or for obtaining therefrom materials for the construction or repair of the railway, it shall be lawful for the owners or occupiers of such lands, or parties having such estates or interests therein as under the provisions in the said Lands Clauses Consolidation Act mentioned, would enable them to sell or convey lands to the Company, at any time during the possession of any such lands by the Company, and before such owners or occupiers shall have accepted compensation from the Company in respect of such temporary occupation, to serve a notice in writing on the Company, requiring them to purchase the said lands, or the estates and interests therein capable of being sold and conveyed by them respectively; and in such notice, such owners or occupiers shall set forth the particulars of such their estate or interest in such lands, and the amount of their claim in respect thereof; and the Company shall thereupon be bound to purchase the said lands, or the estate and interest therein capable of being sold and conveyed by the parties serving such notice."

The Act further provided, that—

> "In any of the cases aforesaid, where the Company shall not be required to purchase such lands, and in all other cases where they shall take temporary possession of lands by virtue of the powers herein or in the Special Act granted, it shall be incumbent on the Company, within one month after their entry upon such lands, upon being required so to do, to pay to the occupier of the said lands the value of any crop or dressing that may be thereon, as well as full compensation for any other damage of a temporary nature which he may sustain by reason of their so taking possession of his lands, and shall also from time to time during their occupation of the said lands pay quarterly to such occupier or to the owner of the lands, as the case may require, a rent to be fixed by two Justices in case the parties differ."

The same section also provided for the payment of compensation by the company, for all permanent or other loss, damage, or injury sustained by the lands, including the full value of all clay, stone, gravel and sand taken from such lands. If his noble and learned Friend did not object to railways in the abstract, and if he once admitted the principle of giving compulsory possession of land to railway companies on payment of full compensation for it, then he (Lord Dalhousie) could see no ground for opposing the sections to which his noble and learned Friend now objected, and without which it was impossible the company could proceed. His noble and learned Friend did not state the full extent of the improvements made by the present Bill. Formerly, landowners had only power to go before a jury; but now they had the exclusive right of selecting whether their case should be decided by a jury or by arbitration, or they might, by remaining away altogether, leave the amount of valuation to be settled by a surveyor; and afterwards, if they found cause to be dissatisfied with the surveyor's return, they could even then revert to arbitration. That great powers were given by the Act he did not deny; but he justified those powers by the necessity which existed for them, as the only means of carrying into effect a great project which the Legislature permitted to be undertaken. His noble and learned Friend next objected to the limits of deviation allowed to the companies. He said he could see no reason why the company should not lay down the precise line they meant to take at once, and be ever after barred from any deviation from it. He thought he could state many cases where such a restriction would impose hardships on the owners of the land themselves; and though the noble and learned Lord would allow of deviation by consent in particular cases, still he (Lord Dalhousie) had doubts how far such consent could be acted upon after the Legislature had pronounced a decision in the matter; and besides, though the parties in possession might be induced to consent to the deviation, those who would be entitled to the reversion of the property might very probably object to it. But there was one principal objection which he had to offer to the proposition of the noble and learned Lord, and that was, that it did not allow the promoters of the railway to come upon the land and survey it in the first instance. [Lord *Brougham*: But they do come.] It was true that they did come upon the land, but they did so at the risk of committing a trespass, and suffering for it. In a case well known to the noble Lord, there was at this moment a party resting in tranquillity in one of the gaols of the country for a breach of the law in that respect; and a case had been brought under his notice within the last few days, where parties had been warned against surveying lands over which it was proposed that a railway should pass, in the northern part of the Kingdom. This prohibition would prevent the survey of some thirty or thirty-five miles; and he need not tell some noble Lords present that his noble Friend who had forbidden the survey was not the man to allow his prohibition to be disregarded; and that any surveyor attempting to act in despite of such an order there, would very probably find himself some morning planted with his head downwards in the midst of a peat bog. Without entering into the question of the propriety of the law by which landowners could prevent the promoters of railways from surveying their lands, it was clear that while such a rule existed it was impossible for the Legislature to bind companies down to a precise line without any power of deviation whatever. He did not wish to occupy, unnecessarily, a single moment of their Lordships' attention, and he would, therefore, at once conclude with the hope that their Lordships would not be induced to imagine that by getting rid of the clauses to which the noble and learned Lord objected, they would hear no more about them, as in such a case they should be prepared to encounter a discussion upon them in every single Railway Bill that came before them.

Lord *Ashburton* said he wished to offer a few observations to their Lordships on the Bill then before them. The questions of the policy of constructing a particular railway, and of the powers to be given to railway companies, were undoubtedly of the greatest importance; but still these questions had not much to do with the construction of that Bill. In adopting the measure then before them, their Lordships would pledge themselves in favour of no particular line. All they did was to bring into one general Act the provisions which would otherwise be of necessity introduced into every one of the special Acts that would come before them. His noble Friend had stated the provisions of the Bill with much ability, and had left very little of its advantages untold. As a Member of a Board that had been so much attacked, it was not to be wondered at that his noble Friend should feel rather warm in replying to the charges made against it; but his noble Friend should be prepared for those attacks. He should recollect that it was quite natural that gamblers who had been foiled in their speculations, and the promoters of all the lines that the Board had reported against, should unite to form a numerous party of disappointed opponents of the Board. When the principle followed in the construction of railways in Belgium and parts of Germany, or even in France, had not been adopted in this country, he could not see by what possibility they could guard against the desire for speculation which prevailed among the public. His object in addressing their Lordships on the present occasion, was to draw attention to some of the provisions of the Bill, which, he thought, ought to be extended. Their Lordships were aware that the Bill was intended to apply to all future railways to be hereafter executed; but he thought many of its provisions should have a retrospective as well as a prospective effect. For instance, in the 83rd Clause it was very properly enacted that—

> "Whereas it is expedient that the Company should be enabled to vary the Tolls upon the Railway, so as to accommodate them to the circumstances of the traffic; but that such power of varying should not be used for the purpose of prejudicing or favouring particular parties, or for the purpose of collusively and unfairly creating a monopoly, either in the hands of the Company or of particular parties; it shall be lawful, therefore, for the Company, subject to the provisions and limitations herein and in the Special Act contained, from time to time to alter or vary the Tolls by the Special Act authorized to be taken, either upon the whole or upon any particular portions of the Railway as they shall think fit; provided that all such Tolls be at all times charged equally to all persons, and after the same rate, whether per ton, per mile, or otherwise, in respect of all passengers, and of all goods or carriages, of the same description, and conveyed or propelled by a like carriage or engine passing only over the same portion of the line of Railway under the same circumstances; and no reduction or advance in any such Tolls shall be made, either directly or indirectly, in favour of or against any particular Company or person travelling upon or using the Railway."

He knew nothing that was more essentially just than such a provision; but why, he would ask, was not that principle extended to railroads generally? He could state to their Lordships that a railroad which passed through his part of the country, namely, the South-Western, made, to his own knowledge, a different charge for one person from what was adopted towards another. It was most objectionable that any railway company should have the power of treating in a peculiar manner the owners of steam-boats, or of wharfs, or other persons connected with the carriage of goods, and thus acquiring a greater power of monopoly than there could be any necessity for extending to them. Another clause, which compelled the repair of railway works should also, he thought, be extended to all railways. He would wish, likewise, to see a clause adopted for regulating the transmission of felons and lunatics by railway. He had been lately informed by a person who had been travelling on a railway, that in the same carriage with him were two men, who were chained together, in the act of being transmitted from one gaol to another. Lunatics were also conveyed to lunatic asylums in the same carriages with other passengers, and he would, therefore, wish to see a clause adopted, obliging all railway companies to provide a particular carriage for the conveyance of felons and lunatics.

The Duke of *Beaufort* said, that he did not go quite so far as his noble and learned Friend (Lord Brougham) in condemning the proceedings of the Railway Department of the Board of Trade; but he thought that his noble and learned Friend was justified in some of his observations respecting that Board. He did not wish to give any offence to the noble Earl, but he should say that the constitution of that Board had been unfortunate in its results. It was believed that the Board had been instituted with a view to protect the public, and yet it was very doubtful whether it had attained that object. Reports had gone abroad respecting the opinions of that Board; and there was no doubt but railway speculation had in consequence very much increased. He did not mean to say that any improper revelations had been made by the Members of the Board; but persons had gone about stating that the Board had come to such and such decisions; and the consequence was that different railway shares had risen very rapidly. The solicitor for the projectors of a certain railway had on one occasion stated to him, that the line for which he was engaged had met with a direct encouragement from the Board of Trade, and that they would not sanction the competing line. The consequence of such statements was, that shares had been suddenly and improperly raised in value.

The Earl of *Winchilsea* said, he believed that the public were in general satisfied with the Reports of the Board of Trade; and he was sure that those Reports would be found most valuable. He agreed with the noble Earl (the Earl of Dalhousie) that those Reports could not have contributed to increase speculation. The country was greatly indebted to the Board for the very able manner in which they had conducted their investigations; and he, for one, should be disposed to give the most favourable consideration to their recommendations.

Lord *Campbell* said, he did not then wish to enter into the merits of the Railway Department of the Board of Trade. With regard to the Bill then under their consideration, he should say that he highly approved of it, because it would introduce a uniform code which would much diminish the labour and expense of passing Railway Bills. He believed that the clause to which his noble and learned Friend (Lord Brougham) had objected, would be indispensable in carrying on any railway undertaking. But he wished to draw the attention of his noble Friend to the absolute necessity of his introducing a further measure, which would embrace, among other matters, those improvements to which a noble Lord, not then in his place (Lord Ashburton), had alluded. He thought it was most desirable that companies should have a uniform rate of charges, so that the public should not be subject to their tyranny or caprice. He had himself presented a petition in which it was stated that a railway company charged passengers very highly, while it would carry goods almost for nothing, in order that it might ruin a canal company. Now, there ought, in his opinion, to be some provision passed for putting an end to such a system, and for protecting canal companies from the oppression to which they were at present subjected. The matter, however, to which he wished particularly to draw their Lordships' attention was the tyranny which several of the most important and influential companies had practised, by giving notice that they would not be liable for any damage that might be done to carriages put upon their railways, even through the negligence of their own servants. [Lord *Stanley* said he doubted whether it could be lawfully carried into effect.] He believed that if it could be shown by the company that they had given such a notice, that would be for them a complete defence. But he thought the law in that respect ought to be altered, and that such conduct on the part of railway companies ought not to be endured. He hoped that his noble Friend would consider the whole question, and that he would make the existing railway companies the subject of future legislation.

Lord *Brougham* replied. His statement

against the constitution of the Railway Department of the Board of Trade was, not that parties opposed to any projected railway—as in the case of the South-Eastern line, for instance—would not be heard, but that the fullest evidence would not be permitted to be received in order to enable the Board to come to a just conclusion on the merits of any case before them. If he was wrong in the idea he formed, he must have forgotten the printed Report, on the recommendations of which it was proposed to establish this Railway Board. He always understood that it was generally the statements of companies themselves, or persons interested in and actively engaged in forwarding those railway projects, which were received by the Board. But it was said he was wrong; and if so, he begged to tender his apology to the Railway Board for any charge he might have made against it; but, nevertheless, he could not avoid expressing his disapprobation of the constitution of any tribunal which did not hear all the evidence which it was possible to produce on both sides of any question which might come before it for decision; and he denied that the functions of such a tribunal could ever afford any practical assistance to Committees of either House of Parliament. Another evil in the constitution of the Railway Board was, that it was a secret tribunal—that the public were not admitted to witness its deliberations and acts. The noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Dalhousie) did not seem fully to understand the nature of his (Lord Brougham's) objections to the Board over which he presided. Did not the very fact of its sittings being secret tend more than anything else to promote speculation, and gambling, and jobbing, and fraud? If they had a public Board, could any man go to the City and say he had private information that such or such a scheme would be favourably reported on, that such a project would be successful? In the statement which he had made that evening, he had not made the slightest possible reference to any of those three cases of complaint against the Board alluded to by the noble Earl, wherein it was said that certain stocks had been materially influenced in their price in consequence of information transpiring relative to the conclusion come to by the Board. But as the noble Earl had thought proper to mention those cases again, and drag him (Lord Brougham), as it were, into the discussion of them, he confessed he did not feel at all satisfied with the explanation given by the noble Earl on that occasion. Of a certain shadowy, mysterious individual who had made 40,000*l.*, to which the noble Earl had adverted, he (Lord Brougham) confessed he had never heard before that night, and therefore he would say nothing about that case. But with respect to the Northern line, to which the noble Earl also alluded, in the case where the fact of one line having coalesced with another caused a rise in the price of the stock, he would observe, that in consequence of the explanation given about it by the noble Earl, he (Lord Brougham) had thought it right to refer again to the individual who had previously given him some intelligence on the subject; and on going to his informant accordingly, who was one of the most respectable capitalists in the City, that gentleman assured him that the answer and explanation given by the noble Earl was only the outside answer, or the one for the public; but, nevertheless, that the fact was as he had originally stated—namely, that information had been somehow obtained from the Board. He did not mean to say that any gentleman connected with the Board had given any intimation, or allowed any evidence to transpire; but still, observing all the facts of the case referred to, and considering the distance from town of the place where the influence acted, he did think it was most possible that some knowledge had been somehow obtained. But there were many ways in which a knowledge might be obtained which would lead to those gambling speculations. Even a gentleman, in making the necessary inquiries upon any case, might furnish to an acute mind a suggestion of the probable course the Board might take, and that without the individual in question ever intending to reveal the conclusion he had come to or might be arriving at; and that was one of the objections he made to the constitution of the Board. But even Cabinet questions were not always so perfectly secret as might be supposed; for even these secrets, too, sometimes transpired. As a proof of that, he instanced the fact of his having discovered, by a chance visit which he paid to a friend in 1806, a certain clue to guide him to the result to which certain negotiations then going on between this country and Napoleon were tending, there having been in existence at the time great uncertainty with regard to two foreign points on which it was supposed the negotiations in question would hitch. The noble and learned Lord then related an anecdote of his having called upon Sir William Drummond, who was a particular friend of Lord Sidmouth, one day, just as the former was in the act of sending off to the latter a map of a part of the Adriatic; and that circumstance led him (Lord Brougham) at once to conclude on what locality the negotiations then pending would hitch.] With respect to the great powers given to railway companies by the Bill before the House, he thought it would be better to adopt the suggestions he threw out. The consequence of such might indeed be, that one or two Railway Bills less would pass this Session, or might pass hereafter; but that he thought a grievance of considerably less magnitude than the systematic encroachments which were now making every day upon private rights and private property. With respect to the deviation question, he thought the defence set up for that was most speculative and fanciful—namely, that the agents or surveyors of parties interested in any projected railway could not get access to the property, in many cases, through which the line was to run, and that, therefore, they could not be tied down to a strict line. Now, he had never heard of but one case in which legal proceedings had been taken against individuals on this account; and that was in the case of Lord Harborough. But it was notorious that parties would not be deterred by any threats from pursuing their visits and surveys of property. It was only a short time since he had presented a petition from a nobleman in Yorkshire, who stated that his tenants warned off some surveyors who had come upon his estate, but that the latter persevered, notwithstanding, in pursuing the surveys. Another point to which he had to refer was, the assertion made by the noble Earl that he (Lord Brougham) had, some fifteen or sixteen years ago, expressed a hope that railways should cover the land. He still hoped to see railroads multiplied over the country, and to see that most useful and highly beneficial mode of communication greatly increased to what it now was. But was that any reason why he should wish to see it all done in one day, *per saltum* as it were, and not considerately and progressively? He wished to see it done; but let it be done so as not to violate principle. Let it be done with caution, and deliberately, and in such a manner that the rights of property should not needlessly be violated. If the whole two hundred railways which had been brought forward that Session had been spread over ten or twelve Sessions, it would have been far better for the country, in a monetary as well as in a commercial point of view, and it would have avoided all the risks and all the gambling which had swept over the face of the country.

Bill read 3ª.

Lord *Brougham* proposed to add a clause to the effect, that no company should be suffered to deviate in any line above twenty yards from the line they might be authorized to take, unless by an agreement with the owner or owners of the land over which such deviating line was proposed to be carried; provided always, that such a clause should not apply to the owners of property who had needlessly refused to allow the projectors of the railway to enter upon the property for the purpose of making surveys and valuations; also a clause similar to that in the Scotch Bill, regarding compensation to be given to creditors of turnpike trusts.

After a few words from the Earl of Dalhousie,—clauses negatived, and Bill passed.

House adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Tuesday, April 22, 1845.

MINUTES.] NEW MEMBER SWORN.—Walter Baine, Esq., for Greenock.

BILLS. *Public.*—1°· Sheriffs (Wales).

Private.—1°· Erewash Valley Railway (No. 2); South-Eastern Railway (Maidstone to Rochester); South-Eastern Railway (Branch to Deal, and Extension of Canterbury, Ramsgate, and Margate Railway).

2°· Brighton and Chichester Railway (Portsmouth Extension); Preston and Wyre Railway Branches; Scottish Midland Junction Railway; Exeter and Crediton Railway; Monmouth and Hereford Railway.

Reported.—Winwick Railway,

3°· and passed:—Bradford Gas.

PETITIONS PRESENTED. By Viscount Castlereagh, from Inch, and Ballycutter, for Arranging Differences between Churches of England and Ireland.—By Viscount Castlereagh, Sir R. H. Inglis, Mr. Cole, Sir C. Coote, and Mr. Lefroy, from several places, for Encouragement to Schools in connexion with Church Education Society (Ireland).—By Sir R. H. Inglis, from Arthur Perceval, against Jewish Disabilities Removal Bill.—By several hon. Members, from a great number of places, for better Observance of the Lord's Day.—By several hon. Members, from an immense number of places (257 Petitions), against the Grant to Maynooth College.—By Mr. Brownrigg, Mr. Divett, Mr. Labouchere, and Mr. Howard, from several places, in favour of the Grant to Maynooth College.—By several hon. Members, from several places, against the Union of St. Asaph and Bangor.—By Captain Dalrymple, and Mr. Macaulay, from Wigtown, and Edinburgh, for Abolition of Tests in Scotch Universities.—By Mr. Bannerman, and Mr. Strutt, from several places, against Importation of Hill Coolies into the Colonies.—By Mr. Sotheron, from a great number of places, for Relief from Agricultural Taxation.—By Mr. Charteris, from several places, for Defraying the County and Police Rates out of the Consolidated Fund.—By Sir John Mordaunt, from a great number of places, for Repeal of the Malt Duty.—By Mr. Hastie, from East India Merchants, for Alteration of Duty on Indian Wheat.—By Lord John Manners, from Ealand, for Inquiry into the Anatomy Act.—By Mr, Hume, Mr. Lockhart, and Mr. Traill, from several places, against Alteration of present system of Banking (Scotland).—By Mr. Ewart, from John Thompson, for Alteration of Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons Bill.—By Mr. Cobden, from Brinkworth, complaining of Distress.—By Mr. Ainsworth, and Mr. Ewart, from several places, in favour of the Ten Hours System.—By Mr. S. Wortley, from several places, in favour of Field Gardens Bill.—By Mr. Curteis, from Rye, for placing Harbours under Restrictions.—By Mr. Charteris, and Col. Rolleston, from several places, against Justices' Clerks and Clerks of the Peace Bill.—By Colonel Wood, from George James Guthrie, for Inquiry into the Medical Profession.—By several hon. Members, from a great number of places, against the Parochial Settlement Bill.—By Mr. Spooner, from Birmingham, for Alteration of Physic and Surgery Bill.—By Mr. Bankes, Mr. Brotherton, Mr. Divett, Sir R. H. Inglis, and Lord E. Russell, from several places, for Diminishing the Number of Public Houses.—By Sir R. H. Inglis, and the Earl of March, from several places, for Alteration of Law relating to the Sale of Beer.—By Mr. Bruce, and Mr. F. Maule, from Abernethy, and Stirling, for Ameliorating the Condition of Schoolmasters (Scotland).

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, April 23, 1845.

MINUTES.] NEW WRIT.—For Woodstock, *v.* Marquess of Blandford, Chiltern Hundreds.

BILLS. *Public.*—2°. Statute Labour (Scotland).

Private.—1°. Reversionary Interest Society (No. 2); Waterford and Limerick Railway; Aberdare Railway; London, Worcester, and South Staffordshire Railway (Extension from Dudley to Wolverhampton).

2°. Spoad (Clun), etc. Inclosure; Kendal Reservoirs; London and Greenwich Railway; Ely and Huntingdon Railway.

Reported. — Manchester and Leeds Railway (Burnley Branch and Oldham and Heywood Branches Extension); Southwark and Vauxhall Water Company.

PETITIONS PRESENTED. By the Attorney General, from Exeter, for Revision of Rubric of the Church of England.—By Captain Bateson, and Sir R. H. Inglis, from several places, for Encouragement to Church Education Society (Ireland).—By Sir R. H. Inglis, from Cheltenham, against Jewish Disabilities Removal Bill.—By Mr. Evans, and Mr. Plumptre, from several places, for better Observance of the Lord's Day.—By several hon. Members, from an immense number of places (323 Petitions), against the Grant to Maynooth College.—By several hon. Members, from a great number of places, against the Union of St. Asaph and Bangor.—By Mr. Loch, from Orkney, for Abolition of Tests in Scotch Universities.—By Mr. Gisborne, and Sir R. H. Inglis, from several places, against Importation of Hill Coolies into the Colonies.—By Mr. Bankes, and Mr. Packington, from Wareham and Worcester, for Relief from Agricultural Taxation.—By Mr. Stuart, and Mr. Wilshere, from Glasgow and Great Yarmouth, for Reduction of Tolls and Dues levied by Lighthouses.—From Blandford Forum, for Repeal of the Malt Duty.—By Mr. Denison, and Mr. Cowper, from several places, in favour of the Field Gardens Bill.—By Mr. Berkeley, Mr. Bruges, and Mr. V. Smith, from several places, for Repeal or Alteration of Insolvent Debtors Act.—By Mr. Bankes, Mr. Barclay, Viscount Clive, Mr. Christopher, Mr. Dickinson, and Mr. Tollemache, from several places, against Justices' Clerks and Clerks of the Peace Bill.—By Lord Stuart, from Irvine, for Alteration of Merchant Seamen's Fund Bill (1844).—By several hon. Members, from a great number of places, against the Parochial Settlement Bill.—By Mr. Davies, and Col. Wood, from several places, for Alteration of Physic and Surgery Bill.—By Mr. Dickinson, from Wedmore, for Alteration of Law relating to the Sale of Beer.—By Mr. Mackinnon, from the Presbytery of Skye, for Ameliorating the Condition of Schoolmasters (Scotland).—By Mr. Duncombe, from Glasgow, for Protection from Arrestment for Wages (Scotland).

ACADEMICAL EDUCATION IN IRELAND.] Lord *Ashley* said: In reference to the communication made by my right hon. Friend at the head of Her Majesty's Government to this House last year, and also to his opening statement in introducing the proposal of this grant to Maynooth, I wish to ask him whether it be his intention to propose any further plan of academical education in Ireland; and if so, whether he will be good enough, either before we go into Committee, or immediately after, to state simply the outline of such scheme?

Sir *R. Peel:* I am obliged to the noble Lord for having given me notice of his question, and I beg to state that it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to propose other measures with regard to academical education in Ireland, irrespective of the measure before the House. It certainly was my earnest wish to proceed with this Bill before any other business; but I will undertake, before the third reading, to give—or that some Member of the Government shall give — a general outline of those other measures.

MAYNOOTH COLLEGE.] Order of the Day read for going into Committee upon the appropriation to be made from the Consolidated Fund for the College of Maynooth.

On the Question that the Speaker do leave the Chair,

Mr. *Ward* said, that they had now reached the stage of the Bill at which, in concurrence, he believed, with the wishes of a large number of his political friends, and in perfect accordance with those principles which, as a party, they had advocated for the last ten years in that House, it became his duty to place on record—not their hostility to the Government plan, because in every measure of concession of Roman Catholic rights—in every expression of justice or of kindness which had fallen from the other side of the House towards those whom they, at least, were proud to call fellow-countrymen and fellow Christians—they cordially, and entirely, participated; but their views as to the mode in which the measure contemplated for their benefit might be carried out, with the greatest prospect of permanency and satisfaction to the country. And he must beg to remind hon. Gentlemen on his side of the House, as well as on the other, that they had a double duty to perform on this occasion. They had to look not only to their natural desire to soothe and conciliate Ireland, by making some amends for the wrongs of the last three centuries, but they must look to England too. They could not repair one injustice by committing another; and they must beware of counter balancing the good which they all hoped to do in Ireland by sowing the seeds of just discontent in this country. He remembered, when the noble Lord the Secretary for the Colonies came forward in this House with a great measure of Catholic relief, by taking off the vestry cess in Ireland, he did not propose to charge that upon the Consolidated Fund. He designated the vestry cess as a galling blister to the Catholics; but he said that the Irish Church, which would benefit most largely by the removal of this cause of discontent, ought to bear the whole charge. He (Mr. Ward) wished to act now upon similar principles. He wished to amend this Bill by engrafting on it the principle included in his Amendment, and not to throw it out; and he had given some proof of his sincerity, by submitting to the obloquy which he had incurred by refusing to concur in a movement, the object of which was to get rid of the Bill on the second reading, the success of which was unquestionable; for, as had been said by a right hon. Friend of his, the Member for Edinburgh, it was clearly in the power of the Opposition to decide the fate of the Government measure. A Member of Parliament had, in these times, quite enough to do to answer charges against him founded upon truth, without submitting to misrepresentation. He had been accused, by implication at least, of having betrayed a cause in which he never embarked. He had had a long acquaintance with an hon. Baronet (Sir Culling Smith) who had taken a very active part on the Anti-Maynooth Committee, and who placed himself, at a very early period, in communication with him; in fact, as soon as his intention to interfere with the Bill was announced. That hon. Baronet suggested various alterations in the form of his present Motion, so as to make it more palatable to those who acted with him; but he declined to accede to them, assuring him, that the Motion he intended to make had no reference to those religious grounds on which the Anti-Maynooth Committee placed its reliance. The hon. Gentleman then, begged him to be a party, at all events, to urging the Government to allow more time for the country to express its opinions; but he told him that he entirely concurred in the opinion of the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government, and in that of his noble Friend the Member for the city of London upon this subject; and on the score of old familiarity he added, that if the matter depended upon himself, he would not give one half an hour more than the forms of the House absolutely required, because he considered that during the time which had necessarily elapsed since the introduction of the measure, the parties who opposed the Bill had succeeded in lighting up a flame equally dangerous and discreditable to the country. He could not imagine how anybody could after that take into his head to write to the *Times* to express "the grief and astonishment of the Anti-Maynooth Committee when, upon their arrival at the House of Commons on the evening of the Thursday on which he announced his determination, they ascertained that the Whig leaders, to avoid the peril to which Sir Robert Peel's Government was exposed by Mr. Ward's Motion, had—or now his noble Friend could add—caused its withdrawal."—"Had that Motion been put as an Amendment to the second reading, the nefarious measure would have been defeated by the combined votes of the true Protestants who opposed the first reading, of many who were absent on that occasion, and of the regular adherents of the Whig party." He had the greatest respect for his noble Friend (Lord John Russell); but he feared that if he wanted a character, that noble Lord would say that he was not among the most obsequious of his followers. When he had differed from that noble Lord, he had taken his own line; but on this question his views certainly concurred with those of the noble Lord, and with that of every other Gentleman on that side of the House, whose judgment he most valued. His course therefore was quite clear; and if it were to be done again to-morrow, he should act precisely as he had done; and when the Anti-Maynooth Committee said, "Between the two great political parties, the Protestantism of our country seems going to ruin, unless God in his merciful providence, by the instrumentality of the national voice, shall deter our infatuated rulers from pursuing their reckless course;" he could not help thinking what a miserable, emasculated thing this English Protestantism must be, if, with the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and Trinity College, Dublin, at its back—with all the revenues of the richest Church in the world in its exclusive possession and the Bench of Bishops in the House of Lords to watch over its peculiar interests, it came trembling and whining to Parliament for assistance, upon the ground that the sum of 26,000*l.* was about to be voted to a Catholic Seminary. He dismissed this part of the question at once; and he thought he had got rid of the charge of anything like bad faith. His principles had been too long before the world to render it likely that such a charge could be maintained against him. He had never taken the low tone of treating concession to Catholicism in Ireland as a matter of grace or favour. With him it was a matter of right. He had always considered that as the Catholics were the majority in the sister country, they had just as good a right to a Catholic Church Establishment as we had to a Protestant Episcopalian Establishment on the south of the Tweed, or the hon. Member for Elgin—who had spoken, as he thought, so unadvisedly the other night—to a Presbyterian Establishment on the north of it. Truth was not the basis of either; for if religious endowment were the test of truth, we had two truths in this island. His truth was not our truth—his Church not our Church; but 300 years ago, when our ancestors separated from the common fold of Christianity, this happened to be the version of Scriptural truth that best suited the majority in each country. Time and habit had endeared it to us; and as we should resist the establishment of the Presbyterian religion, or as our Scotch countrymen would resist an Episcopal Church in Scotland—the Catholics in Ireland had a right to resist our intrusive Church as a monument of England's conquest and their own degradation. How could they deny to the Catholic that right of private judgment upon which their own religion was founded! But there was too much of this lopsided liberality. There were the widest sympathies for what the right hon. Member for Newark called that undefinable thing "Protestantism;" but the Catholic was viewed as the common enemy, and had been called so even by such men as Swift, Burnett, and William III. Now, Archbishop Whately, in the remarkable book published by him, had the following passage:—

> "And among the important facts which we can collect and fully ascertain from the sacred historians, scanty and irregular and imperfect as are their records of particulars, one of the most important is, that very scantiness and incompleteness in the detail—that absence of any full and systematic description of the formation and regulation of Christian communities, that has been just noticed. For we may plainly infer, from this very circumstance, the design of the Holy Spirit, that those details, concerning which no precise directions, accompanied with strict injunctions, are to be found in Scripture, were meant to be left to the regulation of each Church, in each age and country. On any point in which it was designed that all Christians should be, every where, and at all times, bound as strictly as the Jews were to the Levitical law, we may fairly conclude they would have received directions no less precise, and descriptions no less minute, than had been afforded to the Jews."

These were his principles. He could honour the men who first asserted the rights of mind against the Papal power; but he could honour those equally, who, in spite of three centuries of persecution and penal laws, in spite of revolutions by which the whole land of Ireland, according to Lord Clare, had been three times forfeited, still remained faithful to the religion of their ancestors. To tell him that these men were not equal in worth to ourselves—to tell him, as the hon. Member for Elgin said the other night (and he must almost consider this as an adjourned debate, for one could not lose sight of what had occurred so recently) that the Duke of Wellington might, at the present day, say of the Catholics, as the Duke of Ormond said 200 years ago, "that for the twenty years he had had to do with the Roman Catholic bishops, he had never found any one of them either to speak the truth or hold a promise:"—he could only say he heard such sentiments with abhorrence and disgust. They made our legislation ridiculous, and our Empire weak. It was time to discard such foul prejudices—for he could not style them otherwise; but when they did discard them, let them, in altering their course, take a right one. Let them not embark in an erroneous policy. As to the fact that Parliament was about to adopt a new course, there never was a point, he thought, upon which there was such conclusive evidence. The noble Lord the Member for London, the right hon. Members for Coventry and Devonport, the right hon. Baronet the Secretary for the Home Department, and the right hon. the First Lord of the Treasury, all concurred in this. There was, it was true, some little discrepancy between the two right hon. Gentlemen. The Secretary for the Home Department told the House that this was the first of a series of measures for the amelioration of Ireland; while the First Lord of the Treasury said, that this was a measure which must stand or fall singly and exclusively upon its own merits. The hon. Baronet the Member for Oxford, too, as strongly as any one else, maintained that this was a new course, and argued that it was that which imparted so much of interest and importance to the discussion. The only man who negatived that proposition was the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He ought to be the most cautious man in the House, whereas he was the most incautious. He was the Louis XV. of the Treasury Bench; "*Après nous le Déluge*," was his motto. He said that it was not of the slighest importance by what new measures this might be followed by some dreamer in another century; that we might leave posterity to legislate for itself, but that the Gentlemen who constituted the present Parliament had only to consider the present measure. The right hon. Gentleman must excuse him if while he admired his courage, he could not applaud his sagacity. If they took this step at all, they ought to be prepared for all its consequences. A trumpery grant of 17,000*l.* to Maynooth might have been included in the Miscellaneous Estimates—but the question was how best to settle, "once for all," as Grattan said in 1793, the just claims of the Irish Catholics, and how best to reconcile the Protestants of England and Scotland to doing that which they believed to be right and necessary. And it was on that account that he proposed to do what the House was about to do, in a way to remove the legitimate objections that might be taken to it by large sections of their fellow countrymen, because this Bill did in fact involve several of the most important principles that a Government could propound, or a Parliament deal with. It involved the question of endowment, as contradistinguished from the voluntary principle—the question of endowment as connected with religious truth—and the question of endowment out of the general funds of the country, on the ground that the particular funds properly applicable to the purpose were, under the authority of Parliament, applied otherwise—he would not on this occasion use the word "misapplied." As to the objection founded on the voluntary principle, he might well leave that to the noble Lord the Member for London, and his right hon. Friend the Member for Edinburgh. The supporters of that doctrine held that religion was never so healthy and vigorous, or truth so strong, as when unconnected with State endowments; and alleged that their resistance to an invasion of that principle implied nothing offensive to the Catholic religion or to Catholic rights. He admitted that that was a great principle. It was his principle two years ago, when, in making a Motion connected with this subject, he said that the object of legislation in such a case ought to be "equality," and that to obtain that end we ought to pay all or to pay nobody. But how was he to obtain equality in this way? and must he go on year after year without any attempt to lessen the anomalies of the present system of endowment in Ireland? Must he continue to see the Church, one-eighth of the people, in the exclusive possession of the funds devoted to ecclesiastical purposes; another eighth moderately, but adequately, provided for by the *Regium Donum;* and nothing at all done for the other six eighths, because they were Roman Catholics. Why did not the advocates of the voluntary principle agitate against the *Regium Donum*, as they did against Maynooth? This appeared to him a sort of lopsided liberality again. Besides, had the voluntary principle been sufficiently tried? Was the world ripe for it? In England, indeed, it might succeed, because England was differently circumstanced from any other country. It was a country of great wealth, the people were of settled habits, and a great love of order generally prevailed amongst them and those clergymen; who depended upon the voluntary principle were free from the degrading necessity of pandering to the passions of their flocks in order to secure a maintenance. It was well known that the religious denominations which asserted that principle had produced some of the most learned and distinguished men that ever did honour to any Church. But how had it worked in Ireland, or in the United States? He always referred with pleasure to the speech made by his noble Friend the Member for the city of London on the Motion which he (Mr. Ward) brought forward last year, when that noble Lord dealt with this question in that high philosophic spirit which he considered to be almost peculiar to him in that House. He said—

> "In the United States of America—the slave states of America—there are teachers belonging to every religious sect, which we in this country, have most admired for their strict adherence to their conscientious opinions, and yet we find that that accursed institution of slavery is there palliated, defended, upheld, by the teachers of religion. Why is this? It appears to me that it necessarily so results, because those teachers are dependent upon the popular voice for the maintenance of their position, and therefore that they do not as fearlessly pronounce the words of truth, that they do not as fearlessly defend the great cause of liberty and human freedom, and the subjection of us all to an immortal power, as they would if they felt more independent."

The noble Lord then went on to say—

> "That it would be of immense importance if the Roman Catholic clergy could be made, with regard to a part at least of their revenues, independent of popular passions; and that although their political conduct was entirely free and independent—if every appointment was left entirely unshackled, it was of importance they should have some independence of opinion."

In these sentiments he entirely concurred with his noble Friend, and he thought the experience of what had occured in Ireland during the last twelve months bore them out. What was the first fruit of the Catholic Bequests Act passed last Session? Dr. Murray, when he consented to become one of the Commissioners under the Bill, was exposed to the most violent hostility and assaults from those who had formerly been his warmest admirers. He was a man of great virtue and high standing in the Catholic Church; but notwithstanding that, the result of that struggle would have been doubtful if Mr. O'Connell had not seen that by protracting it, he would have given rise to an irreparable schism in the Church of which he was a member. But was it prudent, or wise, or safe, to allow men with not a tithe of Dr. Murray's standing or character, to have always to choose between their duty and their interest? He quite understood the distinction drawn by his noble Friend between independence of the State, and independence of popular passions, and he believed that would be a wise and salutary policy for this country to adopt in the present instance. He now came to the question which the hon. Baronet the Member for Oxford constantly put forward, the question of endowment as connected with religious truth. That question appeared to him to be a great source of popular passion, and also of popular error. He believed the principle to be false, and its consequences fatal if an attempt were made to work it out honestly; but he admitted, and indeed no man could doubt after what had occured within the last six weeks, that it had a strong hold of the English mind, and upon the Scotch mind he was afraid a still stronger; and that it so perverted and warped that natural love of justice which was the characteristic of Englishmen, as to make them insensible of the wrongs they did in their desire to maintain it. The rule which was thus sought to be applied to Ireland, would, if extended to the whole Empire, destroy it. The hon. Baronet himself admitted this. He acknowledged that he could not apply in Canada or Malta the principle which he endeavoured to enforce in Ireland. But then he said, that they were bound by "compact" in this matter. They were bound by something higher than compact—they were bound by common sense—by common prudence—by common justice. They knew—they must know—that civil utility was the object of every establishment, not religious truth. That was laid down years ago by some of the best authorities that they had amongst their own divines. They stated his argument in the strongest and clearest light. Paley said—

> "A religious Establishment is no part of Christianity. It is only a means of inculcating it. Its authority is founded upon its utility."

Again, Warburton said—

> "The alliance between the Church and the State subsists just so long as the Church thereby established maintains its superiority of extent."

Could they say that such was a correct

description of the Church of Ireland? Could they say that it had realized Hallam's beautiful definition of what a Church should be, "that it had existed by, and with, and for the Irish people?" There were dioceses in which the members of the Established Church were one per cent. of the total population; and yet every attempt at change and conciliation—every approximation to justice—for they were not pretending to do anything beyond approximating to it now—was met by the hon. Baronet the Member for Oxford by an appeal to the principles of George III. and Mr. Perceval. He held a pamphlet in his hand, published by Dudley M. Perceval, Esq., which treated of the Maynooth Grant and the Jew Bill, and was intended as an illustration of the views of his father, Mr. Perceval, on the Roman Catholic question in 1807. This work, for which he (Mr. Ward) was indebted to the courtesy of the author, was very properly dedicated

> "To Sir R. H. Inglis, Bart.—the man whose public and private character most nearly resembles, at the present day, the character of that statesman whose prophetic foresight these pages illustrate."

What was the argument of that pamphlet? He (Mr. Ward) was inclined to believe that when he stated it, it would appear just as offensive to the hon. Member for Elgin (Mr. C. Bruce) as it must appear to the Catholics of Ireland. The argument went to prove that there was only one true Christianity, and one true Church, of which the common and statute laws of England were intended to be the guardians. If that argument was to pass current, he could only say that Mr. Perceval's ghost was more formidable than was the living statesman himself. Mr. Perceval was, in 1807, in a Parliament returned, he (Mr. Ward) might say, on a "No-Popery" cry, and which was the first which had a majority in favour of Catholic Emancipation. Mr. Perceval, in that pamphlet, stated, that

> "It is in vain to defend the Church Establishment, or to expect it to be permanently supported in England, or for any length of time endured in Ireland, if the very principle upon which that Establishment rests be cut from under it—the principle that this Kingdom is a Christian Kingdom, that Christianity is the common law of the land—part and parcel of the law in one sense, but the very law and condition of the land in a higher sense still."

Such was Christianity, as it pleased Mr. Perceval himself to define it. He says further, that—

> "On these principles the Church Establishment may be defended by reasonable and irrefragable argument, even in the sadly anomalous case of Ireland"—

For Mr. Perceval admits the case of Ireland to be an anomalous one—

> "Without these, no exclusive Church Establishment can be defended at all. It becomes a mere question of local and temporary expediency."

He (the author) then appealed to certain notes which his father had drawn up at an earlier period. He (Mr. Ward) was happy to see that even so far back as 1807, Mr. Perceval recognised the fact that, though numbers made nothing as to the right to education and religious instruction, numbers did as to the policy of it. Considering from whom this came, this was an important admission. Was it extraordinary that, after the lapse of forty years—after carrying Emancipation, after tasting the bitter fruits of long and infatuated resistance to the just claims of the sister country—almost every man now-a-days of character, or of any high standing as a statesman, with the single exception, perhaps, of the hon. Baronet (Sir R. H. Inglis) himself, seemed to have come to the conclusion that what might have satisfied Ireland forty years ago, was not by any means what was required in the present case? The noble Lord the Member for Dorsetshire (Lord Ashley), who, he must beg leave to say, made certainly, without casting any imputation upon any other hon. Gentleman, the most statesmanlike speech which was made on his side of the question—a speech perfectly unexceptionable, both in principle and in tone, was not less remarkable for the largeness of his admissions. What did the noble Lord say in that speech? His admissions were immense. He said—

> "The measure was most important for good or for evil. If it work well, it will quiet Ireland." . . "The whole history of that country excites in my mind not merely sympathy, but repentance." . . . "If the Catholic Church be neither religiously nor politically dangerous, why resist a reconstruction of the Establishment?"

The noble Lord, by his own showing, should vote for his (Mr. Ward's) Amendment, because he could prove to him

(Lord Ashley) that it pointed out the safest mode of doing that which he seemed to feel to be just, and admitted to be inevitable. He believed this feeling to be very general amongst Conservatives out of that House, and that if he were now talking to any Gentleman on the opposite side who had turned his attention to the affairs of this country for the last twenty years, he would say without hesitation that there were not fifty men amongst them who would not admit that the Irish Church was a millstone round their necks, and that they would be most happy to see the question connected with it settled, if it could be done without forfeiting their own consistency, and without contradicting their former votes. What stood in the way of that reconstruction to which the noble Lord (Lord Ashley) alluded? It was the existence of a feeling out of doors, to which he was happy to say no man had dared to give utterance in that House. No man had attempted, no man had presumed to give utterance to it, because every man there had a sufficient knowledge of human affairs, and of the business of life, to know that the utterance of such disgusting sentiments would go far to justify a revolution in Ireland. Was this feeling worthy of the respect which, by some, was claimed for it? The hon. Baronet the Member for Oxford told them the other night that there was not a harsh word, or expression, to be found in the petitions which had been presented to the House; not one, at least, which had not the sanction of the liturgy and homilies of the Church of England, or which might not be traced to some such source. He did not think that that was a wise admission. There were some parts of the liturgy of the Church of England which contained expressions and passages so harsh in treating of the rival system of Christianity, that the greatest lover of vituperation might be satisfied with them. His hon. Friend the Member for Finsbury was right in defending the clergy of the three denominations against the attack made upon them by his right hon. Friend the Member for Dungarvon (Mr. Sheil). It so happened that the Dissenters of the three denominations, as they were called, were those whose views were the soundest, and whose language had been the most moderate during these painful discussions. But was that the case with the petitions generally—those petitions which, according to the hon. Member for Oxford, did not contain a single harsh word? He had been reading over some of them, the other day, and found, in a petition presented to the House by the noble Lord the Member for Liverpool, (Lord Sandon) that

> "The petitioners think that this measure is eminently calculated to bring down the judgment of God upon a Protestant country."

There was a petition from Whitby, which said of the Maynooth College, that it was

> "A nursery of superstition, bigotry, sedition, and discord, and especially detrimental to the welfare of the Irish people."

There was a petition from Lancaster, presented by the Chairman of their Committees (Mr. Green) which stated that

> "No past concessions ever have, and the proposed concession never will, satisfy our Romanist fellow-countrymen."

There was another petition from Southwark, presented by the hon. Member for Kent (Mr. Plumptre), in which he found these words:—

> "The peculiar tenets of the Church of Rome, as defined by the Council of Trent, are anti-Christian, anti-social, and idolatrous, and utterly incapable of being reconciled with the genuine doctrines of the Gospel; and that those heresies have been solemnly repudiated by this country for many generations, during which the blessing of Almighty God has descended upon the land in a marked and unprecedented manner."

A petition from Elgin stated—

> "That signs of the withdrawal of heavenly favour from this country have not been wanting since the passing of the Act of 1829, and that the petitioners regard it as high treason against Heaven to apply the revenues of a Protestant people to the education of a Popish priesthood."

He would venture to ask, in what other country it was possible to conceive that one half of the population would venture to apply such language as this to the religion of the other half? and if they did see it happen anywhere else, would they not instantly predict that it would only end as the same divisions and dissensions had recently unhappily ended in Switzerland? The language of parties in Switzerland, previous to the recent disturbances, was not one whit more unchristian, one whit more uncharitable, than that which the hon. Baronet the Member for Oxford told them had come recommended to that House by the sanction of the English Church. [Sir *R. H. Inglis:* Sanctioned by the liturgy, articles and homilies of the Church.] By the liturgy, articles, and homilies of the Church! If such sentiments as these could be so sanctioned, he must say that the Church of England could not be a great blessing to the people of England. If the right hon. Member for Dungarvon wanted specimens of fanaticism and absurdity, he must not look hereafter to the three denominations for them. He must look not to the meetings of the Dissenters, but to some of those provincial assemblies, where the leaders of the Protestant Associations had been holding their saturnalia—for he could call them nothing less—and mixing up their own foolish fancies about the Book of Revelations, with the most atrocious libels upon the Catholic character and religion. They must go to Mr. M'Neile, whom, he thought, the noble Lord the Secretary for the Colonies (Lord Stanley) had once talked of as the very model of a Christian minister. What did he say in his most recent speech—not in the speech quoted a few nights ago by the hon. Member for Bath (Mr. Roebuck), but in one since delivered? He told the Protestant Conservative Operatives of Liverpool —for it was them he was addressing on the occasion—that

> "Those who support the grant to Maynooth might as well found a College for the promotion of theft and adultery."

He said further, that

> "No improvement was desirable or possible, because the difference between the Maynooth priest and the highly educated and polished Jesuit, is just that between the highwayman and the pickpocket."

He found similar sentiments, in a speech delivered but yesterday, by the Rev. J. S. Robinson, rector of St. Andrew's, Holborn, at Exeter Hall, at a meeting over which he saw, with deep regret, that the Marquess of Breadalbane presided, and at which his right hon. Friend the Member for Perth (Mr. Fox Maule) moved a vote of thanks to the chairman, although he had had the prudence not to commit himself to any of the detestable resolutions which received the sanction of that meeting. Mr. Robinson held precisely the same language as Mr. M'Neile. The following was from the Report of his speech:—

> "It was said that the proposed measure was intended to raise the intellectual standard of the Roman Catholic priesthood. It was only that very day that a brother clergyman who advocated the measure advanced that as his reason; and he said to him, as he now said to the meeting, what was knowledge without principle? He thought it was with knowledge as with courage—although it practically, perhaps, might make a good man better, it would most certainly make a bad man worse. He did not mean to say that his conscientious Roman Catholic fellow-subjects were bad men, but that, with that bias upon their feelings which belonged to Popish instruction, every acquisition of knowledge must tend to make them more mischievous to society."

The Rev. C. J. Goodhart, of St. Mary's Chapel, Reading, speaking of the right hon. Baronet opposite (Sir R. Peel), said,—

> "That he could not understand how Sir R. Peel could stand beside his Sovereign, with the Bible in one hand and the Maynooth Bill in the other, and feel that he was acting towards that Sovereign with proper allegiance. He cared not a straw for the principles of that man who would take any less foundation, or attempt to build on any less established authority than the Bible."

This was at Exeter Hall; but Exeter Hall, unfortunately, had no longer a monopoly of bigotry and folly. The Rev. Mr. Bickersteth, at a meeting recently held at Hertford, distinctly said, adopting the old Roman Catholic motto—at least, the motto which we (the Protestants) had imputed to the Catholics in their dealings towards us—that no faith was to be kept with heretics,—

> "That no compact for the continuance of this grant could be produced, the alleged compact was all a fiction; but supposing that a compact had ever existed it was void, because there was nothing that could bind them to do that which was contrary to God's word."

He then proceeded to compare the fifty years' sanction of the grant to Maynooth by that House, with the fact that

> "Herod's oath had led him to commit the crime of murder. But that oath was valueless, because there was a prior obligation to obey the commandment of God, 'Thou shalt do no murder.'"

Such sentiments, proceeding from the mouth of a Christian minister, he (Mr. Ward) must stigmatize as the "abomination of abominations." He was disgusted and horrified when he heard the Book of Revelations quoted, upon the same occasion, by the Hertfordshire Protestant

Association, whose address, signed by the Rev. Mr. Bickersteth, and the Rev. Mr. Faithful, of Hatfield affirms that—

> "He who assents to it (to the Maynooth grant), worships the beast, and supports that clearly predicted apostacy, which opens its mouth in blasphemy against God, has ever been at war with the saints, and crucifies afresh our Lord and Saviour."

Was, he would ask, such disgusting blasphemy as this permitted to be uttered before a large assembly of intelligent and Christian people at the present day? Then, again, there was a Rev. Dr. Cumming, who also took the right hon. Baronet (Sir Robert Peel) in hand. That Rev. Gentleman had found a scriptural picture peculiarly apposite to the situation of the right hon Baronet. He said—

> "He was forcibly reminded of a description in sacred writ by the position of Sir Robert Peel, 'And behold there met him a woman with the attire of an harlot, and subtle of heart. [*Laughter.*] So she caught him, and kissed him [*renewed laughter*], and with an impudent face, said to him, I have peace offerings with me, this day have I paid my vows; and with her much fair speech she caused him to yield [*renewed bursts of laughter*], with the flattering of her lips she forced him.'"

[*Shouts of laughter, in which the right hon. Baronet heartily joined.*] This he (Mr. Ward) regarded as the climax of obscene and indecent absurdity. Such disgusting obscenities were certainly never uttered before in the presence of an assembly of Christians. He observed, and with the deepest humiliation, that although Members of that House committed themselves to such abominable sentiments as these within that House, where they might be exposed and ridiculed as they deserved to be, yet that there were Members of that House who did not scruple to take the chair at meetings out of doors where such atrocious language was held, and such blasphemies inculcated; and at this very meeting the hon. Member for Hertford was in the chair at the time when the language just quoted was uttered. He (Mr. Ward) was sorry to find a Gentleman, distinguished as was the hon. Member for the amiabilities of his private character, and for many virtues, which endeared him to his Friends, lending himself to those discreditable exhibitions, and giving his sanction to such disgraceful delusions, for such they certainly were. They, in that House, knew well, that they could not reason on the Book of Daniel—they could not legislate on the Apocalypse. But it gave a sort of sanction to those pernicious doctrines, some of which he had just cited, when men of high standing and influential position, lent themselves to such absurdities, and took the chair at public meetings, without expressing their dissent from doctrines which they could not in their hearts approve of. He could only account for this unhappy state of feeling by ascribing it to the pains which had been taken, for the last fifty years, to pervert and delude the public mind on every question connected with Ireland. Every source of information had been poisoned in this country by political and polemical differences. Men of mind had lent themselves, he was sorry to say, to this, and had put forward the most unfounded statements, when heated by party disputes, with a recklessness of which they must have repented in later years. They had all heard the speech of the hon. Member for Newcastle-under-Lyne (Mr. Colquhoun), the other night. The hon. Gentleman had taken the lead in the opposition to this Bill. Nothing could be more mild and gentlemanlike than the mode in which he had delivered his sentiments on the floor of that House; nothing could be more unexceptionable in so far as their tone and spirit were concerned, than those sentiments themselves. Indeed, the hon. Gentleman appeared so lukewarm, that many doubted his sincerity. But there was another speech of this same hon. Gentleman, delivered in Exeter Hall, and which was on record, of a very contrary character, and which was now reprinted by the Anti-Maynooth Association, and published in the pamphlet of Mr. Lord, and in the *Churchman's Monthly Review and Chronicle*, and commented upon as a text of infallible authority, because the author of the speech was a Member of that House. If people out of doors only knew them in that House as well as they knew one another, they would not be long in being convinced that there was nothing infallible in the statements of hon. Gentlemen. He (Mr. Ward) was aware that every allowance should be made for the atmosphere (Exeter Hall) in which the speech was delivered, and for its age, for it was delivered in 1836. He should not now have alluded to it, if it had not met him at every turn—if it had not been republished in the *Monthly Review* for the month of February, 1845. [Mr. *Colquhoun*: It was not published by me.] He was quite aware that it was not published by the hon. Gentleman; but if the hon. Gentleman had seen reason to repent of what he had said, he should have stated so, and not have permitted it to be revived and put forth anew to the world as containing the sentiments on such question of a Member of that House. He had told the hon. Gentleman the first time he had met with that speech, that it contained the grossest perversions of Irish facts and history which it had ever fallen to his (Mr. Ward's) lot to peruse; and if this were so, the hon. Gentleman should have withdrawn the statements thus made by him, instead of allowing them to be circulated through the country. For, what were those statements? That at the moment when the College of Maynooth was founded, Drs. Troy and O'Reilly were actually in the closest connexion with Wolfe Tone, and labouring jointly with him to revolutionise Ireland with the help of the French Jacobins. Their loyalty was a mask assumed to deceive Mr. Pitt.

> "It might be laid down as a fact that the Roman Catholic bishops never made a manifesto of loyalty, except when a political end was to be compassed by it; or when they wished to cover some secret treason against England which was not ripe for explosion. The object of these declarations and manifestoes is now apparent enough. They were intended to mislead the Government of the day, and hoodwink Mr. Pitt with regard to the unconstitutional and dangerous character of the boon they were requiring at his hands, and thus induce him to accede to their proposal. There can be no question as to the reception which ought to have been given to it; a proposition so detestable ought, undoubtedly, to have met with the scorn and detestation it merited. Pitt was a real lover of his country. Every pulse of his noble heart glowed with the purest patriotism—he would have laid down his life for his country—ay, a thousand, if he had them—and his motives on this occasion were, doubtless, patriotic."

And now it was impossible to conceive a more extraordinary tissue of misrepresentation than was to be found in this passage. Dr. Troy was one of the most faithful and devoted friends of the alliance between this country and Ireland. In 1793 the Catholic bishops were in a state of terror. Their greatest anxiety was to prevent the torrent of the French Revolution from extending itself to Ireland; and of the whole Catholic clergy of that time only about twenty joined the rebellion of 1798. That rebellion was cradled in the north. It was the work of the Presbyterians, not of the Catholics. The south only joined it when goaded into insurrection by the tyranny of the Government party. That sort of appeal should not be made to the popular feelings by men of standing, and men who ought to know better. If there had been any breach of faith at all at the time of the Union, it was certainly on our side. The Union could not have been carried without the aid of the Catholics; and they were induced to co-operate with the Government by a promise made them by Mr. Pitt and Lord Cornwallis that it should be followed by emancipation, and the payment of their priests. And there was the largest mass of historical evidence ever before collected upon one subject to prove that the sole bar to the carrying out of these promises was the alienation of the King's mind. Papers, which duty and delicacy alike forbade Lord Eldon's heirs to publish, for they contained letters from the Queen and the Princess Elizabeth which never ought to have appeared while the granddaughter of George III. was upon the Throne, had been made public to the world; and from these they learnt that such was the sole bar that stood in the way. They had every thing before them which tended to lay naked the whole transaction; and the more they read, the more they would be convinced that the sole bar to the fulfilment of the pledges given in 1800, when the Union took place, was the insanity of the King. In 1799, there was little or no anti-Catholic spirit abroad. If they took up the debates of that time, they would find, as to this, an almost perfect unanimity amongst public men. Lord Malmesbury, who was in the habit of taking down with diplomatic accuracy what passed in his presence, says distinctly that the Duke of Portland told him—

> "That the intention was to substitute an Oath of Allegiance for the Oath of Supremacy, to make several alterations in the Church Establishment, and to pay the Catholic clergy. Mr. Pitt neglected to mention this ministerially to the King; but others took care that it should reach him in the way most likely to displease him."

In reference to the King's first illness, the same authority says there were two parties to blame:—

> "Those who secretly, and unknown to the

> Ministry, practised on the King's religion, and disposed him to resist the intended measure of Catholic Emancipation; and the Ministers themselves, who, after having neglected to prepare His Majesty for it, considered themselves ill-treated, and resigned."

The first he describes—

> "As the most consummate political villains that ever existed. They ought to be held in execration by the country, and their names handed down to posterity with infamy, for they will have been the cause of the destruction of the life or intellect of a Sovereign, to whose kingly virtues this country owes the preservation of its liberties."

The same author then went into some details about the King's insanity. The idea always uppermost with him was the Church. "I am better now; but I will be true to the Church." At Windsor, it appeared, he was constantly reading the Coronation Oath to his family, and exclaiming—"If I have violated it, I am no longer legal Sovereign of this country." He (Mr. Ward) would like to know if the Queen, since the passing of the Emancipation Act, did not hold her Throne and title by a more fixed and devoted loyalty on the part of Her subjects than any King or Queen who had reigned before the passing of that Act? But when the King recovered, how came the question to be dropped? Lord Malmesbury also told them how that came about. Almost the first instance of returning reason on the part of the King, was the message which he sent to Mr. Pitt by Dr. Willis. In that message he said:—

> "Tell him I am now quite well; but what has he not to answer for, who is the cause of my having been ill at all?"—"This affected Mr. Pitt so deeply, that he pledged himself to give up the Catholic question during the King's life." (Vol. iv. p. 32.)

And when he was forced back into power in 1804, by the general sense of Mr. Addington's incapacity, he said to Lord Malmesbury:—

> "If the event cannot be brought about without affecting, in the smallest degree, the King's health and tranquillity, it shall not happen at all. To feel and say this, is little more than feeling and speaking like a gentleman."

Up to the year 1810, the King's feelings and health were the sole bar to concession to the Catholics. After that, the habit of injustice created others. Men's minds became poisoned by the debates which took place in Parliament, and their characters committed. Protestantism became a party cry—and not of the less value as a party cry, because it had the effect of excluding one party from power, and seating another permanently on the Ministerial benches. And thus it was, that all the benefits of the Union were lost; and now, when they had come back to the same point which they had attained forty-five years ago, when the best men on both sides of the House were approximating towards each other—when he saw every man who had any pretensions to the character of a statesman, anxious to do justice to the Catholics of Ireland, if he possibly could—they were thwarted in the first honest attempt to enter upon a new course, by the pestilent prejudices engendered by this long party strife. He held in his hand a remarkable work, published by a gentleman of politics opposite to his own—"*Past and Present Policy of England towards Ireland.*" That gentleman was called a Tory. His Toryism was not that of Lord Eldon or Mr. Perceval, but the Toryism of an earlier day—the Toryism of Mr. Pitt. He alluded to Mr. Grenville, whom he found making use of the following words:—

> "If the Union had been carried out according to the intention of the great Minister who accomplished it, in all human probability the foundation of peace and tranquillity—of political and social improvement—would have been then laid, and we should now be enjoying the vast benefits of his sagacious and healing policy; but as it was, little or nothing was done for effecting what Mr. Pitt had declared to be his main object, namely, to tranquillize Ireland, and to attach it to this country. George III., himself in a state bordering on insanity, invoked to his aid all the prejudices of his people, and successfully resisted the policy which was recommended by Mr. Pitt, and supported by every man—Whig or Tory—who deserved to be called a statesman. It is impossible to conceive anything more lamentable, and—if it were not so lamentable—more ridiculous and contemptible than this transaction. Mr. Pitt resigned; Lord Grenville, Mr. Wyndham, and Mr. Dundas retired with him; and Mr. Addington formed a No-Popery Government out of the dregs of the Cabinet."

Now, what was the Church, about which they were still disputing, and to which, according to Mr. Grenville, all the benefits of the Union had been sacrificed? And how could they best induce the people of England and Scotland to do what was necessary in order to conciliate the Catholics of Ireland with the least expenditure of the public money? What were they attempting to do now? He had spoken of the religious argument, some hon. Gentlemen might think, perhaps, somewhat irreverentially. He saw no force whatever in the religious question which was attempted to be raised. The paramount object which a people should have in view was, to look to their own security—to look to their tranquillity at home, and their power abroad; and leave Establishments to take care of themselves. Instead of this, they seemed to think the whole Empire made for the Church. But there were other things to be considered before dealing with this measure in the way which the Government proposed. It was held by a large class of their fellow-countrymen as a direct infringement of their rights; and he did not know anything more dangerous than to connect the conscience with the pocket. Religious scruples and money payments were generally very dangerous allies. He wished to avoid such an alliance, if possible. There was a large body of the people, in this country and in Scotland, who told the House that they paid their own clergy, built their own churches, supported their own schools; and that it was an act of gross injustice on the part of Parliament, in order to tranquillize Ireland, to tax them for the benefit of a second Church to which they did not belong. He (Mr. Ward) could not gainsay this argument. The House could not, in reality, controvert it. They could not deny that there was a great deal of force and justice in it. He had taken pains to ascertain what was the real number of Nonconformist bodies in England and Wales. He found amongst the Presbyterians, Orthodox and Unitarian, 450 places of worship; amongst the Independents, 2,950; the Baptists, 1,584; the Wesleyan Methodists, 3,000; the Minor Methodists, 1,760; and the Calvinistic Methodists, 600: making a total of 9,984. This, in addition to 1,264 places of worship unconnected with the Establishment in Scotland, makes a grand total of 11,248 places of worship supported entirely on the voluntary principle. He was told to take the average of congregations at 300. That he thought above the mark. In that case, the number attending all these places of worship would be 3,374,000: in other words, that was the number of Dissenters in this country. It would, perhaps, be a more correct standard to say two millions and a half, certainly not exceeding three millions. The expenditure of each man and woman who attended these places of worship was estimated at 1*l.* per head. In addition to their churches, the Independents had twelve Colleges—the Baptists seven, and the Wesleyans two—supported at an annual expense of 24,000*l.* Now, how were they to deal with this people? The noble Lord the Member for Liverpool had talked the other night of the great principle of "restitution." That might be fair if the only parties were Catholics and Episcopalians. In that case, there might be equal fairness and force in the principle of restitution; but then the noble Lord forgot the scriptural precept as to restitution—that where men had been wronged, that which had been taken should be returned fourfold. Instead of any such scriptural mode of proceeding, the noble Lord proposed that they should give back one-twenty-sixth part of that which was annually taken from the Irish Catholics for the Irish Established Church, and this without any regard to the usurpation that had been enforced for three hundred years. He had heard the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of the Home Department, which had been delivered in that House a few evenings ago. It was a speech as wise as it was honourable and manly; and the only thing that astonished him in it was, the conclusion to which the right hon. Gentleman had come; for he had pledged himself again to stand by the Established Church—he had said that the only point of difference between him and those on the Opposition benches, was the Established Church. As to other parts of the right hon. Gentleman's speech, he must say he had never heard anything with greater pleasure than the language he had made use of. He had withdrawn the offensive expressions formerly used, with a frankness and a manliness that made it almost worth while to commit a mistake for the purpose of repairing it with so much magnanimity. It was, however, he conceived, a blunder of the right hon. Gentleman again to pledge himself to the old principle of 1834—the integrity of the Irish Church. He believed that the effect of this would only be mischievous, and that it would not abate, in the slightest degree, the resistance to the present measure. On the contrary, he believed that the resistance would be less if the measure had been larger, and if they had founded it on such a principle as to afford a reasonable hope of settling the whole question in a statesmanlike manner. They did not do this; they unsettled everything, and settled nothing—they disturbed the old title, and yet made no arrangement that could be permanent—they admitted a principle, and they did not carry it out—they threw a burden upon this country which it ought not to bear, and they left untouched in Ireland funds which might be legitimately appropriated to the same object. In all this he was convinced the right hon. Gentleman was just as wrong now as when he gave up his seat in Lord Grey's Cabinet, when he (Mr. Ward) launched the Appropriation principle eleven years ago. The whole sum now required, was less than the surplus created by the Whig Tithe Bill of 1835, brought in by Lord Morpeth, by simply suppressing all livings in which there were less than fifty Protestants, whilst means were provided for their spiritual instruction in some other way. The revenues of the Established Church were very large in comparison with its duties. He did not then mean to enter into a recapitulation of all the facts and details connected with this subject. He admitted the correctness of the figures given him by his noble Friend the late Secretary for Ireland (Lord Eliot), which were the result of the last investigation by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. According to these, the actual amount received by the Irish Church, after deducting the rent charge, was 650,753*l.* The whole income of the Scotch Church was not above 200,000*l.*, and in Scotland there were about 3,000,000 of persons in communion with that Church previous to the late secession. In Ireland, the total number of Episcopalian Protestants was 800,000; so that about 18*s.* a head was allotted for their spiritual instruction. In Ireland, there were connected with the Established Church two archbishops, ten bishops, and 2,200 clergymen: in Ireland, there was one bishop for 118 benefices, and in England, one bishop to 412 benefices. Would the right hon. Gentleman tell him that, with this extraordinary discrepancy between the clergymen in the two countries, it was not possible for him to make provision for such an object as the present out of the funds of the Church? He had never denied that a great improvement had taken place in the Irish Church; but when did that improvement date from?—for this was by no means an unimportant item for their consideration. He liked to prove his case out of the mouths of those opposed to him. He found the noble Lord the Member for Bandon (Lord Bernard) stating, as a matter of indisputable fact, that from the time of the Reformation to 1726, there were only 141 glebe houses in all Ireland; and Primate Boulter complained that no legal facilities could induce the clergy to build glebe houses, for fear of being forced to reside in them afterwards. In 1800, there were only 295 glebe houses; in 1820, there were 620 glebe houses, being an increase of 473 in twenty years. He had proved by a Parliamentary Return, that in 1814 there had been in Ireland 644 resident clergymen, and 543 non-resident clergymen; in 1817, the resident clergymen were 765, the non-residents 544; in 1819, the resident clergymen were 1,758, non-residents 531;—so that all the wonderful ameliorations which had taken place in the Church were of a very recent date. The Recorder of Dublin (Mr. Shaw), stated in his speech of last year, that fifty sinecures had been abolished; but they were abolished since 1833. The right hon. Gentleman had also stated that fifty-three pluralities had dropped, and that there were only eighty-one now existing in all Ireland. He had also stated that there were only 381 non-residents in 1837. Out of 345, who in 1835 were reported by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, the right hon. Gentleman said that in 1844 there were only 105 non-residents. Of fifty clergymen out of 180 who were reported to be non-residents in the dioceses of Ossory, Ferns, and Leighlin, there were said to be only twelve or seven, last year; and at the same time it was declared that abuses of other kinds were in "rapid progress of annihilation." He readily admitted that annihilations had taken place within the last ten years; and he believed that he himself might claim credit for a great many of them. They all certainly came within the sphere of the hon. Member for Montrose's useful labours. It was only since that time that bishops had been found to enforce residence, and that clergymen had shown a proper zeal in attending to their spiritual duties. He put complete faith in the assurance of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Shaw) that "abuses were in a rapid progress of annihilation," and he believed that when the time came—as come it must—when, by common consent, the Irish Church was declared a nuisance that must be got rid of, that it would be in a purer state than it has been from the time of the Reformation. At present, notwithstanding all the efforts that had been made, the anomaly still remained of parishes without members of the Established Church—of shepherds without a flock—of a cure of souls without a single Protestant. In 1835 there were, according to the Report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, 151 parishes in Ireland in which there was not a single Protestant; 194 parishes with less than ten Protestants; 198, with less than twenty Protestants; 133, with less than thirty Protestants; 107, with less than forty Protestants; seventy-seven, with less than fifty Protestants, making a total of 860 parishes in Ireland, in which, on the aggregate, there were less than fifty Protestants. Now, the amount of the entire demand for Maynooth, including that for new buildings, was 56,000*l.*, and the income derived from these parishes by the Established Church was 58,000*l.*. There were thus not only funds available, but an addition of 2,000*l.* for Maynooth, without inflicting the injustice of a new tax upon the Dissenters. There were other things connected with the Established Church in Ireland for which this House was responsible. He alluded particularly to the bishops' lands in Ireland. Nothing, in his opinion, was ever more disgraceful than the manner in which they had permitted that fund to be frittered away by those who were the trustees of it. In the history of the world, there had been no such instance of mismanagement and dilapidation. Bishops' lands had been leased away for the benefit of sons, and nephews, and sons-in-law of the trustees. He knew that there was no use in his now going into that. He was aware that a new title had been given under the Act of 1833; but this they must be conscious of, that if the bishops' lands had been dealt with as the Crown lands were by Mr. Pitt, an ample fund for the religious wants of all classes might have been provided. The value of the Crown lands in the reign of Queen Anne was 16,000*l.* a year, and at that sum they had continued to the time of Mr. Pitt, who adopted a different plan with them in 1793, and the result was, that they had risen from 16,000*l.* to 250,000*l.* a year. The House, he conceived, was deeply responsible for having allowed a fund to be dissipated and dilapidated, which, if attended to, as the Crown lands had been would have afforded an ample resource for all purposes. But why not deal with what remained of those funds in the way that he had ventured to propose by his Amendment? The opposition of the Dissenters would be entirely neutralized if they took that course. He had himself presented some petitions on this subject. One of these, from Derby, said, that the petitioners

> "View, with alarm the endowment, but expressed their conviction that the revenues of the Irish Established Church, being money drawn from the mass of the Irish people for purposes which the necessity for the present grant shows that the Church has failed signally to accomplish, ought to be the source out of which provision should be made for it.

In another petition, from Bishops' Stortford, the petitioners said—

> "They were in favour of the voluntary principle; but, seeing that the country is not prepared for its adoption, that a State Church exists, and that even Dissenters accept of assistance from the State in the shape of a *Regium Donum*, they pray that the Catholics alone may not be excluded, amounting as they do to 7,000,000 of people, but that the grant to them may be provided for by a better distribution of existing ecclesiastical property."

It was with great pleasure he had heard the sentiments contained in the petition that had been presented that night by his noble Friend (Lord John Russell) from the Protestant Dissenters of the Presbyterian denomination, and that was agreed to by them at a meeting held the day before yesterday. The fifth resolution adopted by that meeting was this:—

> "That while thus approving the proposed grant, this deputation at the same time must express its opinion that the ample ecclesiastical revenues of Ireland would furnish the source from which the funds for this purpose might with the greatest justice be supplied."

He again asked what was the obstacle to this? They used to hear a great deal about the Fifth Article of the Act of Union; but the right hon. Gentleman the

First Lord of the Treasury had put an end to that last year. The right hon. Gentleman shook his head as dissenting from that opinion; but the right hon. Gentleman, as he understood, had said, "that compact and authority were not conclusive, if the social welfare of Ireland required an alteration of the law." Then was it to be "the principle that placed the House of Brunswick upon the Throne?" Why that was the principle of "Protestant ascendancy?" of which the Secretary for the Home Department had taken his leave the other night, in terms too conclusive to be re-echoed. And what did the House of Brunswick do, when at home? What was the practice of the present King of Hanover? In this country he was one of the most furious of fanatics. He was the Grand Master of the Orange lodges. He had here stood in the way of the emancipation of the Irish Catholics from the beginning of the present century. But what did the same personage do in Hanover? He paid his Catholic bishop 4,000 dollars a year, besides a handsome allowance for his table —he paid the Catholic clergy—he endowed Catholic seminaries—and he had an ambassador at Rome, who at the time that the two Crowns were joined, did not merely the business of the Sovereign of Hanover, but also that of his master here. Why was it that they adopted a rule in Ireland, at variance with that which they followed everywhere else? The hon. Baronet (Sir R. Inglis) said, that their conduct towards the Colonies was not a case in point. He said that we were bound to respect existing rights, and to fulfil compacts; but what compact was there in Australia, where they paid the Catholic chaplains, and provided churches for all sects out of the public funds? The English, Scotch, and Romish churches were expressly recognised there as in a state of perfect equality. There was no compact whatever binding them to do this; and in Upper Canada, where there was also no compact, they had fifty-six endowed Rectories of the Established Church, thirty-five Presbyterian, and thirty Roman Catholic, all paid by the State. How did they deal with the clergy reserves in Canada? In 1840, the notion of appropriating these reserves exclusively to the Protestant clergy, was scouted even in the House of Lords. A portion of these lands was set apart for the religious instruction of others, and the power of distributing them was left to the Governor and Council. This was not expressed in the Act of Parliament; but equality had been practically established. Their acts, to use the expression of the right hon. Gentleman, had been better than their words. The funds had been distributed with perfect equality, and perfect satisfaction had been the result. If this were wrong—if the opposite principle were sound—why not follow it out everywhere else, as they did in Ireland? Why, if the hon. Baronet's principle was good, it ought to be universal? Why not carry it into effect in India? Because, if they did, they would destroy their power in India. They knew that they could not have an English rector for each street in Calcutta, or an archbishop of Juggernaut! But why did they enforce the principle in Ireland? Because, up to the present time, they fancied that they might do so with impunity. He thought, however, that the right hon. Gentleman had told them justly and plainly the other night, that the time for impunity was past. He had heard, almost with pain, that passage in the right hon. Gentleman's speech which coupled Ireland with America. However wise and necessary the concessions the right hon. Gentleman might feel it to be his duty to make, yet they would have come with a better grace from a British Minister if they had been made to that portion of their Irish fellow-countrymen who still clung to the Union, and discharged their duties in that House, instead of being yielded to the agitators in Conciliation-hall. The right hon. Gentleman had said that he had felt great comfort when expressing the sentiments which he felt it to be his duty to express with respect to the American President's speech, because he had on the previous night sent a message of peace to Ireland. He (Mr. Ward) was one who felt very curious about Irish affairs; and he was anxious to see what effect had been produced in Ireland by a speech which had nearly produced perfect unanimity here, for all party differences were sunk in dealing with it, and all with confidence left the honour of the country in the hands of the right hon. Gentleman. He had consulted a paper published in Ireland, a paper having great circulation and influence (*The Nation*), to see how it regarded that on which all here were unanimous. It began thus:—

> "Our secession from the policy and feelings of the Empire is beginning to be felt. America has acted on it; she has defied England. She has annexed Texas against England's interest and wishes. She occupies and states her intention to annex Oregon—a part, says England, of the British Empire; a part of the States, says Mr. Polk. A more direct defiance was never offered, a more serious hurt has not happened to a great Power these thirty years."

It then proceeded to say,—

> "Here is Ireland's position, and let all the world know it that likes, and resent it that can. We court, and are most grateful for, the sympathy of America. We expect from her policy that opportunity which shall not be bargained away for concessions, formal or substantial. We shall resume our liberty as a right, not as a concession. We shall owe England nothing for its recovery; and, least of all, shall we pay her for her reluctant submission to our power, by becoming the tools of her ambition."

He was not afraid of this. He thought he knew how to draw the distinction between empty bluster and bold resolve. Men who meant these things would not talk of them; but then they were giving encouragement to those who put forth those things, when they proclaimed that what Ireland could not expect from their justice, she might obtain from their fears. It seemed to him that they were working out that principle which Grattan had laid down in 1782, "That England's weakness was Ireland's strength." Was it not lamentable that sixty-five years should have made no difference in the truth of that maxim? Nay, that France might say, to this day, without the possibility of contradiction, what Napoleon had said of Ireland forty years ago,—"*C'est un pays, dont le sort a dépendu d'une nuit propice*"—"It is a country, the fate of which had depended on one propitious night." Why were such opinions entertained? Because they were not one united Empire, as they might be, and as he trusted they should be, if they at once proceeded with that series of measures which were destined to bind the two countries together. He trusted that there would at length be the commencement of a policy which would bind together their common sympathies, unite their common interests, and dispose them to defend their common rights against a common enemy. But the first step towards this, must be to get rid of those odious prejudices which separated Oxford from Dublin, and produced a wider chasm between the natives of Kent and Kildare, than between the Catholics of Ireland and those of any other country. He wanted to see England embark on a new course; and for the commencement of such a course he believed his Motion would be the best means of testifying her sincerity. He was not to be met, he hoped, upon technical grounds. He was not to be told that his proposition might be very good, if there were a large fund at the disposal of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. He said he did not want the money. What he wished, was to see the principle affirmed. He wanted the House to declare that there should be a reconstruction of the Ecclesiastical system in Ireland, and he was ready upon those terms to give Ministers any credit they might wish for. He did not mean to pledge other Gentlemen; but he stated this broadly, and he did not see any necessity for shrinking from it. He knew that great principles could not be established without great sacrifices; and he, for one, was ready to make every allowance and every concession that could reasonably be asked, and to couple the proposed change with the most scrupulous regard for all existing rights. What he wanted was a distinct and intelligible pledge that the principle of a reconstruction of the Irish Established Church was to be entertained. The moment was propitious. They had upon the Throne a Queen whose opinions upon the particular question before the House it would be presumption in him to pretend to conjecture, but whose past conduct had shown that she would never allow her personal feelings to stand in the way of any measure of justice or relief to Ireland, which the boldest of Her Ministers dared to suggest. This gave a reality, a practicability, to the change which he recommended, which former Ministers had not possessed. The right hon. Gentleman had the advantage, too, of having the aid of an Opposition who were ready to share with him the odium of his present measure; but what was desired was a plan which afforded a better prospect of permanency—a plan of a larger grasp, and founded on more comprehensive and intelligible principles. Here they laid down and affirmed a principle which they did not clearly carry out. It was the interest and the duty of the House to consider this. It was of the deepest importance that they should do what they all wished to do, in such a way as to lessen the objections, by rational men, to their policy, and to serve as an indication of their future course. He believed that his Amendment would do this; and with this conviction he should move—

> "That it is the opinion of this House that any provision to be made for the purposes of the present Bill, ought to be taken from the Funds already applicable to Ecclesiastical purposes in Ireland."

Captain *Berkeley* was well aware that on such a great question as the proposed grant to Maynooth, by which the public mind was so excited, as appeared by the numerous petitions to the House on the subject, that it was generally considered neither manly nor straightforward conduct to refrain from giving a vote one way or the other; and, generally speaking, he was ready to admit the truth of this remark. Nevertheless he had refrained from voting on the grant as proposed by the right hon. Baronet opposite, because although as anxious, under the circumstances of the case and our relations with Ireland, that an increased grant should be made, he objected upon principle, and upon principle that had hitherto guided his conduct. From a large body of his constituency he received a petition, requesting to know if he would support the prayer of it. His answer was, although he approved of many of the sentiments contained in the petition, he could not support it as a whole—in objecting to any increase of the grant whatever. The very same reason prevented his giving his vote to the proposition of the right hon. Baronet; he could not support it as a whole, and he had no means of dividing the unobjectionable from the objectionable. However he might desire this boon for Ireland, he would not seek to obtain that which was serviceable, by means of which he entirely disapproved, more especially as he conceived that other means were to be found more politic, more just, and calculated to be received by the Irish people as a still greater boon. He was unwilling to impose a fresh burden on the people; to increase their burdens was contrary to justice and reason; and impolitic, as engendering the worst feelings amongst those professing different religious opinions. Let them look to the manner in which the Irish had been treated with reference to the Established Church in that country. So far back as the times of Bishop Bedell, that zealous and pious Protestant says, that—

> "The English had all along neglected the Irish as a nation, not only conquered, but undisciplinable, and that the clergy had scarce considered them as a part of their charge, but had left them wholly in the hands of their own priests without taking any care of them, but the making them pay their tithes."

They found that the Irish Established Church was the monster grievance of Ireland. Mr. O'Connell, in 1840, in the Report to the National Association of Ireland says—

> "Your Committee beg leave to report, that they are unanimously of opinion that the most afflicting beyond comparison of all the grievances which the people of Ireland sustain, is to be found in the misappropriation of the ecclesiastical revenues of Ireland."

And in another part he goes on to say—

> "England does not support the Church of the minority, but that Ireland, on the contrary, suffers this giant, this monster evil."

He would remind the right hon. Gentleman opposite of an expression which he had once used. He asked if it were in human nature to bear the wrongs imposed; if they were Irishmen, would they bear it? And yet what was the opinion of Dr. Arnold as to Ireland, and what should be done with respect to it?—the calumnies that had been promulgated respecting it, and the impediments they had created in the way of pacification? Dr. Arnold says—

> "Good Protestants and bad Christians have talked nonsense, and more than nonsense, so long, about Popery, and the Beast, and Antichrist, that the simple, just, and charitable measure of establishing the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland seems removed by common consent."

He wished to say one word as to the effect of good government upon the Irish people. He had in his hand the copy of an address presented to Lord Normanby, when he was Lord Lieutenant of that country, from nearly 100,000 Roman Catholics of the county of Mallow, in which they stated—

> "We stand before you in number amounting to above 100,000; the greatest part of us own ourselves as having belonged to that party in this country who advocated the Repeal of the Union. We thought the only remedy for such evils was a recurrence to a domestic legislature. But the experience we have had of your Excellency's wise, just, and paternal Government, has taught us otherwise; and we tender to your Excellency our solemn abjurations of the question of the Repeal of the

Legislative Union, and of any other question calculated to produce an alienation of feeling between the inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland."

But how could the present Government talk of conciliating Ireland when they appointed those to the chief Government of Ireland who acted upon principles directly contrary to those of Lord Normanby? Could they, he would ask, produce such a certificate from the Irish people in favour of any one of their Lords Lieutenant as that which Lord Normanby had obtained? In seconding the Motion of his hon. Friend, and giving it his hearty support, he begged to disclaim any intention or desire to lower or do injury to the Protestant Established Church, of which he was a Member, and to which he was as sincerely attached as any hon. Gentleman who heard him. He trusted no one would impute to him such motives, but should any do so, he would say to them, "Judge not lest ye be judged." He begged leave to second the Motion.

Sir *T. Fremantle*, in rising to oppose the Amendment of the hon. Member for Sheffield, felt called upon to testify his respect for the consistency with which, through good report and through evil report, he had adhered to the principle of his Motion. Whether as a supporter of Ministers in whose policy he agreed, or opposing Ministers from whose political principles he dissented, it could not be denied that the hon. Member had lost no opportunity of bringing forward this Motion, and urging it upon the attention of the House, with that great ability for which he was so justly distinguished. While bearing this due tribute to the hon. Gentleman's consistency and zeal, he must, however, be permitted to say that, in the present instance, the opportunity selected by the hon. Gentleman for proposing his Amendment was most inopportune. He thought so great a principle as that involved in the hon. Member's Motion ought not to have been brought forward incidentally as an Amendment upon a question for the payment of 26,000*l.* to the College of Maynooth, and attached to a Bill of this nature. But let it not be supposed that he was in any way complaining of the hon. Member's conduct in so doing: he was sensible of the courtesy shown by the hon. Member on a previous occasion, in not interposing his Amendment on the second reading—he was quite aware of the anxiety shown by the hon. Member to avoid doing anything that would endanger the success of the Government measure; but he must say, nevertheless, in regard to the question itself, that the occasion chosen this year for bringing it forward was not the most proper one, either in justice to that question itself, or to the measure to which it was sought to attach it. It was probable, for instance, that many hon. Gentlemen who agreed in the abstract with the Amendment, might yet feel themselves precluded from voting for it by the terms of the original proposition; while, on the other hand, many hon. Gentlemen who were anxious to do all they could to oppose and resist the measure of the Government altogether, would take advantage of the forms of the House, and vote in favour of the Amendment, in order to throw over the Bill. Therefore, the decision of to-night and the division which would be taken, would not by any means be a fair or correct test of the amount of support which would be given to the principle laid down by the hon. Gentleman, or form any criterion of the state of parties on the question. Therefore he said, the hon. Gentleman had not chosen the most fitting occasion for bringing forward a question of such magnitude as was involved in the Amendment he had proposed. Suppose the hon. Gentleman's Motion was carried, and that it was proposed to reconstruct the property of the Established Church in Ireland, and to make the surplus revenues available for this or any other purpose—it would be equally necessary to go into Committee, for there was no consolidated fund of Church property from which the required money could be voted. At present, there was no fund out of which the money necessary could be voted; and the hon. Gentleman himself anticipated that objection when he said, if the House would only agree to his proposal, he would support the Government in a vote as large as they pleased out of the Consolidated Fund. He, however, was not to be bought by such a bribe. He was not prepared, for the sake of the hon. Gentleman's support to any vote, to sacrifice so great a principle as would be involved, did he accede to the hon. Gentleman's Motion. With regard to the surplus Church revenues, which the hon. Gentleman said existed, and which he contended might be made available for Roman Catholic purposes, he had not on this occasion gone into any detail to prove its amount; and as he believed his statement was generally correct, it was not necessary that he should go into detail in reply. The whole amount of the Church property in Ireland the hon. Member had stated to be 650,000*l.* But from that must be deducted the large sums expended by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for repairing churches and providing for the performance of divine worship, in consequence of the vestry cess having been thrown on those funds. He should say, therefore, that as the deductions for those purposes—and they were truly ecclesiastical purposes — amounted to 70,000*l.*, the net revenue should be put down at 580,000*l*, and not 650,000*l.* Then, again, as to the hon. Member's calculation as to the average income of each living. Taking the curates with the parochial clergy, the average income of each living would not be more, he thought, than 200*l.* or 220*l.* a year. It was true the hon. Gentleman had not rested his case to any extent on his statements in these respects; but as he (Sir T. Fremantle) considered those statements a little overcharged, he had felt it necessary to say that he did not altogether concur in them. Looking at the nature of the question proposed by the hon. Gentleman, he thought it not out of place to take a short review of what had passed with regard to it since it was first brought forward up to the present time. And he would ask the House—he would ask the hon. Gentleman—whether he considered he had made much progress in the propagation of his principle since that fatal period, as the hon. Gentleman had himself called it, viz., the year 1834, when it was first propounded? It had been productive of great political events, no doubt. Ministry after Ministry had been overthrown by it; but did the measure now stand in a better position in the country or in Parliament, in reference to the amount of support it received, than when it was first proposed? In 1834, the hon. Gentleman had a majority of the House of Commons in favour of the Appropriation question. During the years 1836 and 1837, no Tithe Bill for Ireland could be carried because of the Appropriation Clause; but in 1838, the friends of the appropriation principle found it necessary to abandon it altogether; and a Bill settling the Irish Tithe question was carried without the objectionable Appropriation Clause. He did not accuse the hon. Member for Sheffield of any inconsistency in the matter; on the contrary, he had been consistent throughout; for in 1838, he proposed that the Appropriation Clause should be inserted in the Bill, notwithstanding its abandonment by the Government. But what was the proposition now upon which the hon. Gentleman devised to fix his appropriation principle? The Government had introduced a Bill for improving and extending the College of Maynooth; and they had proposed it free from the question of appropriation; and, surely, if the Government of 1838 were justified in passing a Tithe Bill without the Appropriation Clause, the present Government were justified in passing a Maynooth Bill without involving in it the appropriation principle. He called then upon those hon. Members who voted against the Motion of the hon. Member for Sheffield in 1838 for engrafting the principle upon the Tithe Bill, to vote against him now when he sought to engraft it upon the Maynooth Bill. As the arguments used against the hon. Member's Motion of 1838, in the very able speech of Lord Morpeth, were equally applicable as against his Motion now, he would, with the permission of the House, quote them. Lord Morpeth, on the 2nd of July, 1838, said,—

> "He and those with whom he acted had struggled hard for the principle of appropriation. Three times they had endeavoured to scale the perilous breach, and three times they suffered repulse; three times they had battled to carry the principle, and three times they had been defeated; and he could not shut his eyes to the fact, that in the present state of affairs and of parties the chance of success in the present year was not, to say the least, one whit more promising. Feeling this, they had thought it their duty to bring forward a Bill which did not compromise the principle of appropriation; and he equally felt that it was their duty, having taken this step according to the best of their judgment, and with a sincere view of doing what they thought would most benefit the country and secure the peace of that part which was mainly interested—viz. Ireland; having brought forward a Bill which did not compromise the principle of appropriation, he felt called upon to resist the Resolution now moved by the hon. Member for Sheffield."

He thought those arguments were even stronger now. On the same occasion the noble Lord the Member for London said,—

> "Again, they had been reproached for not following up the Appropriation Clause for the benefit of all classes in Ireland who would receive religious instruction. That course might, no doubt, have been adopted by Government;

but would any of those Gentlemen who reproached him for not taking that course venture to say that he thought a Bill containing that clause was likely to be passed, or was likely to attain the object of establishing that principle in the Statute book? The question was between doing nothing whatever—not moving a single step towards removing the evils that existed in Ireland on this subject of tithes—and adopting a Bill to which the Legislature might be brought to agree."

He said also, that if the House were now unwisely to agree to the proposition of the hon. Member, and tack the Appropriation Clause to this Bill, they would do that which would be fatal to the measure. Continuing the history of this Appropriation Clause, the House would recollect the mishap that occurred to it in 1843, when the House was counted out while the question was before it, and no division was taken; but in the last Session it did succeed in going to a division, and what was the result? It was defeated by a majority of ninety-five. He trusted the House was not now prepared to sanction the principle, in reference to this Bill, which they had so often and so recently negatived when brought forward as a substantive proposition. Sufficient for the day was the evil thereof; and on the present occasion there was no necessity for bringing forward the question. What he meant was that the principle of appropriation was inapplicable to the present occasion and the present question. That principle, as advocated by the hon. Gentleman, involved the appropriation of the whole church property of Ireland; for, if they admitted the principle of the Amendment, and took 26,000*l.* as a surplus for this purpose of Maynooth or any other, they violated the principles upon which the property of the Church stood, and left it as a question open for future consideration how much more of those revenues they would take for any other purpose. But the hon. Member was not content with that, for he called upon Parliament altogether to reconstruct the property of the Established Church in Ireland; and two years ago he had told the House what his views of that reconstruction were. He then said,—

"He believed the total amount of the Church property in Ireland was 512,000*l.*, and he proposed to apportion it in this way; he would give 70,000*l.* to the Protestants, to the Presbyterians and the Wesleyans another 70,000*l.*, and the remaining 372,000*l.* to the Roman Catholics."

This was the reconstruction the hon. Gentleman suggested. The question as now brought forward by the hon. Member, was not merely one of amount, and if they took from these revenues of the Church 26,000*l.* this year to relieve the Consolidated Fund, they would come forward with new claims upon those revenues in the next. And if they relieved the Consolidated Fund from this charge for Maynooth, why should they not relieve it equally of the charge for education? Why did not the hon. Gentleman, if he thought the revenues of the Established Church in Ireland ought to bear this charge, propose, in like manner, to take the Education Vote from the same source? The question for the House to consider was this—should they deal with the whole property of the Established Church in Ireland—reconstruct it, and dispose of it in different ways—in fact, should they confiscate the whole of the Church property in Ireland? Were they justified in making such appropriation? Were they justified, looking at all the circumstances that had passed in regard to that Church and its establishment, in making such an appropriation? The hon. Gentleman had dealt very slightly with the subject of the Union, and had said his (Sir T. Fremantle's) right hon. Friend (Sir R. Peel) had rejected the 5th Article of the Union in his speech of last year. Upon looking at that speech, he could not find anything to bear out that statement of the hon. Member's. His right hon. Friend admitted there was a compact entered into at the Union; he would not read the words his right hon. Friend used, but he would say that no one could read them without being satisfied that what his right hon. Friend meant to convey was, that it would be a breach of a solemn engagement if by any act Parliament were to confiscate the property of the Established Church of Ireland. They must consider fairly the circumstances under which the Union was passed. They must consider what were the impressions and what was the understanding of the contracting parties to the agreement; and he would ask, was it not the fact, that the Parliament, both of England and Ireland, looked upon the Act of Union, and entered into it, as an additional security for the maintenance of the Protestant Church Establishment in Ireland in all its integrity? They had been taunted with saying that there was also a contract entered into at the Union to maintain the College of Maynooth. He did not urge it as a contract, but as an implied understanding, to which, in honour and good faith this country was bound, and which Parliament would not, therefore, be justified in breaking; and if the Government were justified in using that argument as to the maintenance of Maynooth, they were doubly justified in using it in regard to the maintenance of the Protestant Established Church. Again, in the Catholic Emancipation Act, the same understanding as to the security of the Church was entered into. He did not believe that Act would ever have been passed if it had not been accompanied by an understanding—an understanding on both sides—that the property of the Protestant Church in Ireland should be maintained inviolate. Indeed, there were words in the Act itself which, if they did not declare that understanding in express words, could not be taken but as implying it. It could not be forgotten that the 24th section of that Act stated—

> "And whereas the Protestant Episcopal Church of England and Ireland, and the doctrine, discipline, and government thereof, and likewise the Protestant Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and the doctrine, discipline, and government thereof, are by the respective Acts of Union of England and Scotland, and of Great Britain and Ireland, established permanently and inviolably."

What was the meaning of the Protestant Episcopal Church of England and Ireland, and its doctrines, discipline, and government, as here referred to, unless it were looked upon as a tangible authority, guaranteeing the maintenance of that Church and revenues? He contended that this did expressly guarantee the inviolability of the property of that Church. And if Parliament were to concur with the hon. Member for Sheffield, and violate the engagement entered into by Parliament as to Church property, what did they suppose would be the effect on other descriptions of property? This property of the Church, be it remembered, was guaranteed by the prescription of 300 years, as well as by enactment; and if they now interfered with a title so devised, let them consider what the consequence would be upon all other property. Look at the forfeited estates. Would those hon. Gentlemen who proposed thus to deal with the property of the Church be prepared to say, with regard to those forfeited estates, we are open to admit that the Government and Parliament of former days may have taken a different view of such questions from that we take, but we think it was by an act of spoliation and violence that the ancestors of the present possessors of those estates came into possession of them some three or four hundred years ago, and we are now prepared to re-open the title by which they have been so long held, and to apportion them, and dispose of them, as we may think fit. He said if they so dealt with the property of the Church, they would shake the foundation of all such property as he referred to. There would be no certainty; every species of property would be liable to constant change, and no decision of a court of law given fifty years back, no length of possession would be held binding as giving a title to its present possessors. Many Acts of Parliament might on this same principle be considered unjust. Look at the National Debt. Suppose it was objected that that debt was contracted, not by us, but by our forefathers—we had nothing to do with contracting it, yet we are called upon to pay it; we are poor, and this 800,000,000*l*. of debt weighs heavy upon us. Why what a case might be made out! The honour of the people of this country rendered it impossible for them to take such a course with regard to the National Debt; and he contended that the Church property ought to be looked upon in the same light. He contended that if they took the course suggested by the hon. Member for Sheffield, they would lower the authority of Parliament—they would lessen the influence and the credit of the Government, and check the confidence of the country to a very great extent. Upon this point he had the evidence of an hon. Gentleman, who was well qualified to speak of Irish affairs, and whose authority, he believed, would not be disputed by the other side—he meant Mr. Blake, who, in his evidence given before a Parliamentary Committee, said,—

> "I consider the Protestant Establishment of Ireland a main link in the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland. The Protestant Church of Ireland is rooted in the Constitution. It is established by the fundamental laws of the realm; it is rendered, as far as the most solemn Acts of the Legislature can render any institution, fundamental and perpetual; it is declared so by the Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland. I think it could not now be disturbed without danger to the general securities we possess for liberty, property, and order, and without danger to all the blessings we derive under a lawful Government and a free Constitution."

He (Sir T. Fremantle) supported the Established Church on higher grounds. He thought it was the duty of the State to maintain a religious Establishment; by that he meant that some form of Christianity should be maintained. And he went further, and said that he considered that established religion and that Church should be in connexion with the State, and subject in certain respects to its control and regulation. Now, the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland did not comply with the condition which the Protestant Establishment did. And when he found that the Protestant Church both in England and Ireland, and that alone, had been established and guaranteed by Parliament, he thought it ought to be maintained inviolate; and as a consistent Protestant he could not give his consent for its subversion. But supposing the opposite principle were admitted, what course were they to take? Were they to adopt the voluntary principle? Were they to endow all religious sects? By adopting the proposal of the hon. Gentleman, it was evident they would throw every thing in Ireland into a state of the most complete and inexplicable confusion. Much stress had been laid as to what would be the probable result of this Maynooth Bill—whether it would be received by the people of Ireland with satisfaction, and as settling a great question, or whether it would not necessitate other and larger concessions. But what would be the inevitable consequence of adopting the hon. Member's appropriation principle to the extent to which the hon. Gentleman would carry it? Did they suppose that the abstraction of this 26,000*l.* or more from the revenues of the Church would prove a final, a satisfactory, or a conclusive measure? On the contrary, the almost immediate effect would be to lay the grounds for applying to Parliament for much more. The Table of the House would be loaded with petitions; Motions would be brought forward day after day, and the appetite would be whetted for fresh spoliations. Instead of proving an act of kindness and conciliation, it would become a bone of contention, for which the Irish people would not cease to fight for many a year to come, and excite discontent and religious animosity in that country to an extent far beyond that to which they had been hitherto carried. It would become a contest not for power only, but for money. The Irish Roman Catholics would say this is but a petty miserable instalment of what we ought to have, and they would consider themselves as aggrieved parties. If the principle of the hon. Member were admitted for a moment, he would say far better go the whole length, and hand over to the Roman Catholics the whole Church revenues of Ireland, then stop short with such a miserable concession as this. But what would the Protestant party in Ireland say in that case? Were their feelings not to be consulted? He thought the result would be a strong feeling against the Imperial Government at home on the part of the Irish Protestants. Then what would be the effect on the Repeal question? Did any hon. Member think it would convert the Repealers to good and stanch supporters of the Union? That was not his opinion. He did not think that those who were now agitating for a national Irish Parliament in Dublin, would be diverted from their purpose by such a concession as that proposed by the hon. Member. It was true there might be one item less in their catalogue of grievances, real or imaginary; but the Repeal agitation would not be stopped or allayed, while the Protestants, to whom they must look for the maintenance of the Union, would not be much disposed, he thought, to continue their attachment to the United Parliament; and they would find, ere long, that our best supporters would become our most deadly enemies. He would refer to a work entitled, *Ireland and its Rulers;* the production of a writer who appeared to be well acquainted with his subject generally, and who had brought together much useful information; and though, perhaps, in some few instances, it might not be altogether to be relied on, there was undoubtedly much that was valuable in the work. The writer, in speaking of the Irish Church, said,—

> "By abolishing the Irish Protestant Church, you will cut away the strongest link that binds the upper nation with England."

This was the writer's expression, not his (Sir T. Fremantle's).

> "It is difficult enough to govern Ireland, with the lower nation aspiring to self-government; but how is Ireland to be kept, if the hold on both nations be lost? The Church is far more dear to the upper nation in Ireland than its sister Establishment is to any of the English people. It is connected with all that the upper Irish nation holds most venerable and dear. Whatever of historic pride—whatever of transmitted associations—whatever of inspiring recollections are common to the Irish Protestants—are clustered around the Estab-

lishment. It is the proudest boast of their Imperialism, and is the chief object of their political prejudices. Next to their monarch they give their political affections to their Church. Take that Church away, and what reasons would the Protestants have for remaining Imperialists? If the British Parliament will confiscate the Irish Church, what else will it have done but given a speaking lesson to the Irish of the normal law of reprisal and spoliation—of destruction and political dilapidation which is unfolded throughout the political career of Ireland? Such conduct would familiarise the mind of Ireland with the notion that the Union was not a permanent measure; that it could easily be set aside; that

> "'A breath could make it, as a breath has made.'"

These views were strongly stated, but he believed them to be true; and the same author said,—

> "The abolition of the Protestant Establishment would give a shock of a moral nature to the Union. Such a measure as the destruction of the Church would be visibly proclaiming to universal Ireland that England made very light of the Act of Union; that she considered it of no binding force; that it was not to be considered as a solemn Treaty, but merely as a trumpery Act of Parliament, in itself not more entitled to respect than a local Bill concerning a turnpike trust. The Act of Union may externally, or taken merely in its instrumental sense, not be more than any other Act of Parliament. Its wax and parchment are not of themselves more venerable than those of the Act of Settlement, or of any other Act of Parliament; but the Union between the two countries was a moral transaction, involving the highest national considerations; and if the English Legislature sets no value on its essential and almost fundamental agreement, that the Church of Ireland continue established by law, how can the Union itself be entitled to any consideration, any reverence, or respect from any portion of the Irish people? If the solemn contrivances to exact regulations of the Union be disregarded by England, why should the institution of political incorporation be considered as valid?"

He believed, that if this important Article of the Union was not upheld, a great blow would be struck at the maintenance of the Union itself; and the effect on the Protestant mind of England would be as great as on the Protestant mind of Ireland. And after the petitions they had had on the effect of this proposal for an additional grant on the people of England, they ought not to throw this altogether out of their consideration. It had been stated that the Established Church of Ireland was an insult and an injury to the Roman Catholics; that it was the monster grievance; and until the axe be laid at its root, there would be no contentment in that country. He denied that the Established Church was the great evil, or an insult, though of late years it had suited the leaders of political parties in Ireland to lay down that proposition. He admitted that unequal laws, and penal Statutes, and legal and civil disqualifications, were an insult, and implied degradation; but he could not understand how the possession of property by one party instead of another, could be justly considered as an insult or injury. They must look at the circumstances attending the possession of property, as well in corporations as in private individuals; and if by an arrangement made 300 years ago they found that the Church had this property, they should consider it rather as an accidental circumstance, that could not imply insult or injury to those who were excluded. And when they remembered the connexion between England and Ireland, the Union between the Churches as well as the Parliaments of the two countries, and the strong Protestant feeling that existed in England, it could not be considered that the Roman Catholics were degraded, because the possessions of the Church were in the hands of the small minority of the whole population of Ireland. And it was quite clear too, that this notion was new. It was not till very recently that such notions had been put forth. The language of the Roman Catholics, when applying to Parliament for relief from civil disabilities, or when giving evidence before Parliamentary Committees, had always been to disclaim any desire to interfere with the property of the Church Establishment in Ireland; and they had, on more occasions than one, solemnly denied that they entertained any such idea. He might refer over and over again to quotations from evidence, to prove that in their petitions and in their evidence they disclaimed any such idea, that the existence of the Irish Protestant Church Establishment was an insult or injury to them. In 1792 a petition was presented to the Irish Parliament from the Roman Catholics, in which they said,—

> "With regard to the constitution of the Church, we are indeed inviolably attached to our own: first, because we believe it to be true; and, next, because, beyond belief, we know that its principles are calculated to make us, and have made us, good men and citizens. But as we find it answers to us, individually,

all the useful ends of religion, we solemnly and conscientiously declare that we are satisfied with the present condition of our ecclesiastical policy. With satisfaction we acquiesce in the establishment of the National Church; we neither repine at its possessions, nor envy its dignities; we are ready upon this oint to give every assurance that is binding upon man."

If the Church were then considered a monster grievance, was it to be supposed that they would have come forward and said, they acquiesced with satisfaction in its establishment, and did not repine at its possessions. Then there was the petition from the Roman Catholic body, presented in 1808. What did that petition set forth? It stated,—

> "Your petitioners most solemnly declare, that they do not seek or wish in any way to injure or encroach upon the rights, privileges, possessions, or revenues appertaining to the bishops and clergy of the Protestant religion as by law established, or to the churches committed to their charge, or any of them; the extent of their humble application being, that they be governed by the same laws, and rendered capable of the same civil and military offices, franchises, rewards, and honours, as their fellow subjects of every other religious denomination."

Let the House also recollect the remarkable evidence given by Dr. Doyle upon the subject. The right rev. Gentleman was asked,—

> "Do you conceive that there exists a desire on the part of the Catholic Church generally, or of many individuals in it, supposing the arrangements referred to in a former question to be made or not, to possess themselves of any part of the revenues of the Church of England? Whether such arrangements were made or not made, I never discovered in others, nor have I entertained myself, any disposition whatever to be put into possession of any portion at all of the revenues or property belonging to the Established Church. I will add, that if any portion of that property were offered to me. I would not accept of it; that if it were proposed to grant the stipend at present spoken of out of the tithes received by the clergy of the Establishment, I would not be induced to accept of it.—Without meaning to doubt that which you have stated, were it possible to suppose such a disposition to exist on the part of the Roman Catholic Church, is it one that would find any countenance or favour on the part of the Roman Catholic laity? Unquestionably not; they would be more averse to it than the Roman Catholic clergy, if more averse to it they could be."

Let them add to this testimony that afforded by the petition of 1826. That document stated as follows:—

> "The petitioners consider it due, not more to themselves than to their fellow subjects in Great Britain, to declare their conscientious impression that many, if not all, of the prejudices still retained against their claims, result from an ignorance of their actual condition, their principles, and their objects. The petitioners seek not the destruction, but the enjoyment of the Constitution, and in the pursuit of that desire, they do not by any means solicit, or expect, or wish, that a single individual of their Protestant fellow-subjects should be deprived of any right, liberty, privilege, or immunity, of which he is at present possessed. The petitioners, in praying for the restoration of their rights, seek not, nor do they wish to burden the State with, any provision or pension for the ministers of their religion, nor do they seek, nor have they sought, to deprive any class of His Majesty's subjects of any right, privilege, or franchise whatsoever."

The right hon. Gentleman continued. If these were the sentiments held by the Catholic body in Ireland, it was certainly a proof that, at least up to a very recent period, the existence of the Protestant Church of that country was not considered so grievous an injury as it had of late been found convenient to represent it. When they saw, as by the evidence he had quoted they had an opportunity of seeing, the Catholics themselves representing that they had no wish to appropriate the revenues of the Established Church, he could not see upon what principle that Church could be placed in the light in which its opponents had seen fit to represent it. As to its existence producing a sense of insult, a feeling of degradation, without the abolition of which nothing could be effected for the amelioration of the condition of Ireland —as to taking up this proposition, he contended that it was a line of argument perfectly untenable, and perfectly unjustifiable. He maintained that the Protestant Church of Ireland was justified in maintaining the rights which it at present possessed. At the same time he was prepared to admit that property had its duties as well as its rights, and that Irish Church property should not be used in a manner offensive or injurious to the Catholic portion of the community. And in that sense, without advocating the principle of restitution, but considering that they maintained on one hand the rights of the property of the Established Church, he contended that it was consistent with justice to act, so far as they could, with liberality towards others; and if they could, consistently with their principles, make a grant of the nature before the House, that they were not only justified in adopting that course, but bound to take it. He hoped that the House, acting upon this principle, would negative the Motion submitted to it.

Sir *Walter James* saw many objections to the particular Motion of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield. It would be insulting to the Irish Establishment and to the Irish Protestants to introduce into the Committee considerations with regard to the Act of Union, in respect of a Bill which simply had for its object to endow the College of Maynooth. But, when he stated this, when he stated that in his opinion there were grave technical as well as constitutional difficulties in the way of the Motion, he must say that he did think that the subject of the Irish Church must, before many years elapsed, be seriously brought under the consideration of Parliament. He said so, grieving that such a course should become necessary; for he deeply respected the Establishment—he admired its creed; he was warmly devoted to its clergy, and to everything which ever had or which ever would belong to it. He had been urged by his constituents to oppose the increased endowment to Maynooth; but he would be ashamed of himself had he given any countenance to those representations. His family had always supported Catholic Emancipation, and this Bill he considered as its necessary consequence. He believed also it was the intention of Mr. Pitt to have accompanied the Act of Union with a measure for the payment of the Roman Catholic priesthood in Ireland. Among those who had made representations to him on this subject there was one body for which he must profess his sincere respect—the Wesleyan Methodists. This class of religionists somewhat resembled the Roman Catholic priesthood in their pious labours among the poor. They visited mines and collieries to impart the light of the gospel to those who were without spiritual instruction. He felt bound to give that body his sincere though humble tribute of respect; but he could not agree with the views which had been urged upon him on the subject under discussion. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for Ireland, considered this was only a trivial and small measure, and merely concerned the increase of the vote of 9,000*l.* to 26,000*l.* He confessed that after the conclusive speeches of the right hon. Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Macaulay) and the noble Lord the Member for Dorsetshire (Lord Ashley), he could not consider the measure to be so confined in its nature; and for his part he thought that the measure ought to be looked at in its large, broad, clear sense—that the principle involved ought to be considered, as well as the results to which it would lead. He would ask the House to look at the conciliatory manner in which the measure had been received in Ireland; and then he wished them to declare whether they would not be disposed to say that they regarded the measure as one of a series, rather than as a single measure. The fact had been clearly put in the *Cork Reporter*, and he would trouble the House by reading an extract from that journal. The hon. Member here read from the newspaper an extract to the effect that as the Roman Catholics of Ireland had not a sufficient number of priests, and were unable to supply the deficiency from their own sources, that they had a right to look to other channels. The writer was of opinion that small glebes, paid for by the State, would be beneficial to the Irish Roman Catholic clergy. He (Sir W. James) believed that the Irish Catholic clergy would be willing to accept such endowments, provided they were given in a good spirit, and in the spirit of kindliness. But if this were done, where, he asked, was the money to come from? He thought the proposition was very fair; but then where was Government to get the money to effect that happy event—the conciliation of the people of Ireland, by attaching to themselves the Roman Catholic priesthood? He was anxious to deny justice to no class of his fellow Christians. The Church he was attached to was benefited by its connexion with the State; and he asked that his fellow subjects of a different religion should participate in the same advantages. If a sense of injustice was created in the minds of any portion of our fellow countrymen against the Established Church, Government could not give a heavier blow or greater discouragement to that Church, which rested on the affections of the people, and which indeed was its best prop and support, than by refusing to do justice by removing the cause of discontent. Every sect of Christians believed its peculiar creed was the true one. But they were told that it was not their duty to propagate error. What was error? An error might be comparatively so small and mixed up with so large a proportion of truth, that it was, perhaps, impossible for the best Christian to say, "My creed is entirely faultless." But on the other hand, an error might be so great, so glaring, so preponderating, that a person might come justly forward and say, "The propagation of this I withstand." It was a question of conscience. If his hon. Friend near him (Sir R. H. Inglis) entertained the latter opinion of Catholicism—if he believed the Church of Rome to be an enemy to Christianity—to be anti-Christian—if he adopted the bigoted expressions of the petitions which had been poured in upon them, then the hon Baronet was, no doubt, doing his duty in opposing the measure. But he had been brought up in a different way, and entertained very different opinions. He believed that there was in the Church of Rome something to admire, and yet much to deplore; but he did not think that he was bound to consider that Church otherwise than as a Christian Church. He would go further—he would say that if he could conceive the Church of Rome to be as idolatrous, as anti-Christian, and as abominable as his hon. Friend considered it, he did not know any one proposition which would be more likely to sap the foundations of his own religious belief altogether. He could not, without distrust of his own creed, own that these appellations could be justly applied to the Church of his ancestors. But this was a painful part of the subject to him—and how much more painful must it be to their Roman Catholic fellow countrymen? What must be their feelings, when coming over here and approaching the House, they encountered a string of a score of ragamuffins encased in placards, denouncing the endowment of Popery? What must be their feelings, when approaching still nearer, they saw Westminster Abbey, with its grey gaunt form, reared by their forefathers, contrasted by the way with Barry's fillagree work. What, he asked, must be the feelings, the associations which all these objects were fitted to call up in the Catholic mind? He thought that before they launched such false accusations against the Roman Catholic Church as they had lately hurled, they were bound to consider what, under similar circumstances, their own feelings would have been. He was prepared to maintain two propositions: first, that there was nothing in the doctrines of the Church of Rome which ought to prevent him from giving his assent to their promulgation; and, secondly, that by this grant they did not invest the Catholic with any additional power in proselytising from the Protestant Church. When they recollected that there were 150 parishes in Ireland without a single Protestant, the consideration came upon his mind with overpowering force, that such a state of things could not last much longer. He felt certain that measures to which he had pointed must soon press upon the consideration of Parliament—that sound policy required, that justice demanded, and that religious principle did not forbid it. In looking over a Return made upon the subject the other day, he was struck by finding, that while the Episcopal Church in Ireland had received 1,700,000*l.* from the Imperial purse, quite exclusive of its ordinary revenues and taxes—while the Presbyterian congregations in Ireland, numbering perhaps about as many members as did the Episcopal communion, had received upwards of 865,000*l.*; the Roman Catholic Church since the Union had only received the small sum of 365,000*l.*, being nothing more nor less than this very grant to Maynooth College. Now, when a people found that the religion in which they believed, and in which they trusted, was put upon this footing, was endowed but with this miserable pittance, could they wonder that animosity, that rancour, that a sore feeling of injustice done, of oppression suffered, should prevail from one end of Ireland to the other? He regretted sincerely the opposition to the grant so generally prevalent; but he believed that when this frenzy of bigotry had passed away—when this puerile cry had become extinct—when this violent feeling had gone down, that there would arise in every breast a still small voice to tell them, in the same accents in which it spoke in the olden time—in the same gentle words—to tell them, to do justice—to learn mercy—to walk humbly—not as Protestant ascendancy men—not as violent and bigoted zealots—but humbly—nay, penitently, before their common God.

Mr. *Milner Gibson* was glad to observe that the hon. Baronet who had just sat down appeared to see further into the future than the right hon. Secretary for Ireland. He rejoiced to have heard that hon. Gentleman acknowledge that the day was not far distant when it would be necessary for Parliament to take into their consideration the question of the constitution of the Irish Church — meaning thereby not its religion, but its property. He owned that he had been surprised at the doctrines laid down by the right hon. Secretary for Ireland. He talked of the property of the Irish Church as having something like a divine origin or safeguard. The right hon. Gentleman stated that, although there were not even a single individual Protestant in Ireland, still it would be wrong to meddle with the revenues of the Irish Church. But if so, he (Mr. M. Gibson) wished to know how they were to explain having allowed 25 per cent. of these revenues to slip into the rental of Irish landlords, and be thus diverted from their purpose of aiding in the spiritual instruction of the Irish people? And how, again, were they to explain having permitted the church cess and other taxes to be taken from the land, and paid from those funds of this Protestant Established Church which they had left for Ecclesiastical Commissioners to administer. As to the proposition of his hon. Friend the Member for Sheffield, it would be right that he should first admit the propriety of endowing Maynooth at all, before he could consent to do it from the funds to which his hon. Friend had pointed. It was only upon the grounds that there were State funds, and that the fee simple of the Irish Church was in the State, that he would be justified in appropriating its property to the endowment of Maynooth. On the second reading of the Bill he had had no opportunity of stating his views upon the Government scheme. He would, however, take this opportunity of saying, that he quite agreed with the view set forth by his hon. Friend the Member for Stockport (Mr. Cobden)—when he said that this was no theological or religious question. He viewed it as an educational question; and he felt himself justified in assisting the College of Maynooth upon the very grounds upon which many of the petitioners who had deluged the House with their objections, opposed the measure. He justified his assistance upon the ground that civil government should not concern itself in matters of religion. And, therefore, to make the religion of Maynooth the ground of refusal to aid it, was, in point of fact, to adopt the principle that the civil government of a country was to make the religion of a community the ground for granting or refusing certain civil advantages. He contended that the State had an interest in the education of all men. Priests were men, and therefore the State had an interest in the education of priests. They were told to be logical, and he should like to know whether that were not logical. They did not provide theological education for these priests. They simply supplied the funds for their general education and mental training, and he thought that this was an application of the public funds of which the public had the benefit—namely, the elevation of the moral standard of a portion of Her Majesty's subjects. When it was stated that it was wrong to say that no man should pay for the religion of another, he admitted that the argument would be a forcible one, if he could forget the popular opinion as to education generally. Why, in all schools some form of religious instruction was connected with general education; so that if they gave money for education in any form, they were taxing one portion of the people for the education of another. Why, they taxed themselves to teach almost every religion under the sun. Every schoolmaster was a religious teacher. The British and Foreign Schools, for instance, although they did not teach doctrinal religion, at all events taught general Christianity; and therefore, in the vote which they gave to the British and Foreign Schools, they taxed the Jew for the teaching of Christianity. As long as people did insist that all school teaching should be connected with religious instruction, it was quite impossible to vote any money from the public funds for educational purposes without involving themselves in the position of taxing one portion of the community to teach the religion of the other. With regard to the particular proposition of his hon. Friend, he was of opinion that it was a just and proper appropriation of the funds of the Irish Church. He conceived that we were entitled to deal with the property of the Protestant Church in Ireland as property to supply public uses, and it was for them to consider what were the best uses to which it could be put. He contended, then, that employing it for educational purposes was employing it in a very legitimate manner; and if the funds of the Church were far more than sufficient to supply spiritual instruction to the Protestant population, he could not understand what objections there could be to applying such a surplus to general purposes. It was all nonsense to talk of the requirements of the Irish Church. Although they might make a show of Protestant clergymen residing in their parishes, yet they could not show that they had provided congregations for them, They could not show that the Protestant population in Ireland was increasing. On the contrary, he believed that the Catholic population was increasing faster, and was every year bearing a larger ratio to the Protestant community than it did the year before. He believed that many who were called Protestants were in reality Roman Catholics. He had heard of a parish in Ireland where there were no Protestants; but when the bishop came down to visit it the clergyman took the precaution to borrow the congregation of his neighbour the Catholic priest, and then asserted that he had a Protestant congregation sufficiently numerous to occupy the time of the Protestant minister. Do what they would for Ireland, so long as the Establishment remained there it must be looked on by the bulk of the population as a badge of conquest and of degradation. He was ready to admit that the Bill lately introduced by the Government was an intimation of a wiser and a better policy being about to be adopted; but the Irish question was not yet solved. The Secretary of State for the Home Department said in the late debate that Protestant ascendancy in the old sense of the word could not be continued. He (Mr. Gibson) said that it should not be continued in any sense of the word. Ascendancy of one portion of a people meant the degradation of the other. How could they expect peace or harmony when they deliberately degraded a large portion of the people? There must be religious equality. They must get rid of the system of "concessions and favours and boons," and there must be a recognition of equal rights. They must not talk of granting this favour or that under the influence of intimidation; but of doing that to which the Irish people had a claim—equality of civil and religious privileges; and in his conscience he believed, if they adopted that principle of legislation, they would amalgamate England with Ireland until they became one whole—a happy and united Kingdom.

Sir *J. Walsh* said he was an advocate for Church Establishments, considering them to be for the promotion of true religion, and therefore he should oppose the Motion of the hon. Member for Sheffield. He believed, that the success of that Motion would be a fatal blow to existing Establishments, especially to the Established Church in Ireland. The Protestants of Ireland were not to be considered merely in reference to their numbers, but also in reference to their wealth and intelligence. Gentlemen opposite argued as if all Ireland were composed of Roman Catholics, and as if there were no considerable portion of Protestants in that country. It was against that most erroneous and most important delusion he wished to guard the House. Ireland was divided into two important parties. The great difference that existed between the two great classes of Irish society unfortunately led to differences among them. Unfortunately it was the case in that country more than in any other country in the world, that religion was made the watchword of dissension. In legislating for Ireland the object should be, that they should not legislate for one party at the expense of the other. He should say, that at the present moment it was most unwise that any attempt should be made to mar the effect of the boon about to be conferred on one class of the people of Ireland by pressing on the feelings of another class. He regretted that the hon. Member for Sheffield had taken this opportunity to bring forward his Motion, and he thought that he would have acted more judiciously if he had reserved it for some totally different occasion. If they wished to provide in the best way for the peace and tranquillity of Ireland, they should always wish so to act as to reconcile the two great parties in that country to one another. He asked, what must be the probable effect on the Protestant community in Ireland of the success of the Motion of the hon. Member for Sheffield? He admitted at once all that he had urged as to the anomaly of the Irish Church; but it must be recollected that the state of society in Ireland was just as anomalous as the state of the

Irish Church. They must consider the peculiar situation of that country, and recollect the peculiar situation in which the Established Church was placed; and they must recollect that that Church was more adapted than they supposed to the peculiar circumstances of that country. He thought that it should also be borne in mind, that with reference to circumstances of this kind, the Protestants of Ireland looked to their legislation with a great amount of suspicion. The object of the Legislature should be to show, that whilst it was their wish to conciliate the Roman Catholics, that they were determined to maintain and support the interests of the Irish Protestant Church. The hon. Member for Sheffield, in his speech, had appeared to suppose that the right hon. Gentleman had abandoned the ground of compact altogether. [Mr. *Ward* had not said that the question of compact had been abandoned, but it was not considered an insuperable barrier.] He thought it clear that there was a compact notwithstanding—everything that could characterize a national compact. However, he would not rely upon that ground alone. He had gone to the library to refer to the right hon. Baronet's speech, but he found that the volume which contained it had vanished, and was most probably referred to by the right hon. Gentleman himself. He must say that he thought the present Motion had been brought forward on a most inappropriate occasion, and he did not think that the present was an occasion which would justify the Irish Roman Catholic Members in supporting it. When the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government came forward, at the risk of a great amount of odium and unpopularity, to confer a boon upon the Irish population, he thought it rather an unfortunate occasion for the hon. Member to interpose a Motion of this kind. He thought it much better that the hon. Member would accept the boon in the spirit in which it was offered, rather than attempt to mix it up with other questions. He was sure that any measure calculated to endanger the Protestant Church in Ireland, instead of contributing to promote the peace and tranquillity of Ireland, would have a contrary effect. He hoped, however, that the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government would consider himself bound to maintain the Protestant Church in Ireland, and that in any measures he might take for the conciliation of Ireland, he would take care to do nothing that could in any way shake the stability or impair the interests of that Church.

Mr. *Macaulay:* I was desirous Sir, to catch your eye this evening, because it happens that I have never yet found an opportunity of fully explaining my views on the important subject of the Irish Church. Indeed, I was not in this country when that subject for a time threw every other into the shade, disturbed the whole political world, produced a schism in the Administration of Lord Grey, and overthrew the short Administration of the right hon. Baronet opposite. The Motion now before us opens, I conceive, the whole question. My hon. Friend the Member for Sheffield, indeed, asks us only to transfer 26,000*l.* a year from the Established Church of Ireland to the College of Maynooth. But his Motion, I think, resembles an action of ejectment brought for a single farm, with the view of trying the title to a large estate. Whoever refuses to assent to what is now proposed, must be considered as holding the opinion that the property of the Irish Church ought to be held inviolate: and I can scarcely think that any person will vote for what is now proposed, who is not prepared to go very much farther. The point at issue, I take, therefore, to be this—whether the Irish Church, as now constituted, shall be maintained or not? Now, Sir, when a legislator is called upon to decide whether an institution shall be maintained or not, it seems to me that he ought in the first place to examine whether it be a good or a bad institution. This may sound like a truism; but if I am to judge by the speeches which on this and former occasions have been made by Gentlemen opposite, it is no truism, but an exceedingly recondite truth. I, Sir, think the Established Church of Ireland a bad institution. I will go farther. I am not speaking in anger, or with any wish to excite anger in others; I am not speaking with rhetorical exaggeration—I am calmly and deliberately expressing in the only appropriate terms an opinion which I formed many years ago; which all my observations and reflections have confirmed; and which I am prepared to support by reasons—when I say that of all the institutions now existing in the civilized world, the Established Church of Ireland seems to me the most absurd. I cannot help thinking that the speeches of those who defend this Church, suffice of themselves to prove that my views are just. For who ever heard anybody defend it on its merits? Has any Gentleman to-night defended it on its merits? We are told of the Roman Catholic oath, as if that oath, whatever be its construction, whatever be the extent of the obligation which it lays on the consciences of those who take it, could possibly prove this Church to be a good thing. We are told that Catholics of note, both laymen and divines, fifty years ago, declared that, if they were relieved from the disabilities under which they then lay, they should willingly see the Church of Ireland in possession of all its endowments; as if anything that anybody said fifty years ago could absolve us from the plain duty of doing what is now best for the country. We are told of the Fifth Article of Union; as if the Fifth Article of Union were more sacred than the Fourth. Surely, if there be any Article of the Union which ought to be regarded as inviolable, it is the Fourth, which settles the number of Members whom Great Britain and Ireland respectively are to send to Parliament. Yet the provisions of the Fourth Article have been altered with the almost unanimous assent of all parties in the State. The change was proposed by the noble Lord who is now Secretary for the Colonies. It was supported by the right hon. Baronet the Secretary for the Home Department, and by other Members of the present Administration. And so far were the opponents of the Reform Bill from objecting to this infraction of the Treaty of Union, that they were disposed to go still farther. I well remember the night on which we debated the question, whether Members should be given to Finsbury, Marylebone, Lambeth, and the Tower Hamlets. On that occasion, the Tories attempted to seduce the Irish Reformers from us, by promising that Ireland should have a share of the plunder of the metropolitan districts. After this, Sir, I must think it childish in Gentlemen opposite to appeal to the Fifth Article of Union. With still greater surprise, did I hear the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for Ireland say, that if we adopt this Amendment, we shall make all landed and funded property insecure. I am really ashamed to answer such an argument. Nobody proposes to touch any vested interest; and surely it cannot be necessary for me to point out to the right hon. Gentleman the distinction between property in which some person has a vested interest, and property in which no person has a vested interest. That distinction is part of the very rudiments of political science. Then the right hon. Gentleman quarrels with the form of the Amendment. Why, Sir, perhaps a more convenient form might have been adopted. But is it by cavils like these that a great institution should be defended? And who ever heard the Established Church of Ireland defended except by cavils like these? Who ever heard any of her advocates take the manly, the statesmanlike course? Who ever heard any of her advocates say—"I defend this institution because it is a good institution: the ends for which an Established Church exists are such and such: and I will show you that this Church attains those ends?" Nobody says this. Nobody has the hardihood to say it. What divine, what political speculator, who has written in defence of ecclesiastical establishments, ever defended such establishments on grounds which will support the Church of Ireland? What panegyric has ever been pronounced on the Churches of England and Scotland, which is not a satire on the Church of Ireland? What traveller comes among us, who is not moved to wonder and derision by the Church of Ireland? What foreign writer on British affairs, whether European or American, whether Protestant or Catholic, whether Conservative or Liberal, whether partial to England or prejudiced against England, ever mentions the Church of Ireland, without expressing his amazement that such an establishment should exist among reasonable men? And those who speak thus of it speak justly. Is there anything else like it? Was there ever anything else like it? The world is full of ecclesiastical establishments. But such a portent as this Church of Ireland, is nowhere to be found. Look round the Continent of Europe. Ecclesiastical establishments from the White Sea to the Mediterranean; ecclesiastical establishments from the Wolga to the Atlantic: but nowhere the Church of a small minority enjoying exclusive establishment. Look at America. There you have all forms of Christianity, from Mormonism, if you call Mormonism Christianity, to Romanism. In some places you have have the voluntary system. In some you have several religions connected with the State. In some you have the solitary ascendancy of a single Church. But nowhere from the Arctic Circle to Cape Horn, do you find the church of a small minority exclusively established. Look round our own Empire. We have an

Established Church in England; it is the Church of the majority. There is an Established Church in Scotland. When it was set up it was the church of the majority. A few months ago it was the church of the majority. I am not sure that even, after the late unhappy disruption, it is the Church of the minority. In our Colonies the State does much for the support of religion; but in no Colony, I believe, do we give exclusive support to the religion of the minority. Nay, even in those parts of the Empire where the great body of the population is attached to absurd and immoral superstitions, you have not been guilty of the folly and injustice of calling on them to pay for a Church which they do not want. We have not portioned out Bengal and the Carnatic into parishes, and scattered Christian rectors with stipends and glebes among millions of Pagans and Mahometans. We keep, indeed, a small Christian establishment, or rather three small Christian establishments, Anglican, Presbyterian, and Catholic. But we keep them only for the Christians in our civil and military services; and we leave untouched the revenues of the mosques and temples. In one country alone is to be seen the spectacle of a community of 8,000,000 of human beings, with a Church which is the Church of only 800,000. It has been often said, and has been repeated to-night by the hon. Member for Radnor, that this Church, though it includes only a tenth part of the population, has more than half the wealth of Ireland. But is that an argument in favour of the present system? Is it not the strongest argument that can be urged in favour of an entire change? It is true that there are many cases in which it is fit that property should prevail over number. Those cases may, I think, be all arranged in two classes. One class consists of those cases in which the preservation or improvement of property is the object in view. Thus in a railway company, nothing can be more reasonable than that one proprietor who holds 500 shares should have more power than five proprietors who hold one share each. The other class of cases in which property may justly confer privileges is where superior intelligence is required. Property is indeed but a very imperfect test of intelligence. But, when we are legislating on a large scale, it is perhaps the best which we can apply. For where there is no property, there can very seldom be any mental cultivation. It is on this principle that special jurors who have to try causes of peculiar nicety are taken from a wealthier order than that which furnishes common jurors. But there cannot be a more false analogy than to reason from these cases to the case of an Established Church. So far is it from being true that in establishing a Church we ought to pay more regard to one rich man than to five poor men, that the direct reverse is the sound rule. We ought to pay more regard to one poor man than to five rich men. For in the first place, the public ordinances of religion are of far more importance to the poor man than to the rich man. I do not mean to say that a rich man may not be the better for hearing sermons and joining in public prayers. But these things are not indispensable to him; and if he is so situated that he cannot have them, he may find substitutes. He has money to buy books, time to study them, understanding to comprehend them. Every day he may commune with the minds of Hooker, Leighton, and Barrow. He therefore stands less in need of the oral instruction of a divine than a peasant who cannot read, or who, if he can read, has no money to procure books, or leisure to peruse them. Such a peasant, unless instructed by word of mouth, can know no more of Christianity than a wild Hottentot. Nor is this all. The poor man not only needs the help of a minister of religion more than the rich man, but is also less able to procure it. If there were no Established Church, people in our rank of life would always be provided with preachers to their mind at an expense which they would scarcely feel. But, when a poor man who can hardly give his children their fill of potatoes, has to sell his pig in order to pay something to his priest, the burden is a heavy one. This is, in fact, the strongest reason for having an established Church in any country. It is the one reason which prevents me from joining with the partisans of the voluntary system. I should think their arguments unanswerable, if the question regarded the upper and middle classes only. If I would keep up the Established Church of England, it is not for the sake of lords, and baronets, and country gentlemen of 5,000*l.* a year, and rich bankers in the city. I know that such people will always have churches, aye, and cathedrals, and organs, and rich communion plate. The person about whom I am uneasy is the working man; the man who would find it difficult to pay even 5*s.* or 10*s.* a year out of his small earnings for the ministrations of religion. What is to become of him under the voluntary system? Is he to go without religious instruction altogether? That we should all think a great evil to himself and a great evil to society. Is he to pay for it out of his slender means? That would be a heavy tax. Is he to be dependent on the liberality of others. That is a somewhat precarious and a somewhat humiliating dependence. I prefer, I own, that system under which there is, in the rudest and most secluded districts, a house of God, where public worship is performed after a fashion acceptable to the great majority of the community, and where the poorest may partake of the ordinances of religion, not as an alms, but as a right. But does this argument apply to a Church like the Church of Ireland? It is not necessary on this occasion to decide whether the arguments in favour of ecclesiastical establishments, or the arguments in favour of the voluntary system, be the stronger. There are weighty considerations on both sides. Balancing them as well as I can, I think that, as respects England, the preponderance is on the side of the Establishment. But, as respects Ireland, there is no balancing. All the weights are in one scale. All the arguments which incline us against the Church of England, and all those arguments which incline us in favour of the Church of England, are alike arguments against the Church of Ireland; against the Church of the few, against the Church of the wealthy, against the Church which, reversing every principle on which a Christian Church should be founded, fills the rich with its good things, and sends the hungry empty away. One view which has repeatedly, both in this House and out of it, been taken of the Church of Ireland, seems to deserve notice. It is admitted, as indeed it could not well be denied, that this Church does not perform the functions which are everywhere else expected from similar institutions; that it does not instruct the body of the people; that it does not administer religious consolation to the body of the people. But, it is said, we must regard this Church as an aggressive Church, a proselytizing Church, a Church militant among spiritual enemies. Its office is to spread Protestantism over Munster and Connaught. I remember well that, eleven years ago, when Lord Grey's Government proposed to reduce the number of Irish bishoprics, this language was held. It was acknowledged that there were more bishops than the number of persons then in communion with the Established Church required. But that number, we were assured, would not be stationary; and the hierarchy, therefore, ought to be constituted with a view to the millions of converts who would soon require the care of Protestant pastors. I well remember the strong expression which was then used by my hon. Friend the Member for the University of Oxford. We must, he said, make allowance for the expansive force of Protestantism. A few nights ago a noble Lord for whom I, in common with the whole House, feel the greatest respect, the Member for Dorsetshire, spoke of the missionary character of the Church of Ireland. Now, Sir, if such language had been held at the Council Board of Queen Elizabeth when the constitution of this Church was first debated there, there would have been no cause for wonder. Sir William Cecil or Sir Nicholas Bacon might very naturally have said, "There are few Protestants now in Ireland, it is true. But when we consider how rapidly the Protestant theology has spread, when we remember that it is little more than forty years since Martin Luther began to preach against indulgences, and when we see that one half of Europe is now emancipated from the old superstition, we may reasonably expect that the Irish will soon follow the example of the other nations which have embraced the doctrines of the Reformation." Cecil, I say, and his colleagues might naturally entertain this expectation, and might without absurdity make preparations for an event which they regarded as in the highest degree probable. But we who have seen this system in full operation from the year 1560 to the year 1845, ought to have been taught better, unless indeed we are past all teaching. Two hundred and eighty-five years has this Church been at work. What could have been done for it in the way of authority, privileges, endowments, which has not been done? Did any other set of bishops and priests in the world ever receive so much for doing so little? Nay, did any other set of bishops and priests in the world ever receive half as much for doing twice as much? And what have we to show for all this lavish expenditure? What but the most zealous Roman Catholic population on the face of the earth? Where you were 100 years ago, where you were 200 years ago, there you are still, not victorious over the domain of the old faith, but painfully and with dubious success defending your own frontier, your own English pale. Sometimes a deserter leaves you. Sometimes a deserter steals over to you. Whether your gains or losses of this sort be the greater I do not know, nor is it worth while to inquire. On the great solid mass of the Roman Catholic population you have made no impression whatever. There they are, as they were ages ago, ten to one against the members of your Established Church. Explain this to me. I speak to you, the zealous Protestants on the other side of the House. Explain this to me on Protestant principles. If I were a Roman Catholic, I could easily account for the phenomena. If I were a Roman Catholic, I should content myself with saying that the mighty hand and the outstretched arm had been put forth according to the promise in defence of the unchangeable Church; that he who in the old time turned into blessings the curses of Balaam, and smote the host of Sennacherib, had signally confounded the arts and the power of heretic statesmen. But what is a Protestant to say? He holds that, through the whole of this long conflict during which ten generations of men have been born and have died, reason and Scripture have been on the side of the Established Clergy. Tell us then what we are to say of this strange war, in which reason and Scripture, backed by wealth, by dignity, by the help of the civil power, have been found no match for oppressed and destitute error? The fuller our conviction that our doctrines are right, the fuller, if we are rational men, must be our conviction that our tactics have been wrong, and that we have been encumbering the cause which we meant to aid. Observe, it is not only the comparative number of Roman Catholics and Protestants that may justly furnish us with matter for serious reflection. The quality as well as the quantity of Irish Romanism deserves to be considered. Is there any other country inhabited by a mixed population of Catholics and Protestants, any other country in which Protestant doctrines have long been freely promulgated from the press and from the pulpit, where the Roman Catholic spirit is so strong as in Ireland? I believe not. The Belgians are generally considered as very stubborn and zealous Roman Catholics. But I do not believe that in either stubbornness or zeal they equal the Irish. And this is the fruit of three centuries of Protestant archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, deans, and rectors. And yet where is the wonder? Is this a miracle that we should stand aghast at it? Not at all. It is a result which human prudence ought to have long ago foreseen and long ago averted. It is the natural succession of effect to cause. If you do not understand it, it is because you do not understand what the nature and operation of a Church is. There are parts of the machinery of Government which may be just as efficient when they are hated as when they are loved. An army, a navy, a preventive service, a police force, may do their work whether the public feeling be with them or against them. Whether we dislike the corn laws or not, your custom-houses and your coast-guard keep out foreign corn. The multitude at Manchester were not the less effectually dispersed by the yeomanry, because the interference of the yeomanry excited the bitterest indignation. There the object was to produce a material effect; the material means were sufficient; and nothing more was required. But a Church exists for moral ends. A Church exists to be loved, to be reverenced, to be heard with docility, to reign in the understandings and hearts of men. A Church which is abhorred, is useless or worse than useless; and to quarter a hostile Church on a conquered people, as you would quarter a soldiery, is therefore the most absurd of mistakes. This mistake our ancestors committed. They posted a Church in Ireland just as they posted garrisons in Ireland. The garrisons did their work. They were disliked. But that mattered not. They had their forts and their arms, and they kept down the aboriginal race. But the Church did not do its work. For to that work the love and confidence of the people were essential. I may remark in passing, that, even under more favourable circumstances, a parochial priesthood is not a good engine for the purpose of making proselytes. The Church of Rome, which, whatever we may think of her ends, has shown no want of sagacity in the choice of means, knows this well. When she makes a great aggressive movement—and many such movements she has made with signal success—she employs not her parochial clergy, but a very different machinery. The business of her parish priests is to defend and govern what has been won. It is by the religious orders, and especially by the Jesuits, that the great acquisitions have been made. In Ireland your parochial clergy lay under two great disadvantages. They were endowed, and they were hated; so richly endowed that few among them cared to turn missionaries; so bitterly hated that those few had but little success. They long contented themselves with receiving the emoluments arising from their benefices, and neglected all those means to which, in other parts of Europe, Protestantism had owed its victory. It is well known that of all the means employed by the Reformers of Germany, of England, and of Scotland, for the purpose of moving the public mind, the most powerful was the Bible translated into vernacular tongues. In Ireland the Protestant Church had been established near half a century before the New Testament was printed in Erse. The whole Bible was not printed in Erse till this Church had existed more than 120 years. Nor did the publication at last take place under the patronage of the lazy and wealthy hierarchy. The expense was defrayed by a layman, the illustrious Robert Boyle. So things went on century after century. Swift, more than 100 years ago, describes the prelates of his country as men gorged with wealth and sunk in indolence, whose chief business was to bow and ob at the Castle. The only spiritual function, he says, which they performed was ordination; and when he saw what persons they ordained, he doubted whether it would not be better that they should neglect that function as they neglected every other. Those, Sir, are now living who can well remember how the revenues of the richest see in Ireland were squandered on the shores of the Mediterranean by a bishop, whose epistles, very different compositions from the epistles of St. Peter and St. John, may be found in the correspondence of Lady Hamilton. Such abuses as these called forth no complaint, no reprimand. And all this time the true pastors of the people—meanly fed and meanly clothed, frowned upon by the law, exposed to the insults of every petty squire who gloried in the name of Protestant, were to be found in miserable cabins, amidst filth, and famine, and contagion, instructing the young, consoling the miserable, holding up the crucifix before the eyes of the dying. Is it strange that, under such circumstances, the Roman Catholic religion should have been constantly becoming dearer and dearer to an ardent and sensitive people, and that your Established Church should have been constantly sinking lower and lower in their estimation? I do not of course hold the living clergy of the Irish Church answerable for the faults of their predecessors. God forbid! To do so would be the most flagitious injustice. I know that a salutary change has taken place. I have no reason to doubt that in learning and regularity of life the Protestant clergy of Ireland are on a level with the clergy of England. But in the way of making proselytes they do as little as those who preceded them. An enmity of 300 years separates the nation from those who should be its teachers. In short, it is plain that the mind of Ireland has taken its ply, and is not to be bent in a different direction, or, at all events, is not to be so bent by your present machinery. Well, then, this Church is inefficient as a missionary Church. But there is yet another end which, in the opinion of some eminent men, a church is meant to serve. That end has been often in the minds of practical politicians. But the first speculative politician who distinctly pointed it out was Mr. Hume. Mr. Hume, as might have been expected from his known opinions, treated the question merely as it related to the temporal happiness of mankind; and, perhaps, it may be doubted whether he took quite a just view of the manner in which even the temporal happiness of mankind is affected by the restraints and consolations of religion. He reasoned thus:—It is dangerous to the peace of society that the public mind should be violently excited on religious subjects. If you adopt the voluntary system, the public mind will always be so excited. For every preacher, knowing that his bread depends on his popularity, seasons his doctrine high, and practises every art for the purpose of obtaining an ascendancy over his hearers. But when the Government pays the minister of religion, he has no pressing motive to inflame the zeal of his congregation. He will probably go through his duties in a somewhat perfunctory manner. His power will not be very formidable; and such as it is, it will be employed in support of that order of things under which he finds himself so comfortable. Now, Sir, it is not necessary to inquire whether Mr. Hume's doctrine be sound or unsound. For, sound or unsound, it furnishes no ground on which you can rest the defence of the institution which we are now considering. It is evident that by establishing in Ireland the Church of the minority in connexion with the State, you have produced, in the very highest degree, all those evils which Mr. Hume considered as inseparable from the voluntary system. You may go all over the world without finding another country where religious differences take a form so dangerous to the peace of society; where the common people are so much under the influence of their priests; or where the priests who teach the common people are so completely estranged from the civil Government. And now, Sir, I will sum up what I have said. For what end does the Church of Ireland exist? Is that end the instruction and solace of the great body of the people? You must admit that the Church of Ireland has not attained that end? Is the end which you have in view the conversion of the great body of the people from the Roman Catholic religion to a purer form of Christianity? You must admit that the Church of Ireland has not attained that end. Or do you propose to yourselves the end contemplated by Mr. Hume, the peace and security of civil society? You must admit that the Church of Ireland has not attained that end? In the name of common sense, then, tell us what good end this Church has attained; or suffer us to conclude, as I am forced to conclude, that it is emphatically a bad institution. It does not, I know, necessarily follow that, because an institution is bad, it is therefore to be immediately destroyed. Sometimes a bad institution takes a strong hold on the hearts of mankind, intertwines its roots with the very foundations of society, and is not to be removed without serious peril to order, law, and property. For example, I hold polygamy to be one of the most pernicious practices that exist in the world. But if the Legislative Council of India were to pass an Act prohibiting polygamy, I should think that they were out of their senses. Such a measure would bring down the vast fabric of your Indian Empire with one crash. But is there any similar reason for dealing tenderly with the Established Church of Ireland? That Church, Sir, is not one of those bad institutions which ought to be spared because they are popular, and because their fall would injure good institutions. It is, on the contrary, so odious, and its vicinage so much endangers valuable parts of our polity, that even if it were in itself a good institution, there would be strong reasons for giving it up. The hon. Gentleman who spoke last told us that we cannot touch this Church without endangering the Legislative Union. Sir, I have given my best attention to this important point, and have arrived at a very different conclusion. The question to be determined is this—What is the best way of preserving political union between countries in which different religions prevail? With respect to this question we have, I think, all the light which history can give us. There is no sort of experiment described by Lord Bacon which we have not tried. Inductive philosophy is of no value if we cannot trust to the lessons derived from the experience of more than 200 years. England has long been closely connected with two countries less powerful than herself, and differing from herself in religion. The Scottish people are Presbyterians; the Irish people are Roman Catholics. We determined to force the Anglican system on both countries. In both countries great discontent was the result. At length Scotland rebelled. Then Ireland rebelled. The Scotch and Irish rebellions, taking place at a time when the public mind of England was greatly and justly excited, produced the Great Rebellion here, and the downfal of the Monarchy, of the Church, and of the Aristocracy. After the Restoration we again tried the old system. During twenty-eight years we persisted in the attempt to force Prelacy on the Scotch; and the consequence was, during those twenty-eight years Scotland exhibited a frightful spectacle of misery and depravity. The history of that period is made up of oppression and resistance, of insurrections, barbarous punishments, and assassinations. One day a crowd of zealous rustics stand desperately on their defence, and repel the dragoons. Next day the dragoons scatter and hew down the flying peasantry. One day the knee-bones of a wretched Covenanter are beaten flat in that accursed boot. Next day the Lord Primate is dragged out of his carriage by a band of raving fanatics, and, while screaming for mercy, is butchered at the feet of his own daughter. So things went on, till at last we remembered that institutions are made for men, and not men for institutions. A wise Government desisted from the vain attempt to maintain an Episcopal Establishment in a Presbyterian nation. From that moment the connexion between England and Scotland became every year closer and closer. There were still, it is true, many causes of animosity. There was an old antipathy between the nations, the effect of many blows given and received on both sides. All the greatest calamities that had befallen Scotland had been inflicted by England. The proudest events in Scottish history were victories obtained over England. Yet all angry feelings died rapidly away. The union of the nations became complete. The oldest man living does not remember to have heard any demagogue breathe a wish for separation. Do you believe that this would have happened if England had, after the Revolution, persisted in attempting to force the surplice and the Prayer Book on the Scotch? I tell you that if you had adhered to the mad scheme of producing a religious union with Scotland, you never would have had a cordial political union with her. At this very day you would have had monster meetings on the north of the Tweed, and another Conciliation Hall, and another repeal button, with the motto, "*Nemo me impune lacessit.*" In fact, England never would have become the great power that she is. For Scotland would have been not an addition to the effective strength of the Empire, but a deduction from it. As often as there was a war with France or Spain, there would have been an insurrection in Scotland. Our country would have sunk into a kingdom of the second class. One such Church as that about which we are now debating is a serious encumbrance to the greatest empire. Two such churches no empire could bear. You continued to govern Ireland during many generations as you had governed Scotland in the days of Lauderdale and Dundee. And see the results. Ireland has remained, indeed, a part of your Empire. But you know her to be a source of weakness rather than of strength. Her misery is a reproach to you. Her discontent doubles the dangers of war. Can you, with such facts before you, doubt about the course which you ought to take? Imagine a physician with two patients, both afflicted with the same disease. He applies the same sharp remedies to both. Both become worse and worse with the same inflammatory symptoms. Then he changes his treatment of one case, and gives cordials. The sufferer revives, grows better day by day, and is at length restored to perfect health. The other patient is still subjected to the old treatment, and becomes constantly more and more disordered. How would a physician act in such a case? And are not the principles of experimental philosophy the same in politics as in medicine? Therefore, Sir, I am fully prepared to take strong measures with regard to the Established Church of Ireland. It is not necessary for me to say precisely how far I would go. I am aware that it may be necessary, in this as in other cases, to consent to a compromise. But the more complete the reform which may be proposed, provided always that vested rights be, as I am sure they will be, held strictly sacred, the more cordially shall I support it. That some reform is at hand I cannot doubt. In a very short time we shall see the evils which I have described mitigated, if not entirely removed. A Liberal Administration would make this concession to Ireland from a sense of justice. A Conservative Administration will make it from a sense of danger. The right hon. Baronet has given the Irish a lesson which will bear fruit. It is a lesson which rulers ought to be slow to teach; for it is one which nations are not slow to learn. We have repeatedly been told by acts—we are now told almost in express words—that agitation and intimidation are the means which ought to be employed by those who wish for redress of grievances from the party now in power. Such, indeed, has too long been the policy of England towards Ireland; but it was surely never before avowed with such indiscreet frankness. Every epoch which is remembered with pleasure on the other side of St. George's Channel, coincides with some epoch which we here consider as disastrous and perilous. To the American war and the volunteers the Irish Parliament owed its independence. To the French revolutionary war the Irish Roman Catholics owed the elective franchise. It was in vain that all the great orators and statesmen of two generations exerted themselves to remove the Roman Catholic disabilities—Burke, Fox, Pitt, Windham, Grenville, Grey, Plunkett, Wellesley, Grattan, Canning, Wilberforce—argument and expostulation were fruitless. At length pressure of a stronger kind was boldly and skilfully applied; and soon all difficulties gave way. The Catholic Association—the Clare election—the dread of civil war, produced the Emancipation Act. Again, the cry of No Popery was raised. That cry succeeded. A faction which had reviled in the bitterest terms the mild administration of Whig Viceroys, and which was pledged to the wholesale disfranchisement of the Roman Catholics, rose to power. One leading member of that faction had drawn forth loud cheers by declaiming against the minions of Popery. Another had designated 6,000,000 of Irish Catholics as aliens. A third had publicly declared his conviction, that a time was at hand when all Protestants of every persuasion would find it necessary to combine firmly against the encroachments of Romanism. From such men we expected nothing but oppression and intolerance. We are agreeably disappointed to find that a series of conciliatory measures is brought before us. But, in the midst of our delight, we cannot refrain from asking for some explanation of so extraordinary a change. We are told in reply, that the monster meetings of 1843 were very formidable, and that our relations with America are in a very unsatisfactory state. The public opinions of Ireland are to be consulted—the religion of Ireland is to be treated with respect, not because equity and humanity plainly enjoin that course—for equity and humanity enjoined that course as plainly when you were calumniating Lord Normanby, and hurrying forward your Registration Bill; but because Mr. O'Connell and Mr. Polk have between them made you very uneasy. Sir, it is with shame, with sorrow, and, I will add, with dismay, that I listen to such language. I have hitherto disapproved of the monster meetings of 1843. I have disapproved of the way in which Mr. O'Connell and some other Irish Representatives have seceded from this House. I should not have chosen to apply to those Gentlemen the precise words which were used on a former occasion by the hon. and learned Member for Bath. But I agreed with him in substance. I thought it highly to the honour of my right hon. Friend the Member for Dungarvon, and of my hon. Friends the Members for Kildare, for Roscommon, and for the city of Waterford, that they had the moral courage to attend the service of this House, and to give us the very valuable assistance which they are, in various ways, so well qualified to afford. But what am I to say now? How can I any longer deny that the place where an Irish Gentleman may best serve his country is Conciliation Hall? How can I expect that any Irish Roman Catholic can be very sorry to learn that our foreign relations are in an alarming state, or can rejoice to hear that all danger of war has blown over? I appeal to the Conservative Members of this House. I ask them whither we are hastening? I ask them what is to be the end of a policy of which it is the principle to give nothing to justice, and everything to fear? We have been accused of truckling to Irish agitators. But I defy you to show us that we ever made or are now making to Ireland a single concession which was not in strict conformity with our known principles. You may therefore trust us, when we tell you that there is a point where we will stop. Our language to the Irish is this:—"You asked for emancipation: it was agreeable to our principles that you should have it; and we assisted you to obtain it. You wished for a municipal system, as popular as that which exists in England: we thought your wish reasonable, and did all in our power to gratify it. This grant to Maynooth is, in our opinion, proper; and we will do our best to obtain it for you, though it should cost us our popularity and our seats in Parliament. The Established Church in your island as now constituted, is a grievance of which you justly complain. We will strive to redress that grievance. The Repeal of the Union we regard as fatal to the Empire: and we never will consent to it; never, though the country should be surrounded by dangers as great as those which threatened her when her American Colonies, and France, and Spain, and Holland, were leagued against her, and when the armed neutrality of the Baltic disputed her maritime rights; never, though another Bonaparte should pitch his camp in sight of Dover Castle; never till all has been staked and lost; never till the four quarters of the world have been convulsed by the last struggle of the great English people for their place among the nations." This, Sir, is the true policy. When you give, give frankly. When you withhold, withhold resolutely. Then what you give is received with gratitude; and, as for what you withhold, men, seeing that to wrest it from you is no safe or easy enterprise, cease to hope for it, and, in time, cease to wish for it. But there is a way of so withholding as merely to excite desire, and of so giving as merely to excite contempt; and that way the present Ministry has discovered. Is it possible for me to doubt that in a few months the same machinery which extorted the Emancipation Act, and which has extorted the Bill before us, will again be put in motion. Who shall say what will be the next sacrifice? For my own part I firmly believe that, if the present Ministers remain in power five years longer, and if we should have—which God avert! —a war with France or America, the Established Church of Ireland will be given up. The right hon. Baronet will come down to make a proposition conceived in the very spirit of the Motions which have repeatedly been made by my hon. Friend the Member for Sheffield. He will again be deserted by his followers—he will again be dragged through his difficulties by his opponents. Some honest Lord of the Treasury may determine to quit his office rather than belie all the professions of a life. But there will be little difficulty in finding a successor ready to change all his opinions at twelve hours' warning. I may, perhaps, while cordially supporting the Bill, again venture to say something about consistency, and about the importance of maintaining a high standard of political morality. The right hon. Baronet will again tell me, that he is anxious only for the success of his measure, and that he does not choose to reply to taunts. And the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer will produce *Hansard*, will read to the House my speech of this night, and will most logically argue that I ought not to reproach the Ministers with their inconsistency; seeing that I had, from my knowledge of their temper and principles, predicted to a tittle the nature and extent of that inconsistency. Sir, I have thought it my duty to brand with strong terms of reprehension the practice of conceding in time of public danger, what is obstinately withheld in time of public security. I am prepared, and have long been prepared, to grant much, very much, to Ireland. But if the Repeal Association were to dissolve itself to-morrow—and if the next steamer were to bring news that all our differences with the United States were adjusted in the most honourable and friendly manner—I would grant to Ireland neither more nor less than I would grant if we were on the eve of a rebellion like that of 1798; if war were raging all along the Canadian frontier; and if thirty French sail of the line were confronting our fleet in St. George's Channel. I give my vote from my heart and soul for the Amendment of my hon. Friend. He calls on us to make to Ireland a concession, which ought in justice to have been made long ago, and which may be made with grace and dignity even now. I well know that you will refuse to make it now. I know as well, that you will make it hereafter. You will make it as every concession to Ireland has been made. You will make it when its effect will be not to appease, but to stimulate agitation. You will make it when it will be regarded, not as a great act of national justice, but as a confession of national weakness. You will make it in such a way, and at such a time, that there will be but too much reason to doubt whether more mischief has been done by your long refusal, or by your tardy and enforced compliance.

Sir *J. Graham:* If, Sir, I could have consulted with propriety my own feelings, or thought it consistent with my duty, I should have wished upon the present occasion not to obtrude myself upon the House. In reference to this subject, I have upon former occasions spoken frequently and at great length; and I have now to offer very little that is new upon this subject. It is, therefore, with very great reluctance that I now obtrude myself on the House, and I should have been well content to continue silent; but the speech of the right hon. Gentleman who has taken his seat, and the attack he has made on the Government of which I am a Member, render it necessary that I should offer some observations to the House. And, in the first place, I cannot fail at once to address myself to the concluding topics touched upon by the right hon. Gentleman. On a former occasion when the right hon. Gentleman spoke with respect to the present measure of Her Majesty's Government, he said he approved of it—that he did not undervalue its importance—that he admitted the exigency of the circumstances under which it was proposed—and that the measure itself would conduce to the general interests of the Empire. I confess that I was surprised that he should have mingled with the defence of the measure itself so much of party bitterness; but, considering that the right hon. Gentleman is a prominent Member of the party opposite, I did not think, upon the whole, that the public interests were seriously damaged by the course which the right hon. Gentleman took. The speech, however, which the right hon. Gentleman has addressed to the House this night bears, in my mind, another complexion. It was a speech giving utterance, no doubt, to feelings which the right hon. Gentleman seriously entertains; but, coming from a person of his authority and high station, it appears to me that, in the present aspect of affairs, it is pregnant with evil to the public interests. I must say, with reference to the right hon. Gentleman's remarks on the Repeal of the Union, that in every sentiment he uttered, I, for my own part, most cordially agree. I believe that I am speaking the unanimous sense of the House—I am certainly speaking the resolve of Her Majesty's present Government, and I believe also the resolve of any party that may be entrusted with the conduct of public affairs in this country—I believe it to be the resolve of this House, speaking the sentiments of the people of Great Britain, and I believe also of the majority of the Irish nation—to oppose, as the right hon. Gentleman said, to the last extremity the Repeal of the Union, although by that resolve the foundations of this great Empire may in a convulsive struggle be shaken, and its stability endangered. In those sentiments of the right hon. Gentleman I cordially agree; but Her Majesty's Government have opened this conciliatory measure because they deem it conducive to the public interests, and especially applicable to the evils of Ireland. I agree also with the right hon. Gentleman, that the rule of Government ought to be frankly to give, or resolutely to oppose what they mean to resist. Now, the right hon. Gentleman says that this measure is extorted from the fears, and does not receive the assent, of Her Majesty's Government. How different were the sentiments of the hon. Gentleman the venerable Member for Middlesex (Mr. Byng), who said that he would not have come down to support this measure if he could have believed that it was extorted from the fears of Her Majesty's Government. I repeat, however, and I know the evidence of the fact is irresistible, that this measure, so far from being extorted from Her Majesty's Government at a recent period, and so far from recent events having led to the determination of the Government—that the measure was announced by them long before, as forming part of their policy for the government of Ireland. I put it to the right hon. Gentleman himself whether he is not aware that, during the last Session of Parliament, my right hon. Friend did announce some such measure as this? Nor is this all. There are persons not politically connected with Her Majesty's Government who were informed of it. I do not hesitate to name them, because it would have been highly impolitic and imprudent in a matter affecting the Roman Catholic hierarchy and the Roman Catholic religion, both as to doctrine and discipline, if Her Majesty's Government had matured their measure without consulting that hierarchy. I distinctly and boldly, because I can with perfect truth, assert that the measure, in its present shape, was so communicated before the end of November, as I think, to the authority to which I have referred. This measure, therefore, was prepared and matured without any reference to the circumstances to which the right hon. Gentleman has alluded. Nor is that all. The right hon. Gentleman says, whatever may be the state of our foreign relations, this measure is extorted by agitation and by the proceedings of Conciliation Hall. Before the dangerous proceedings of the year 1843 were confronted and overcome by Her Majesty's Government, no inducement whatever would have led us to bring forward this measure; but I say, that the monster meetings have been put down; the persons conducting them were submitted by Her Majesty's Government to the ordinary process of the law. I admit that upon a point of form, but I deny that upon the merits, that conviction was set aside; although the conviction was set aside, the moral effect of the proceedings was not lost. The meetings were not repeated, and law and order have since prevailed in Ireland. Whatever the right hon. Gentleman may state, he has put a false construction upon the feelings which actuated Her Majesty's Government. He has also misunderstood my right hon. Friend, and the terms of his statement, when he announced here, at the end of the former debate, that he was prepared to defend to the utmost British rights unjustly assailed, and that he rejoiced at having sent on the previous night a message of peace to Ireland. I entertain the most confident hopes that no such serious results as the right hon. Gentleman alludes to will arise; but the measure was not introduced with any such view; and I cannot too positively or too peremptorily deny that any such question entered into the consideration of Her Majesty's Government when they proposed this measure. If I have succeeded in proving that the right hon. Gentleman is not authorized in the imputations he has thus cast upon us, I may then appeal to the patriotism of this House, even in the midst of our party divisions, whether this measure of peace, from which the best results may be expected, is to be blasted by the strong expressions and excitement of party feeling in which the right hon. Gentleman has indulged? I do not deny that such appeals may succeed; but I do not envy the feelings of the right hon. Gentleman which could induce him to adopt, on this occasion, such means to obtain a party triumph. Sir, I am bound to acknowledge that it is with great regret that I observe the course taken by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield upon this occasion. What says the hon. Gentleman upon this question? The hon. Gentleman says that the measure which we have brought forward is a good measure; he says that it is a measure which, upon the whole, he is disposed to support; and yet what is the course which he has now taken? It is, to offer a decided obstruction to the progress of the measure; and may I also be permitted to observe to him, that the course which he has pursued appears to be quite inconsistent with his own sense of propriety? The hon. Gentleman tells us that he had been requested by his own constituents to obstruct the progress of this measure; and what was the answer which he says he gave to that request? Why, he said that he would not be a party to any proceeding which might lead to a waste of the time of this House, and to the lighting up of a flame which might be fatal to the present measure. Now, with respect to a waste of the time of this House, I must say, that I do not see how the hon. Gentleman can hope that the course he has taken will lead to any other result; and with respect to lighting up a flame, it appears to me, after the heat which our proposal has created — and which, as I think, the nature of that proposal does not in any way justify—it appears to me that if the hon. Gentleman were to succeed in his Motion, such a flame would be lighted up in England as would utterly destroy the Government measure. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield, and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Edinburgh, have placed the matter now at issue most broadly and fairly before the House. The hon. Member says that the Protestant Church in Ireland is an obtrusive Church—that it is a badge of conquest on the one hand, and of slavery on the other; and the right hon. Gentleman says that the question is not whether you will take from that Church 26,000*l.* a year, but the real matter now under consideration is no less than this—Is the Protestant Church a nuisance which ought to be abated?—is it so bad in itself that it is no longer to be tolerated? The right hon. Gentleman says that it would be very desirable that some point should be ascertained beyond which Her Majesty's Government, consistently with principle, are not to go. Now I believe that I speak the sentiments of my Colleagues—I am quite sure that I speak my own—when I declare, that neither any consideration of policy, nor any change of opinion, nor any effect produced upon my reason by the arguments I have heard, can induce me to admit for one moment that the Irish Church is an evil in itself, and that it ought to be abated as a nuisance, or destroyed as a wrong. On the contrary, I am bound to confess, that after all the consideration which I have been able to give to this subject—after all the anxious deliberation which I have bestowed upon it—I am bound to confess, whatever may be the taunts as to inferiority of intellect, and as to religious bigotry, to which that confession may expose me—that all the consideration and deliberation I have bestowed upon the subject, have confirmed me in the opinion that it is the duty of this country to maintain the Protestant Establishment in Ireland. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield observed, that religious scruples and the dislike of a money payment formed a very dangerous combination. But let me be allowed to put it to him and to the House, whether there is no danger in a Parliamentary pledge coupled with a purpose of stripping a national institution of its property? I do not wish to argue this question simply upon the basis of a compact. I may observe, however, that all that has been urged respecting an implied compact to maintain the College of Maynooth, is weak and indefensible in comparison with the compact under the 5th Article of the Act of Union to maintain the Irish Church. I agree, however, with the hon. Gentleman, and with my right hon. Friend at the head of the Government, that, strong as this compact is, there might be circumstances which would render it the imperative duty of the Legislature to deal with the question of the Established Church in Ireland apart from the stipulations of the most solemn compact. But are there not circumstances connected with the passing of that compact which Parliament should seriously take into its consideration in deliberating upon this question? It will be my duty to bring these circumstances, though they have been touched upon by others, very shortly under the recollection of the House. It must be remembered that at the time of the passing of the Act of Union, both Houses of Parliament in Ireland were exclusively Protestant. In forming the compact entered into by the Act of Union, the feelings of those parties were in consequence predominant. Much has been said with regard to historical facts which led to this: I attach great importance to those historical facts. I admit that at the time of the passing of the Act of Union, expectations had been held out to the Roman Catholics which until a much later period had not been fulfilled; and this circumstance had always great influence on my mind with respect to the necessity of yielding to our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects an equality of civil privileges. I am also bound to state that, at the same period, expectations were held out with respect to the maintenance of the Roman Catholic clergy which it is important that we should not forget. But, on the other hand, it must be remembered that with respect to the maintenance of the Protestant Church in Ireland the promises were express—the declarations were unqualified. The Executive Government of that day, feeling all the weight of that truth which has been stated this evening by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Edinburgh, that the established religion in Ireland was the religion of a minority, had used to the Protestant body in that country this strong argument for the purpose of inducing them to consent to the Union—that their Church would then be incorporated with the Church of England, and that by that incorporation of the two Churches, the Irish Church, which was in itself the Church of a minority, would be greatly strengthened, inasmuch as it would become the Church of a majority of the people of England and of Ireland. Now I really do not wish, in a matter of this kind, to address any taunt to hon. Gentlemen on the opposite side of the House. I must say, that I quite agree with the hon. Member for Sheffield that there is, perhaps, no Member of this House who discusses great political questions, such as that which we are now discussing, with more philosophical deliberation — with more marks of an understanding enlightened by practical experience and great historical knowledge—than the noble Lord the Member for London (Lord J. Russell). I say that unfeignedly; and to his opinion on a matter of this sort, even when I differ from him, I always listen with respect. But the right Gentleman who is now sitting next to him, the Member for Edinburgh, has stated distinctly that the great question we are at present to determine, and which he challenges us to meet, is, not whether we will take something more or less from the Protestant Church in Ireland, but whether it is right or wrong that that Church should be maintained. Now, I know not what may be the present opinion of the noble Lord the Member for London upon that point; but so late as the year 1838, he gave a deliberate opinion with regard to the maintenance of the Protestant Establishment in Ireland. It appears that up to the year 1838—I know not whether he has since expressed any opinion upon the subject, but it appears that up to the year 1838—the noble Lord was not prepared to go the length of overthrowing the Protestant Church in that country. I shall proceed to read to the House the language used by the noble Lord at the period I have stated. He said,—

> "In Ireland, a vast proportion of the property, and of the members of the learned professions, whose importance cannot be denied, are attached to the Protestant Church; and anything tending to overturn that Church would be looked upon by me as placing them in a state of political inferiority to their fellow-countrymen. We must also remember that the Act of Union made the Irish Church a part of the Establishment of England."

Such was the language of the noble Lord; and I have not heard one syllable from him as yet, and I hope I shall never hear one, which could lead me to believe that he is a party to the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Edinburgh, that the Irish Church is an evil which ought to be removed, and that its maintenance can no longer form a part of the policy of this country. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Edinburgh has appealed to the example of America, where there is no establishment whatever; and he has also appealed to the example of many other countries, where there is more than one establishment. But I do not think he can produce a case except the case of America, where the voluntary principle, to which he is himself opposed, prevails, and where there is no establishment for the religion of 800,000 persons, who, from an anomaly if you will, but still from an existing anomaly, are actually in possession of the great bulk of the landed property of the country, and who, as the noble Lord said, comprise much of what is eminent in the learned professions, and who also possess great influence. The right hon. Gentleman is opposed to the voluntary system. The right hon. Gentleman quoted the language of Mr. Hume, although he did not venture to say that he approved of it—that it might be wise to pension a clergy, in the hope of thereby making them lazy; and it appears, upon the whole, that it is the exclusive establishment of the Protestant Church in Ireland which, in the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman, is wholly indefensible. I do not contend that that Church should alone receive assistance from the State; but what I contend is, that there is no proposition that could be made which would render any other arrangement so impracticable or so impossible as the proposition now made by the hon. Member for Sheffield, that whatever should be given to the Roman Catholic clergy in any shape, whether as a grant to Maynooth or otherwise, must be taken from the Protestant Church. I have always felt that the difficulty of any such arrangement might, by the very assertion of that proposition, be made an impracticability. In 1834, when the hon. Gentleman first mooted his proposition, it was as an abstract resolution; he did not venture to connect it with any practical measure—he moved it only as a proposition, which might be developed at any future time in a practical measure. So in 1835, when the noble Lord moved what has been termed the Appropriation Resolution, it was an abstract resolution, not connected with any practical measure. [Mr. *Ward:* It was proposed as a part of the Tithe Commutation Act.] I am reminded that it was connected with the Tithe Bill, but that only illustrates my meaning—that the best measure, the most useful and necessary measure, in itself the most desirable, if hampered with this principle, which is repudiated by the great body of the members of the Established Church in England, is so vitiated as to be rendered, in their estimation, utterly inadmissible. What was the course taken with regard to the Tithe Bill? In 1835, on the overthrow of the Government of my right hon. Friend, the noble Lord and his Colleagues succeeded to power under the Administration of Lord Melbourne. In the Government of Lord Grey we had felt the danger and the extreme evil of the tithe system of Ireland, which levied from the occupiers in small sums the annual payment on which the Protestant Church depended for its maintenance; it was felt to be of primary importance that that burden should be removed from the occupier and borne by the owner of the land. No person could be more deeply impressed with this than the noble Lord (Lord J. Russell). In consistency with the abstract principle which he had mooted and carried by a considerable majority, for two years, though most desirous of effecting this great public good, which he believed indispensable for the peace of Ireland, he in vain endeavoured to carry his Commutation Act; and, in despair, at last, in 1838, notwithstanding all the taunts in which many who acted with him indulged (and I think the hon. Member for Sheffield was not sparing on the occasion), a sense of public duty and public necessity compelled that noble Lord to abandon the appropriation principle, and pass the Tithe Bill without the obstruction of this obnoxious principle [" Hear, hear."] Sir, there may be Members more competent from local personal knowledge to speakto the point, but I must say I thought it not very apt, when the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Macaulay) referred to the conduct of the Protestant clergy in Ireland, to go back to Swift's time, and indulge in vituperation with reference to other days. I believe it is admitted on all hands, though you may object to the maintenance of this Church of the minority, that upon the whole the ministers of that Church do perform their sacred duties in a manner most exemplary, and that they will bear comparison with the clergy of any Church even in circumstances less trying than their own. The right hon. Gentleman asks, is it our object to give religious consolation to the great body of the people? I admit with him, that it is the object of a Church Establishment not so much to minister to the consolation of the rich as to the wants of the poor; but although I am not prepared to deny that there are many parishes in Ireland in which the number of Protestants is very small, yet if you are to have a Church established and in connexion with the State, I say that the first characteristic of that establishment is its ubiquity throughout the whole face of the country; and however small the number of the poor in a particular locality, they are entitled to the consolation of the religion favoured by the State, without payment and without inconvenience. But it is asked, is it a missionary Church? I do not wish to dwell upon that point; I will not press it on the attention of the House as a missionary Church; and considering the circumstances in which I am placed, I am not an advocate of that eager zeal for Protestantism, which might not be quite consistent with the peace of that country. But, on the other hand, I do say, that while you uphold that Church, it is only right that it should have a fair opportunity of propagating itself, being brought in juxtaposition with that which is not favoured by the State. Sir, I can understand perfectly the policy of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr.

Macaulay), who is prepared to overthrow this Church; I dissent from that policy altogether; but I can understand the policy of abolishing the Protestant Establishment in Ireland, and transferring its revenues entirely to the Church of the majority, although I totally dissent from it; but that the noble Lord should think that on the whole it is wise and right to uphold the Protestant Church, and at the same time be a party to a measure to hamper and reduce its means of extending its usefulness and its influence, does appear to me a policy quite unintelligible. To the opinions I have heretofore expressed I decidedly adhere; I cannot imagine any circumstances which would justify the extreme measure advocated by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Edinburgh; and certainly to the proposition now before the House I am distinctly opposed. But I must recall to the recollection of the House one or two facts which are not unimportant. This is the first time within my memory (though this matter has been debated for the last eleven years) that a proposition has been distinctly made to transfer from the Protestant Church any portion of its revenues in aid of the Roman Catholic Church. This proposition has not been positively made before; but at the present time that object has been most unequivocally stated. I heard, in 1834, the most solemn declarations after I had deserted my Colleagues in the Government of Lord Grey, on the part of the noble Earl, that he had never contemplated such a plan; and Lord Brougham also, then the Lord Chancellor of that Government, denied in the most solemn manner any such intention, or any possibility of such a proposition being entertained. I know not whether my right hon. Friend the Member for Coventry is in his place, but he, in 1834, most seriously disclaimed the proposition of the hon. Member for Sheffield. I might, indeed, refer to similar declarations made by other hon. and right hon. Gentlemen. I frankly admit to the right hon. Gentleman that these declarations were made many years ago, under circumstances which may be considered as not absolutely binding. Lord Plunket, the Irish Lord Chancellor of Lord Melbourne's Government, considered the Protestant Church of Ireland as the strongest bond of union between the two countries, and that it would be fatal to the Union to touch that Church. True, changes of opinion may naturally ensue from changes of circumstances; but I wish not to make any taunt upon that ground. I foresaw indeed, or thought I foresaw, that whatever their intentions might be, this ultimately must be the consequence, at which we are now arrived for the first time. Have I misrepresented in any respect what fell from the right hon. Member for Coventry? I certainly understood him in 1834, upon the question of my hon. Friend for the appropriation of the funds of the Protestant Church in Ireland to the purposes of the Roman Catholic Church there, most unequivocally to deny that he agreed with it. I repeat, I always foresaw, in the event of the support of the Motion of the hon. Gentleman, and much more in the adoption of it, that it must lead to the point at which we are now arrived, that of a direct proposition for a grant to be made out of the funds of the Protestant Church for the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland. Subsequent considerations led me more and more to think that such would be the result. I do not wish to carry this argument further; but I conceive, as in the Tithe Question, that this measure is one for the better assurance of the Protestant Church. I consider that the Protestant Church in Ireland should be governed on the same principle as property left in trust for a specific use. I conceive that the use in this case is the spiritual instruction of the Protestant inhabitants of Ireland. I conceive that the property is placed in trust for that purpose. I have not changed my opinion on that point. I adhere confidently, sincerely, and honestly to the opinions I have hitherto expressed; but I wish to promote the most indulgent and the kindest consideration for the wants of my Roman Catholic fellow-subjects. I am most anxious that their spiritual wants should be supplied, and that their priests should be educated so as to be properly qualified for their office. But to perform that task it is not necessary to take the course proposed by the hon. Member for Sheffield, to which I am decidedly opposed.

Mr. *Roebuck:* When a person of the known ability of the right hon. Gentleman undertook to answer a speech of the character and class such as that of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Edinburgh, it was expected by the House and the world at large that something like an attempt should have been made to answer the arguments adduced by the right hon. Gentleman. But it did not strike him (Mr. Roebuck), and he did not think it would strike any one, that the right hon. Gentleman had at all attempted to answer the arguments of the right hon. Member. The speech of the right hon. Baronet was an utter failure. The weakness of the argument which he had to support was so great, and the cause which he had to advocate was so bad, that he found it utterly crumble and fall before the powerful reasoning of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the city of Edinburgh. That right hon. Gentleman stated that the Irish Protestant Church at this time was admitted to be a bad institution, because it was supported by property set apart for purposes which at this time were entirely without value. It was property set apart for the purposes of a Protestant Church, which Protestant Church, in a large portion of Ireland, did not exist. It was necessary the House should on this occasion understand the meaning of the word Church. People generally combined the word with the idea of a Church Establishment; others combined it with ideas of the payment of a clergy, and with their giving the spiritual consolation to a congregation. Others combined it with the idea of united congregations, constituting a Church in unison with the pastors who were appointed to give that religious consolation; but in Ireland it was notorious that in a large number of the parishes there was no Protestant congregation; and under these circumstances, it now came to be considered, as the right hon. Gentleman had said, that this property was set apart for Protestant uses, and the uses in this case having entirely failed, how were they best to apply the property which was in their hands? What was the Government doing? The Government said that it was a matter of the highest importance (and he should apply himself to that point presently) that this grant should be made. The question raised by the hon. Member for Sheffield was, whence should the proceeds come by which this grant should be supplied? Was it to come from the pockets of the hard-working people of England, or was it to come from that large portion of property which we had in our hands, arising from the fact that its original appropriation for Protestant uses had entirely failed? He (Mr. Roebuck) would not talk of religious feelings. The right hon. Gentleman had said that he did not wish to introduce any religious feelings into this discussion. Indeed, the right hon. Gentleman ought to be the last person to excite Protestant animosities in this matter. But what did the right hon. Gentleman do? He turned round upon those on the Opposition side of the House who had supported him, finding that that support had secured him and his party, and said—"Ay, now you are coming to touch the Protestants of England—you are about to excite a Protestant feeling," and then the right hon. Gentleman himself blew the bellows to bring up the flame. He attempted to frighten them from mooting the question, they having supported him throughout the whole proceeding at a great risk to themselves, and to the great party to which they belonged. This was certainly a strange return for the support they had given the right hon. Gentleman and his friends. Protestant Establishment! What was the present Protestant Establishment in Ireland? Had it not been faithfully described by the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Macaulay), and had the right hon. Baronet (Sir James Graham) attempted to answer that description? Was it not at the present time the great ecclesiastical enormity of Europe? Was it not a Church, the best paid for the least service in the world? Was that description answered by the right hon. Baronet? Not at all. What was his reply? With a faint murmur he said, "Beware lest you arouse the Protestant hostility of England." How came it that the right hon. Gentleman raised that question upon this grant to Maynooth? They were prepared to meet all that was wrong—all that was bigoted—all that was unjust in the Protestant feeling in England; but they were not prepared to support the strong feeling of justice in the English people, who required that that portion of justice which was done to Ireland should be done at the least expense of suffering to the great body of the community. This was the grand distinguishing mark between the two courses of policy on the two different sides of the House. It was the shuffling, wavering, paltering policy (he had authority for the use of that word), it was the policy of exigency on the one side, while, on the other, it was a policy founded on feelings of kindness and conciliation towards the people of Ireland, and a love of freedom, and a spirit of liberality—feelings which had induced him, and those on his side of the House, to give their cordial support to this measure. He wanted to know what answer he had himself received? On one occasion he had thought proper to remark on the absence of Irish Members; and a reply had been attempted by the right hon Member for Dungarvon (Mr. Sheil), pointed, brilliant, eloquent, but not effective. The language of the hon. and learned Member for Cork had always been, "Agitate; make the Government fear you. Do not go to England. Agitate—come with me to monster meetings—frighten the Prime Minister—and let the shadow of a shade of war be perceptible in any part of the world, and Ireland will have justice done to her." Such had been the constant language of the hon. and learned Member for Cork; and what had the right hon. Baronet (Sir James Graham) done but almost to reiterate the expressions, and as it were cast himself down in a state of prostration in the mud and mire of abject humility? The way to obtain anything from a Conservative Minister was not to show him what was just, not to point out a conciliatory remedy for previous maladministration, but to coerce him, to create discontent, to prove that State exigency made it dangerous for him to refuse; and then the moment a small cloud, no bigger than one's hand, appeared in the horizon, but concession followed as a matter of course. He and others felt that on this occasion great injustice had been done to the people of England; he had hoped that the Minister was not yielding to terror or to intimidation, but proceeding upon the great principles of justice and fairness. What, however, appeared to be the truth? That from the time of the State prosecutions, if not before, they had been basely submitting to fears. Out of those prosecutions they had escaped by a lucky turn in another place; but the Government was in state of greater trepidation than ever, and now made the grant to Maynooth as a sop to the Cerberus of Cork. [*Cheers.*] He was not using his own terms, but those of the right hon. Baronet. If he had not descried the small cloud of war in the west, he would not yet have made the concession. This was the fair interpretation of the language of the right hon. Baronet. He was afraid of a war with America: that was the plain English of the matter. Being frightened by a possible rebellion in Ireland, and a possible war with the United States, the right hon. Baronet had said to his Colleagues, "Don't you think it better that we should give the Irish a sop?" ["No, no."] Again, he said that these were not his words; he was merely putting a fair gloss upon the language of the Prime Minister. What had the right hon. Secretary for the Home Department done to-night? He had added to the mischief. To what principle had he appealed? To the Protestant feelings of the people of England. He had said, "I know it ought to be done: the education of the inhabitants of Ireland ought to be provided for, but do not touch the Church Establishment of that country; for the Protestant people of England, with true Protestant feeling, of which I am the exponent, never will allow you to invade it." He was prepared to assert that the Protestant Church of Ireland would not be in the slightest degree injured by the proposal of the hon. Member for Sheffield. The terms Protestant Church of Ireland meant simply the congregations, not the clergy or the revenues. Depend upon it that was the accurate explanation. What had been the argument used by the right hon. Member for Edinburgh? He had applied the celebrated argument of David Hume to the question. He said, "You have small and few Protestant congregations, and a large number of overpaid Protestant priests; and what proof have you that you are supporting the Protestant Church by overpaying the Protestant priesthood?" Was it not indisputable that nine-tenths of the people were Roman Catholic, and that the Protestant congregations were almost solitary in the midst of the Roman Catholics? ["No, no."] Was any Gentleman who cried "No," prepared to let his person be seen at the same time? It was very easy to cry "No," with impunity in the midst of a line of faces, but would any Member stand forward and dispute what he had advanced? Ninth-tenths of the congregations in Ireland were not Protestant, and parish after parish might be pointed out in which there was no Protestant congregation. From the Roman Catholics was raised the revenue for maintaining what was called the Protestant Church. The Protestant Church! No such thing—for maintaining the sinecure Protestant parsons. What was the proposition of the hon. Member for Sheffield? In order that no harm might be done to any human being, he suggested that, when a Protestant clergyman was gathered to his fathers—had lived out a life of uselessness—had done, receiving a large income for doing, nothing, and when the revenue, therefore, came, as it were, into the hands of Parliament, instead of reinstating some other person in his invidious position, the sum should be applied to the education of the Roman Catholics. The answer of the right hon. Baronet had been only one of the weakest appeals to the violent prejudices of the Protestants it had ever been his misfortune to hear. This was the real ground of resistance—this the true reason why that dominion was to be kept up, which the Prime Minister, only a few nights ago, had admitted force could no longer maintain. And what was that domination but the domination of the Protestant minority? And the most offensive form it could assume was that of the Irish Church Establishment. However Ministers might stand out for it at present, they would soon give way: a little more pressure would produce more concession. They had yielded bit by bit, and too late on every occasion. Whether it regarded England or Ireland, bit by bit concession had been the damning peculiarity of their legislation. They had thus created enemies, while they had done their country no good, and had been perpetually haunting the paths of their predecessors, because they had not the courage to do right of themselves. He had never hitherto expressed hostility to the present Government, but upon broad principles of difference; but after the declaration of the other night it was hopeless to expect anything good from them—but upon compulsion. They would do no justice until they were threatened, and make no concession until it was extorted by terror. Only let the hon. and learned Member for Cork frighten them a little more, and they would grant a little more, and then would be done tardily what ought to have been done speedily. What was wished was not the destruction of the Irish Church, but a fair adjustment of its property to ecclesiastical purposes without injury to a human being. By whom, he should like to know, had the property of the Irish Church been given? It was originally dedicated to Roman Catholic uses, and it had been diverted by Protestants to Protestant purposes, which Protestant purposes had failed. Had it been a trust in law, the Lord Chancellor would have been called upon to apply the money, and why should not Parliament act on the same principle? The Protestant use had died out, and the revenue ought to be devoted to the service of the Irish people. A long endeavour had been made to coerce the right hon. Gentlemen opposite: that struggle commenced about the year 1833, and when out of office the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel) had headed a movement opposed to all concessions of justice and liberality. The Home Secretary had quitted the Government of Lord Grey on the Appropriation Clause; and he (Mr. Roebuck) begged now to ask, what was the difference between the proposition of the Prime Minister and the Appropriation Clause? Was it Protestant principle. What had the right hon. Baronet said a few minutes ago? He had complained that the Motion of the hon. Member for Sheffield would divert from Protestant purposes to exclusively Catholic purposes a portion of the property of the Establishment. That was what the constituency had said of the measure of the Prime Minister, who was quite ready that the money should be wrung from the hard hands of English peasants, if it were not taken from that fictitious entity, the diminution of whose revenue could injure no human being. Now, however, the right hon. Baronet (Sir J. Graham) raised the Protestant cry, and those who had supported him only a few nights ago were to be exposed to the fire of the constituency, while he sheltered himself behind cotton bags. If he had said wool bags, it would perhaps have been more appropriate; but whether the one or the other, the Opposition was to bear the brunt of the danger. It became their duty to knock down this screen, and not only to let in the light but the bullets, that those who deceived the people might suffer the consequences. Either this was a great question of principle, or it was not; if it were, it meant this—that an attempt was to be made to educate the people of Ireland in order to render them a component, quiet, and assisting part of this great Empire; for this purpose means were to be used, furnished by the people at large, and instead of that plan the hon. Member for Sheffield showed that there was a portion of the now funds of the Church which, without danger, could be applied to the object, and which might be applied to it if the supporters of the Motion were not turned round by some poor and paltry appeal to religious bigotry, and shifted off evasively by the false pretence that it was an attack upon Protestant principle.

Sir *Robert Peel:* I am very unwilling that the House should separate to-night without my protest against the gross misapprehension and misconstruction of what fell from me on a former night. When I addressed hon. Members on that occasion, I altogether abstained from party crimination. Having brought forward this measure on the part of Her Majesty's Government, and seeing the manner in which it was received in Ireland, the satisfaction with which it was hailed, I certainly did and do deprecate, with the utmost anxiety, the failure of the proposal. I know perfectly well that it depended upon hon. Gentlemen opposite whether that proposal should or should not be successful; and I think I did, I am sure I ought to have done, and meant to do, ample justice to the motives by which they were influenced. I know perfectly well that it is impossible that many of them could give their support to a measure brought forward by their opponents, without encountering the risk of displeasing their constituents. I think I said on that occasion that there were on that side of the House most honourable examples of men actuated purely by disinterested and public-spirited motives, who without reference to the quarter from which this measure proceeded, were prepared to forfeit now and for ever their seats, rather than contribute to its defeat. I think I made that statement. I do not attempt to arrogate to this Government the credit of this measure. I said, I recollect perfectly well, that it might perhaps be much better that this measure should have proceeded from those who have been the constant and uniform friends of the Roman Catholics. I am prepared for the consequences of the displeasure which has been manifested on this side of the House, on account of having proposed it. Let that displeasure be visited upon the Ministers; but considering the measure which had been proposed, looking at the feeling with which it had been received, I said, do not permit your displeasure to fall on the measure itself. And, Sir, it would be base indeed if we were to attempt, after the support with which this measure has been received, to expose those who have supported it to any indignation of Protestant feeling on account of that support. And I must repudiate, on the part of my right hon. Friend (Sir James Graham), in the strongest manner, the slightest intention to question the motives of hon. Gentlemen opposite, or subject them to any disapprobation from others on account of the support they have given to us on the present occasion. I certainly was surprised at the tone of the hon. and learned Member for Bath, and the manner in which he commented on the speech of my right hon. Friend. The Bill received the support of the hon. Member on the second reading—he was then perfectly aware of the nature of the measure. I explained fully that it was intended to provide for the increased grant to Maynooth out of the public Revenue when I brought the measure forward. I never led him to suppose it was possible that we should consent to the revenue of the Established Church being interfered with. It was distinctly stated by me that the funds necessary for the improvement of Maynooth were to be taken from the Consolidated Fund. I never encouraged the impression that during any stage of these proceedings we should consent to the appropriation of the funds of the Established Church. Therefore the hon. and learned Gentleman, on the second reading, was as well aware of the principle and details of the proposal as he is at the present moment. Influenced by those motives for which I gave him entire credit, knowing from the feelings which prevailed in the city which he represents, that he was incurring the risk which others were ready to incur—yet still when he supported this Bill on the second reading, he must allow me to say that he was perfectly aware of the nature of the proposal, and could not have supposed that we should consent to any appropriation of ecclesiastical revenues. The hon. and learned Gentleman says that I stated that this measure had been brought in in deference to the opinion, or in consequence of the agitation of Mr. O'Connell. I stated directly the reverse. I stated that during the prevalence of agitation we met it and combated it by law; that we succeeded, in Ireland at least, in our appeal to the law, in consequence of which there was a suppression of agitation, at least so far as the suspension of those immense meetings which disturbed the public peace was concerned. After the manifestations of our determination to vindicate the law, was the past experience of those meetings to prevent us from considering whether any other measures could be adopted which were likely to prevent further agitation than physical force? When last year, as I stated the other night, we proposed the measure for providing for the better superintendence of charitable endowments, it received the general support of this House. Were we, when we brought in that measure, influenced by intimidation?—were we not encouraged to proceed? were we not told that it was a wise course? were we taunted by insinuations that we were yielding to physical force? No; we were opposed by a few Roman Catholic Members on the second reading; but on the whole we were supported by the most cordial consent of this House. We were supported in the execution of that act by the ecclesiastical authorities of the Roman Catholic Church who opposed themselves to agitation. Did I not refer to their conduct, and to the support which we met with from men who had never joined Repeal, as an encouragement to proceed in the same course? Mr. O'Connell never asked for the endowment of Maynooth. Conciliation Hall never demanded it; but there was a great body of Roman Catholic clergy and laity, who, seeing the temper and spirit of the Government, from passing the Endowment Act, and from the manner in which we executed it, were inclined to support the Government, in pursuing the same course. And it was much more in deference to their opinions than to any threats or agitation, that we did proceed in this course, and brought forward this measure. And when did I give notice of this measure of Maynooth? Did I give notice of it in consequence of the threatening aspect of the United States? Did I not give notice (in order that the country might not be taken by surprise)—did I not give notice during a period of calm —of suspension of agitation—of discontinuance of meetings—did I not voluntarily, without any necessity—without any call for it, run the risk of exciting the Protestant feeling of this country, by a distinct declaration during the last Session, that the subject of academical education should undergo the consideration of the Government, and that the College of Maynooth should be included in that consideration? Did I not add, at that time, that that consideration should be conducted not in an adverse but in a friendly view? Did I not lead every man who heard me to infer that it was the intention of the Government to improve the institution of Maynooth, and increase the vote? We fulfilled the pledges which were given, and brought forward this measure. I have been taunted to-night with not having noticed on a former occasion the observation of the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Macaulay). I did abstain from noticing the attack of the right hon. Gentleman, and he seems very much disappointed that I did. He taunts me with having passed it over. I did not know that I was less inclined than others to notice these things, but I assigned to the right hon. Gentleman my reason. I know the success of this measure was dependent on the support of hon. Gentlemen opposite. Was it fitting in me to alienate that support by party attacks—was it not much more consistent with my duty (being, as I said, perfectly ready to take all the consequences of success or failure, yet feeling deeply satisfied that afte r the proposal of this measure, the public interest required that it should be passed)—was it not, I say, more becoming, in my position, that I should concentrate my efforts to ensure the passing of this measure, rather than provoke party attacks, or indulge in party recrimination? Sir, powerful as is the right hon. Gentleman—great as are his abilities, yet I do assure him it was not a fear of the conflict with him that induced my forbearance. It was that sense of public duty with reference to the importance of this measure, and to the effect upon Ireland of its failure, that led me resolutely to follow the course by which I can best secure its success. But, Sir, the right hon. Gentleman, in spite of my wishes, compels me to notice his observations. The right hon. Gentleman says, is it not very humiliating that you should have to propose this measure? Sir, I feel no humiliation in the discharge of a public duty. I should feel humiliated if, believing this measure to be of importance to the welfare of Ireland, I shrunk from proposing it for fear I should be charged with inconsistency. Then I should indeed think I was acting an unworthy part. But if I believe it to be a measure calculated to produce good in Ireland, to assuage the bitter feeling between the two countries—if I honestly think that it would have that result, so far from feeling any humiliation in proposing it, I own to the right hon. Gentleman that I should feel perfectly satisfied both with the motives and with the act. The part which I should feel to be humiliating would be to shrink from the performance of a public duty, for fear the right hon.

Gentleman should point out some passage in my life in order to charge me with inconsistency. Now as to the vote to Maynooth. I gave my support to it all the time I was in office. I voted for it in 1840. I voted with the right hon. Gentleman. I spoke in favour of it when he was silent. I objected to the withdrawal of the vote, when it was endeavoured to obtain its discontinuance; and in office, seeing that I objected to the discontinuance of the vote, supporting that violation of principle with which it is charged, where is the inconsistency, instead of continuing an imperfect system of education by a vote of 9,000*l.* a year, that I now advocate an improvement of the building—that I wish to elevate the character of the education, to improve the position of the professors—to give a decent allowance for the education of the youth—where, I say, is the inconsistency of this, when I had previously voted for the continuance of the grant? And who was it that said he could not conceive the mind so frivolous that would vote for 9,000*l.* a year, and object to a fair and sufficient endowment? Who was it said that some men would be reconciled to the maintenance of professors, provided they could starve them? Why, it was the right hon. Gentleman himself, who, wishing to convince his constituents that he was not violating any principle, by supporting the increased grant, made that defence of his own conduct; and then turned round on the Government and said, "we were violating our principles," not because we proposed to take it from the revenues of the Church, but because we proposed to transform it from an annual vote, which it had been for fifty years, into a permanent grant, and increase the amount. I did not make any comment on the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, because I followed the noble Lord, who appeared to me in a generous spirit to fulfil that which I thought was at least a virtual engagement, namely, that if we would propose measures likely to conduce to the welfare of Ireland, without reference to party feelings or interests, we knew where there was a party to be found on whose support we could rely. Well, we did propose measures of this character, and then the right hon. Gentleman comes down here bursting with indignation. I never saw a man who appeared so dissatisfied with a proposal, and the manner in which it has been received. He would appear to consider Irish discontent to be a particular dominion of his own. Now, what was the language held in the course of the last year? A Motion was made by a noble Lord, who must have the confidence of the right hon. Gentleman, on the subject of Maynooth, in another place, and observe what were the declarations made in the last Session of Parliament. Lord Monteagle, a Member of the late Government said—

> "The present was just the moment when the Government, after taking strong measures to enforce their own opinions, and to put down views adverse to their own, the present was the moment when they could most favourably introduce measures really tending to improve the character and condition of the Irish people."

There was not a word then of agitation extorting such measures from us:—

> "A measure of the kind he had now proposed would, above all others, have the highly beneficial effect of showing the people of that country that Parliament and the Government sympathized with them on a subject upon which it had hitherto been considered that Government was either apathetic, most unwilling, or most adverse. The Government might thus show that they truly desired to promote at once the spiritual and the temporal advancement of the people. The establishment of Maynooth ought immediately to be placed upon a higher footing, so as to fit it for the reception and education of the better classes."

That was the language of the party opposed to me in the course of the last Session. If we had done nothing—if we had trusted to measures of coercion—if we had proposed the annual vote for Maynooth, I am sure I see many hon. Gentlemen opposite who would not have taken such a course. But might not the right hon. Gentleman, actuated by the spirit which he has exhibited to-night—might he not have been the man to say, "See the encouragement that hon. Gentlemen of the party opposed to you generously gave you last year? They saw a calm in Ireland—they saw that a period had arrived when you might bring forward measures calculated to have a powerful effect upon Ireland. You have no cause for your apathy; we encouraged you to proceed—we gave you notice that you should have our support, and we now charge you with having abandoned a duty which you might easily have performed, consistent with your own principles, and in the performance of which you knew, from our assurances, you would have our support." We took a liberal course; we improved the institution and increased the vote; and then the right hon. Gentleman comes forward and charges us with inconsistency and want of principle, and encourages, as much as he can, an attempt to defeat us in the measure which we have proposed—at least to extract from it every party advantage, although he cannot withhold his support from it. I must say, Sir, that such conduct is unworthy of his position in this House. I deeply regret that the renewed attacks of the right hon. Gentleman have obliged me to make this reference to him, because while I make it I am anxious to do justice to the course which has been pursued by the noble Lord and the party who support him. I do not want to take the gratitude of the Irish from those who have been their constant friends. We propose this measure from a belief that it will be conducive to the welfare of Ireland; but it is not right on account of this temporary measure that the obligations which the Roman Catholics owe to those who have been their constant friends should be transferred from them to us. Be the measure what it may, we want to derive no other advantage from it than the conscientious conviction that we have done our duty in proposing it. When the right hon. Gentleman talks of the supporters of the measure being opposed to the Protestant feeling of the country, I would ask who were so likely to suffer from that feeling as ourselves? Can he assign any reason for the proposal of this measure other than our belief that it would be beneficial to Ireland? What could have been easier for us than to have proposed the old vote, and to have resisted an increase by a large majority? We are told that no one asked for this measure. The argument of some of my hon. Friends on this side of the House is, "You have proposed something that no one called for—there was no necessity for it—there was no emergency." Why, that is just what I have said. I say it is a contrast to the series of past concessions. So far from its being the result of agitation, it is the spontaneous, the voluntary act of Her Majesty's Government. And let me tell you that is the cause why it is producing such an effect in Ireland; why it is producing there a feeling of contentment and gratitude. It is much more appreciated by those who have abstained from joining the ranks of Repeal, and who have kept aloof from high feeling. It is felt by them that the Government have been influenced by feelings of kindness and conciliation to them. It is brought forward in the spirit with which the Endowment Act was introduced last Session. We are now actuated by the same feeling, by the same motives. But it seems that the fear of America has had some effect. If I used an equivocal expression on a former occasion, do not the facts speak for themselves? Have we altered this measure in the slightest degree in consequence of the message of the President? Has not my right hon. Friend (Sir James Graham) correctly stated that the outline of this measure was prepared in November last, when we were led to believe that the discussion on the subject of the Oregon territory would soon be brought to a close? Did not the late President refuse to present the Papers to the Senate, because he said he was of opinion that the negotiations would soon be brought to a successful termination? It was at that period that this measure was prepared. The Speech of the present President did not induce us to add one shilling to the grant, or alter the measure in any way that would be likely to make it more acceptable to the people of Ireland. But seeing the temper with which it was received in Ireland after it had been proposed, was it not natural for me to say that I did rejoice, after having been compelled to use the expressions which I did, in consequence of the Motion of the noble Lord—was it not, I ask, natural that I should say I rejoiced to see the altered feeling which prevailed in Ireland, satisfied as I was that this measure was likely to prove a message of peace? But can the right hon. Gentleman infer from that that the fear of America had any reference to our proposal of this measure? Sir, this measure has not been extorted from us by agitation. We showed a resolution to contend against agitation with such means as the law of the land afforded us without desiring to apply to Parliament for any increased powers; and with regard to the threatenings of the President of the United States, I have only to observe that his language had no influence whatever on our conduct towards Ireland. So much for the construction that has been put upon the speech which I made the other night. Sir, I certainly will not enter on the present occasion and at the present hour, into the great question to which the hon. Member has by Motion directed the attention of the House. I think it would have been infinitely better for the hon. Gentleman to have brought forward a substantive Motion on this subject, rather than to have confined himself to a proposal for taking some 26,000*l.* from the revenues of the Established Church for the endowment of Maynooth. I gave my opinion fully last Session on the subject of the Irish Church. I did not, on that occasion, state, as the hon. Gentleman has alleged, I disregarded the compact. The hon. Gentleman said, I threw that compact overboard; but so far from that being the case, I distinctly stated at that time, that so far as a compact had weight in such a matter, that compact weighed fully with me in regard to the Established Church. But I added that I would not rest the defence of the Established Church in Ireland merely on that compact—that I thought it would be unwise to rest the defence of the Church merely on a compact—but that I considered it would be wise to show, and I thought it could be shown, that the Establishment generally would justify the maintenance of that Church, and that I did not therefore wish to rest it on the ground of compact alone. If the hon. Gentleman on some other occasion brings forward a substantive Motion on this subject, I shall be perfectly willing to meet him, and to show the grounds on which I have come to the same conclusion with Burke, with Sir John Newport, with Mr. Grattan, with Lord Plunkett, and with some of the most distinguished of the Roman Catholics themselves, as well as with their most tried friends, with regard to the maintenance of the Established Church in Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Edinburgh says, that all those who vote against the Motion of the hon. Gentleman must be in favour of the Established Church in Ireland, and that all those who support that Motion must be in favour of the total destruction of the establishment. I must say, that I do not think the right hon. Gentleman was justified in putting the question in that position, considering the peculiar nature of the vote which is required to be given—and earnestly as the present measure has been proposed, so earnestly do I hope that it may not be encumbered with such a proposal as that made by the hon. Gentleman. How has the measure been received in Ireland? Contrast the feelings in Ireland with the feelings that have been manifested in this country. When I proposed this measure, I certainly did not look, as the sole advantage to be derived from it, to the fact of some 26,000*l.* a year being given to Maynooth. I believed that the measure would be considered satisfactory to the Roman Catholics, and that it would be received by them—as in point of fact it has been received by them—not as a concession, not as a boon, but as an indication of kindly feelings towards them and towards Ireland by the Government and the Legislature. I confess I thought also that the measure would have been favourably received by the Protestants, and that it would have a tendency to promote a better feeling between Roman Catholics and Protestants in Ireland. Sir, it has had that effect. How few are the petitions that have been received from Ireland against the measure! In fact, I doubt whether there have not been as many petitions from Ireland in favour of the measure as against it. I do think it most honourable to the Protestant feeling in Ireland that so many Members of the Established Church have come forward, forgetting their past animosities, forgetting their former causes of difference, advising you to pass this measure, and rejoicing in an act of liberality, and, as they consider it, of justice, towards their Roman Catholic fellow subjects. I do think that the passing of the Act in the spirit in which it has been proposed will have that desirable effect. But it should not be forgotten that the Protestants who have petitioned in favour of the measure expected, when they did so, that it would be passed in the manner in which it had been brought forward. They certainly did not contemplate that the House would take the funds that were proposed to be given for the support of Maynooth from the revenues of the Established Church. They rejoice in the measure as an act of liberality — not that they care for the money, or attached any great importance to a vote of 26,000*l.*, but they rejoice in it as a proof of the kindly feelings that are entertained by the Government and the Legislature towards their Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen. I do not say that the right hon. Gentleman intends to interrupt this kindly feeling. I entirely repudiate on the part of the right hon. Gentleman any such dishonourable views; but still I think that if we are now to announce to the Protestants of Ireland that we mean to alter the character of the measure, and are prepared to take this grant for the endowment of Maynooth out of the revenues of the Established Church, the kindly feeling that now manifests itself on their part in favour of the grant will cease, and we may expect to find opposition instead of countenance from them. Sir, I rose, however, less to expatiate on such topics than to deny utterly the justice of that construction which was put upon my words; and if I have been diverted from the course which I meant to pursue, if I have said one word throwing impediments in the way of any Gentleman on the opposite side of the House giving his support to this measure on account of any reference to the language which has been mentioned—I deeply regret that circumstance; but at the same time I felt that I had no alternative, after the repetition of the taunt of the right hon. Gentleman, but to satisfy him by noticing his attacks. But, Sir, while I give hon. Gentlemen opposite entire credit for the motives which induce them to support this Motion, and while I am quite willing to transfer to them, on account of their uniform advocacy of Roman Catholic claims, all the merit which is due to our proposal, and all the gratitude of the Roman Catholics arising from it, still my anxiety remains unabated, that in the present state of public feeling in Ireland, this measure may receive the sanction of the House. I hope, therefore, the hon. Gentleman will not succeed in his Motion. I also hope that other Motions in opposition to this measure may be equally unsuccessful. The Motion of my hon. and learned Friend the Member for the University of Cambridge, in particular, seems expressly fitted to meet the wishes of those who are willing that the funds for the support of the College of Maynooth should be taken out of the revenues of the Established Church. It was perfectly open to my hon. Friend to take, as the ground of his Amendment, the principle that the vote ought to be annual instead of permanent; or my hon. Friend might have objected to any increase of the vote at all; but instead of adopting either of these courses, he has given notice of the Motion which will compel hon. Members who wish to see the funds for the purpose of this grant taken out of the revenues of the Established Church, and not out of the Consolidated Fund, or by an annual vote of Parliament, to vote with him. [Mr. *Law* expressed his dissent.] Surely my hon. Friend does not mean to deny the accuracy of the view which I have taken of his Amendment. The Motion of my hon. Friend is, that the fund necessary for the support of Maynooth shall not be taken out of the Consolidated Fund. It is not that it shall be voted annually by Parliament, but that it shall not be taken in the particular manner proposed by the Government. [Mr. *Law:* Read the terms of the Motion.] The Notice stands thus in the book—

> "Mr. Law—On the Motion for going into Committee on Maynooth College Bill, to move that it is the opinion of this House, that the several sums of Money proposed to be payable by this Bill, and the Schedule thereto annexed, shall not be charged upon or payable by the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."

The terms of the Motion are—not that the amount shall be voted annually by Parliament, but simply that it shall not be taken out of the Consolidated Fund. Now I want to know, how can any hon. Gentleman refuse to vote for that Motion who wishes to see the amount taken from the funds of the Established Church; or whether my hon. Friend would not appear to be satisfied if he can, by a combination of parties of extremely opposite views, succeed in defeating this measure? I wish to see those who desire to defeat this measure divide on the principle upon which it is founded. I do think it is perfectly consistent that hon. Friends of mine who dissent from the measure, or wish for its withdrawal, to object altogether to the grant, or to take the sense of the House on the propriety of increasing it. I think it perfectly fair for hon. Gentlemen opposite, who consider that the revenues of the Established Church ought to supply the funds proposed to be given to Maynooth College, to make a Motion to that effect, though at the same time I trust there are many hon. Gentlemen who, agreeing in the principle contended for by the hon. Gentleman, yet consider it, on the whole, better, having regard to the state of public feeling in Ireland since the measure has been proposed, to forego their peculiar principles, in order to insure the passing of the measure rather than see it defeated. But I do not believe that any permanent good can be derived to any party from the defeat of the measure by a combination of men of opposite feelings and principles. I do hope, therefore, that if there be a majority of the House who do not agree entirely in this measure, but who consider that some better plan might be proposed, yet, on the whole, preferring that it should pass to its failure, will give Her Majesty's Government their support on the present occasion; and when the Bill is disposed of, if you are then inclined to censure our conduct—if you think that measures of this kind had better be proposed by those who consistently supported the Catholic claims, then take your course, and we are perfectly prepared to abide by the result. But believing this measure to be necessary, and knowing that it would meet with opposition, we thought it a more manly, more honourable, course towards the House, towards hon. Members of the opposite party, as well as towards our own friends, and also towards the people of Ireland, that we should encounter the stream of public indignation, rather than that we should shrink from the discharge of our public duty, and, from a fear of being taunted with inconsistency, refuse to take the course which we thought required by the public interest.

Lord *John Russell:* I do not wish to interpose to prevent the adjournment of the debate, or to detain the House by any long argument on this question; but I am anxious, before the House separates, to state, as briefly as I can, the course which I intend to take with respect to the Motion of my hon. Friend the Member for Sheffield. It is my intention to support that Motion. I shall give my vote in favour of the Motion of my hon. Friend; but when the Motion of the hon. and learned Member for the University of Cambridge comes before the Committee, I shall be prepared to give it my decided negative. I will go further and say, that if the House is not prepared to concur with the proposition of my hon. Friend the Member for Sheffield, I do not know that there is any other Amendment which can be subsequently moved in the progress of the measure to which I shall give my support; and I shall then consider it to be my duty to advance this Bill to the best of my power—believing, as I do, that its adoption will be attended with the advantages attributed to it by the Government. The reason why I give my vote for the present Motion is, because I think that if that Motion were not supported by those who have an opinion similar to mine on this question, we should stand in an unsatisfactory position. We have always represented, that to have an exclusive Church in Ireland for the Protestants, and to have no Establishment of any kind for the Roman Catholics, is to have a state of things which can never give satisfaction in that country. I can understand, that as the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for the Home Department said, when you have an Establishment agreeable with the religious opinions of the people, that these must be divided into subordinate subdivisions, such as parishes, with a minister devoted and attached to each, it might happen without much mischief that there were very few persons belonging to the Establishment in some of the divisions. I believe that the right hon. Gentleman took this view of the question from a work of Paley's; but then it had reference to a case where a great majority of the people accorded in opinion with the Established religion. But when I find that in Ireland, in parish after parish, and district after district, there are no Protestants having a minister allotted to each, while there is no minister so provided for congregations of 3,000 or 4,000 Roman Catholics in each of these parishes, the inconsistency appears to be so great that I cannot reconcile it to my feeling of propriety and justice. The right hon. Gentleman said, that this would be the case after the present Bill passed, and that, as I understood the case which he put, if you pass this Bill for Maynooth, we are to have no further change. I therefore must express my discontent with this state of things; and I should not be satisfied, after this measure passed, by continuing this injustice. The right hon. Secretary for the Home Department said, that if we voted for this proposition of my hon. Friend, we voted for the destruction of the Protestant Church of Ireland. I agree to no such inference. My opinion is, as I have expressed it on former occasions, that there should be a Church Establishment for the Protestants of Ireland; and I think that this is not only a matter upon which the Act of Union bears decidedly, but I believe that the practical and actual union of the two countries is favoured by the maintenance of a Protestant Established Church in Ireland. But what I wish to see is, a Church Establishment suited to the number of the Protestants of that kingdom: and also an Establishment suited to the Roman Catholic people of that country. How this is to be brought about is a question too large to enter upon at present. I believe that there would be great and serious objections to granting out of the public Revenue a large revenue of 300,000*l.* or 400,000*l.* a year to the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland. I believe that the funds for the maintenance of any such Establishment should be furnished by Ireland. As England supports the Church Establishment of England, and as Scotland supports the Church Establishment of Scotland, so I conceive Ireland should support any such Church Establishment. But before adopting any arrangement for that purpose, I should consider whether there be not a superfluous revenue belonging to the Church existing in that country, or whether some steps might not be taken for annexing glebes to each Catholic cure. I therefore, without attaching any great importance as to whether this Vote of 26,000*l.* is to be taken out of the Consolidated Fund, or from the revenues of the Church of Ireland, I wish to show by my vote, that with regard to the settlement of the question respecting the Church of Ireland, the mere grant of 26,000*l.* for the education of the Catholic clergy of Ireland, will not accomplish that object; and I am far from adopting an opinion that nothing more is to be done for the Catholics of Ireland. I do not now wish to enter into the question of party which was introduced by my right hon. Friend the Member for Edinburgh; but if I do not, it is not in consequence of my disagreeing in opinion from my right hon. Friend—for in all that he has stated on a former night, as well as on the present occasion, I entirely concur. And whether there will be any future discussion on the subject I know not, but if there should be, and the matter be brought forward by my right hon. Friend, or any one else, I shall feel it to be my duty to take the opportunity of contrasting the conduct of Gentlemen opposite from 1836 to 1841, and their conduct from 1841 to 1843, with their present conduct and proceedings, and with the course they are now pursuing; and in doing so I feel that I must come to this conclusion, that there was either great political blindness and want of foresight on their part from 1836 to 1841, and again from 1841 to 1843, and I, therefore, can have no confidence in their ability to administer the affairs of this Empire satisfactorily; there has been such a want of capacity on their part as regards Ireland for so long a time; or if on the other hand, Her Majesty's Ministers possess such ability and capacity, I cannot give them credit for having acted with sincerity in Opposition, or for having supported measures which they supposed were calculated to promote the best interests of the country. With these few words, I will only say, that I shall vote for the Motion of my hon. Friend, and if that be negatived, I shall afterwards give my constant and earnest support to the Bill in its subsequent stages.

Debate adjourned.

House adjourned at one o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, April 24, 1845.

MINUTES.] BILLS. *Public.*—1$^{a.}$ Saint Asaph and Bangor and Manchester Dioceses.

Received the Royal Assent.—Sugar Duties; Glass Duties; Customs (Export Duties); Mutiny; Marine Mutiny.

Private.—1$^{a.}$ Shelsley Road; London Orphan Asylum. 2$^{a.}$ Fisher Lane (Greenwich) Improvement.

Reported.—Manchester Stipendiary Magistrate; Forth and Clyde Navigation.

Received the Royal Assent.—Thames Navigation Debt; Britten's Divorce.

PETITIONS PRESENTED. By the Bishop of Down, the Duke of Buckingham, Earls of Wicklow, Roseberry, Eldon, Hardwicke, and Powis, and by Lords Campbell, Farnham, and Denman, from Meiford, and a great number of other places, against Increase of Grant to Maynooth College.—From Moira and Stratford-on-Slaney, for Inquiry into Course of Instruction adopted at Maynooth College.—By Earls of Wicklow, and Clancarty, and Lord Farnham, from Balrothy, and several other places, for Encouragement to Schools in connexion with Church Education Society (Ireland).—From Parishioners of St. Clement, Cornwall, for Revision of Rubric.—By Earl of Powis, from Clergy and others of Oxford, and several other places, against the Union of St. Asaph and Bangor, but in favour of the Appointment of a Bishop to the See of Manchester. —From County of Denbigh, and 4 other places, against the Union of St. Asaph and Bangor. —By Lord Denman, from Holbrook, and 2 other places, for the better Observance of the Sabbath. —By the Lord Chancellor, and Lord Brougham, from Rector and Churchwardens of Hardwicke, Dissenting Congregation of Strand Street, Dublin, and Inhabitants of Farnham, in favour of the Increased Grant to Maynooth.—By Marquess of Normanby, from Mayor and others of Cork, for Alteration of Law relating to the Treatment of Criminals.—By Lord Campbell, from Tradesmen and others of Pontypool, for Repeal of the 57th Clause of Insolvent Debtors Act, except as to Debts not exceeding 5*l.*—From Proprietors of Macclesfield Canal, for Regulating Railway Charges.—From Abernethy, Penpont, and Stirling, for Improving the Condition of Schoolmasters (Scotland).—From Inverness, for the Suppression of Intemperance, especially on the Sabbath.—By the Duke of Richmond, from Parish of Barnham, and several other places, for the better Regulation of Beer Houses; and from Presbytery of Alford, and numerous other places, against Railway Travelling on the Sabbath.

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND).] The Earl of *Clancarty* presented petitions against the National System of Education in Ireland, and in favour of the Church Education Society, from thirty-two parishes: and, on presenting the following petitions against the Maynooth grant, viz., from the parishes of Shillelagh, Kilnorthen and Muclin, and from the Wesleyan Methodists of Ballinasloe, said, he trusted he might be permitted to say a few words with reference to the subject on which these petitioners had addressed their Lordships. I am very far from questioning the right of the State to provide education for any class of Her Majesty's subjects who may be deemed proper objects of such a provision, and may be willing to accept it at Her hands; and I should be the last person to deny or undervalue the peculiar and very strong claims of my countrymen, the people of Ireland, to the consideration and sympathy of the Imperial Government in this respect. But whether at Maynooth or elsewhere, I am decidedly of opinion that no system of education should be provided at the public expense without Ministerial responsibility, and that is not subject to the supremacy and absolute control of the State. Your Lordships will, I am sure, agree with me that there is no function of Government—no duty which a Minister of the Crown could undertake—which according to the manner in which it is fulfilled and the principles that regulate it, may be productive of such lasting benefit to the community, or, on the other hand, exercise so evil an influence upon society, as that of public instruction. It is, therefore, most important that Ministers should be held responsible to Parliament, as Parliament is (and at the present time fearfully so) to the country, that the public money shall not be laid out for educational purposes, except upon principles conducive to the welfare and future usefulness of those under instruction, to the general good of society, and to the dissemination of religious truth. Now, I believe, that no such results have flowed from the system of education pursued at Maynooth College; that originally founded for the legitimate purpose of "the better education of persons professing the Roman Catholic religion," it has signally failed of accomplishing that object. At the end of half a century, and ere your Lordships are called upon to pass an Act to extend and perpetuate this institution, it is not unreasonable to ask, what good has it effected—whether among those who have been educated within its walls any have adorned the literature of the country—have been distinguished as men of science, or have exhibited in their characters any praiseworthy qualities referable in any degree to the moral or religious training of that College? I believe that such an inquiry would show it to have been an institution neither creditable to the State, nor beneficial to the country—that it has, in fact, proved nothing better than a Propaganda of the worst and most intolerant principles of Romanism, destructive alike of social harmony and of religious liberty, and rendering the very profession of Protestantism often insecure, and a certain cause of persecution. The unfavourable opinion I have expressed of Maynooth College, is, I believe, entertained by most people who are acquainted with Ireland; and, judging from the petitions that have been presented, the public in general are not more favourably impressed in behalf of that institution. If such an opinion is mistaken or exaggerated, there is a ready way by which the reputation of the College may be vindicated, and that is by an inquiry—by a searching inquiry into the whole system of Maynooth education, into the discipline, the training, and the class book of instruction, religious as well as secular. Such an inquiry has often been called for, and is most due to the country at the present time, when it is proposed to fasten this institution upon it by perpetual endowment; but it is especially due to the Irish Roman Catholics, whose interests you are so desirous of promoting. Without such previous inquiry, and a thorough reform of every proved abuse, I should, for my part, certainly feel it my duty to vote against any further grant in aid of Maynooth College, even did I not feel my discretion in the matter greatly fettered by the oaths which, in common with most of your Lordships, I have taken at the Table of this House. My Lords, in adverting to my opinion of the obligation of an oath, which nearly all in this House have taken, and which, rightly understood, must be equally binding upon all, I can truly say, that I speak with those feelings of deference and respect which are so justly due to those whom I have the honour of addressing, and with the humblebut anxious desire to be set right, if my views of our common obligation be incorrect. But, my Lords, I have always been accustomed to consider the Legislature of this country as bound by certain and defined principles, in relation to the established religion. Whether those principles are well or ill suited to the present time, is not now the question. If they are deemed objectionable, it might be competent to review them. But while they are consecrated as at present by oaths and declarations, taken and subscribed in the most solemn manner, I cannot but view them as, in the strictest sense of the word, obligatory, and such as cannot be deliberately or knowingly violated in ever so small a degree, without, to say the least of it, setting a most pernicious and dangerous example. I do not consider that any oaths or declarations taken at the Table of this House militate against the most perfect toleration. If I did, I should rather forego the privilege of my seat in this assembly than take them; but I do feel, and strongly, that to give direct encouragement to a religion which we believe and declare to be erroneous and delusive, and whose doctrines are directly at variance with the established religion of the country, is in violation of principle; and that I am bound by no less an obligation than that of an oath against doing aught to establish or increase the spiritual or ecclesiastical authority of any foreign prelate, and consequently of the See of Rome, within this realm. In no other sense can I understand the obligation or intent of the Oath of Supremacy; and if that is a correct view of it, it certainly appears to me to have a very decided bearing upon the question that at present so much agitates and alarms the public mind, and opposes a decided objection to your Lordships passing a Bill for the perpetual endowment of the College of Maynooth, thenceforward not subject to State control, but under the recognised ecclesiastical authority of the Romish Church, and consequently the supremacy of the Pope, and under the same authority propagating Roman Catholic tenets subversive of the Queen's supremacy in these realms. Upon these grounds I should consider the Oath of Supremacy as a bar to my voting for such a Bill. I am aware, my Lords, that there are some who deny that there is any religious question involved in the matter. With these I cannot agree. That there are others who ridicule the conscientious objections of the people of England against the proposed measure. With such I can have no sympathy. There are, however, many who argue that the principle was disposed of by the Act of 1795, and that it is, therefore, too late now to argue the question of Maynooth upon the ground of principle. My Lords, I cannot agree in this view of the subject. Looking at the title and provisions of the Act for the establishment of Maynooth College, and the circumstances which led to it, it does not appear to me that it did involve any violation of principle; it was an act of toleration, enabling Roman Catholics, at their own expense, to endow a college for the better education of the youth of their own religious persuasion, and licensing the performance of the Roman Catholic Church service within it. This, I think, was no invasion of the supremacy of the Crown; but one thing is quite certain, viz., that the Oath of Supremacy is still an oath obligatory, as far as it is still practicable, upon those who have thought proper anew to take it. My Lords, I trust the importance of the subject will be a sufficient apology with your Lordships for my having, upon the mere presentation of a petition, taken up so much of your time; but impressed as I am with the belief, entertained by others, here as well as out of doors, that the Oath of Supremacy does limit the discretion of the House respecting the institution of Maynooth College, I did feel it important to bring the subject thus early under the notice of your Lordships.

The Marquess of *Normanby* said, it was not his intention to accept the challenge of the noble Earl, as to whether his interpretation of the oath, or that which was more generally and more rationally put upon it, was the correct one. If that question should be revived in the course of the regular discussion of the subject, no doubt it would be answered, and he thought it would be better to postpone such matters until the whole subject was before their Lordships. But the noble Earl had stated, that during the last fifty years he did not believe that the College of Maynooth had produced any man eminent for literature and science. Now, he (the Marquess of Normanby) during his residence in Ireland made it his duty to make inquiry upon that head, and certainly his impression respecting the religious character and learning of the priests educated there was very different from that expressed by the noble Earl. Therefore he could not allow the remarks of the noble Earl to pass without uttering his dissent from them. Certainly no person could have seen that institution without knowing that it was conducted on a scale which was not calculated to render it very effective; but at the same time there was no ground for the sweeping assertion of the noble Earl, that no person had emanated from Maynooth eminent for religious character or literary attainments.

The Earl of *Clancarty* explained that he had not made an assertion, but had only said that at the end of half a century it was a legitimate inquiry whether any eminent persons had been educated at Maynooth.

The Marquess of *Clanricarde* said, his noble Friend who had previously spoken, and his noble Friend who spoke on the last night that their Lordships met, seemed to imagine that although the College of Maynooth had been instituted for half a century, no inquiry had been made into the mode of Education there during the whole of that period. But that was not the fact; and his noble Friends were mistaken if they supposed it was. Because, when the Education Commission was issued by Government in 1826 or 1827, that very matter was particularly and searchingly inquired into. He believed the whole of the evidence taken by the Commissioners was appended to a Report which was laid before Parliament, and which no doubt was to be found in the library of each House, and open to the research of his noble Friends.

Lord *Colchester* admitted the existence of the Report. The noble Marquess was not the only one aware of that fact. Still, as it was made eighteen years ago, according to the noble Marquess's statement, he did not see why a further inquiry should not be made.

Lord *Brougham* wished to take the earliest opportunity of doing what he had the means of doing—to give the most authoritative contradiction that words could give to a statement which had been ventured in another place, that a late article against Maynooth, which had most unaccountably appeared in a French newspaper, was the production of one of the Members of the French Ministry. He believed that attack had given the greatest possible concern and offence to the Ministry of that country.

The Earl of *Clancarty* observed, that he had sought with great respect for the solution of a most important question. He had stated his desire to be corrected, if wrong, with respect to that oath which so many of their Lordships had taken; but he had not received any light upon the subject. No noble Lord had stood up to reply to his question. Perhaps it was because no one was able to give an answer to it.

Lord *Monteagle* observed, that there might be various reasons, and good reasons too, for their Lordships remaining silent upon such an occasion. One in which he believed they would generally share was, that the assertion was so contradicted by all the facts that no answer was necessary. If the argument of the noble Earl was worth a straw, every noble Lord, and all the Members of the other House, who since the year 1795, or from 1800 up to 1845, had continued to take the Oath of Supremacy, and had voted for the grant to Maynooth—some hundreds or thousands of Members of the House of Commons and the House of Lords, according to the declaration of the noble Lord, had been guilty, not merely of misapprehension or of impolicy, but of a violation of the Oath of Supremacy. But he must say, that he could not find within the four corners of the Oath of Supremacy anything about Maynooth; and nothing required greater ingenuity, he thought, than to make it appear that a grant to Maynooth was a violation of that oath. As to the silence of their Lordships, it had been said that nothing created silence more than astonishment; and the noble Earl might have augured that the silence of their Lordships was caused by their astonishment at the noble Lord's assertions, rather than by their inability to answer them.

The Earl of *Eldon* presented a petition from Bletchingly, in Sussex, against the grant to Maynooth, and was about to present others, when—

The Earl of *Clancarty* rose and said, that the noble Lord (Lord Monteagle) had attacked him with sarcasm and ridicule—an attack which none could make better than he—for putting a question in a respectful manner to the House. He felt that the Oath of Supremacy stood between him and Maynooth; and the noble Lord had stated that every noble Lord who, since 1795, had taken the Oath of Supremacy and voted for the Maynooth grant, or acquiesced in it, had forsworn himself. Now, he considered that the Act of 1795 might have been perfectly legitimate. The object of it was the better education of the Roman Catholic subjects of Her Majesty. It was an act of toleration, not implying any infringement of Her Majesty's supremacy. But when the College became, as it subsequently did, a seminary for the purpose of disseminating views and tenets subversive of Her Majesty's supremacy, it was not right that the funds of this country should longer be tributary to its support. The noble Lord, instead of attacking him, should have stated how he understood the Oath of Supremacy, and what were its obligations. If there were no obligations, the taking of the oath was a mockery.

Lord *Beaumont* was astonished at the noble Lord, because he betrayed the most profound ignorance of the Roman Catholic religion—an ignorance which many of the opponents of Maynooth could not plead. He stated, that at the time the grant was originally passed he saw no objection to it, because at that time it was for the better education of the Roman Catholics of Ireland. The Roman Catholics of Ireland received their chief and main education through their priests; therefore the grant, which now was to prove the source of all education in Ireland—which was to give specifically, because all former grants had failed, a better education—was brought forward on the sole ground, and on the same ground, as former grants, and without any violation of the oath, even taking the interpretation of the noble Earl. But the point of ignorance was this—the noble Earl had said, that in former times the tenets of the Catholics were such that he had no objection to the grant. But now the noble Earl said, it appeared that subsequently to that period the tenets preached and taught in that College tended to the subversion of order; and therefore he called upon their Lordships to object to the grant. He would tell the noble Earl, then, that he knew nothing of the Roman Catholic religion; he was profoundly ignorant of it, if he supposed that any of the tenets or principles of the Roman Catholic religion were altered. It was the great characteristic of the Roman Catholic religion that it did not change.

The Earl of *Eldon* said, it was upon that very ground—namely, that the tenets of the Roman Catholic religion were unchangeable—that he felt bound to oppose the grant. The noble Lord presented four other petitions from Surrey against the grant.

Lord *Brougham* presented a petition from a number of individuals largely interested in railway property, residing in Manchester, Liverpool, Lancaster, Leeds, Wales, Cheltenham, Derby, Rugby, Chester, Dundalk, Plymouth, Nottingham, Burlington, Edinburgh, and in every part of the kingdom, in short. They stated that they required the protection of the Legislature, because their property was involved to an endless extent in railways; and that they found themselves damnified in their property by the exercise of the powers vested in the directors who managed things in such a way as to include one railway within another, so as to absorb the property in which these individuals were concerned. Now, he must say, that he totally differed from them. He considered that they did not want protection; they had it in their own hands by the prudent and discreet avoidance of risking their property in railways. For he must remind them that they were liable to many other and worse risks by heedlessly vesting their property in railways. The directors might belong to another company, and it might be their interest to sacrifice the one company and ruin it. Or they might wish to purchase more shares, and for that purpose might give out a report injurious to the undertaking, or even pass a damaging resolution, and then, having bought the shares, revoke it, and let the price go up again. In fact, they were supreme, and the shareholders could not control them while they remained in office.

THE ARMAGH DINNER.] The Marquess of *Normanby* observed, that he believed information had now been received by Government with respect to his complaint against a constabulary officer, who had joined in drinking a party toast at the dinner given by the High Sheriff and Grand Jury of Armagh after the last assizes.

Lord *Stanley* had inquired into the circumstances, and found that the constabulary officers were invited to the dinner, and three of them attended, one of them in his uniform; and, after many other toasts, it was proposed to drink "The glorious, pious, and immortal Memory." A member of the Grand Jury immediately stated that he should not make any objection to it, but hoped it was not put forward in any party or political sense. The High Sheriff replied that he gave it as a usual toast, and begged that no party or political feeling might be supposed to be involved. The officers were taken by surprise, and two of them remained seated and did not drink the toast, but the other rose with the rest of the company, and both drank the toast and cheered. The Lord Lieutenant had thought fit to mark his sense of the extreme imprudence of this (to say the least), by directing that officer's removal to another district. The officer had been ten years in the force, and upon the announcement of an intention to remove him, a representation was made from the Roman Catholic clergyman of Armagh and his curate, with several of the Roman Catholic inhabitants, expressing their entire approval of his general conduct, and their conviction that he had never manifested party feeling in the execution of his duty. Gentlemen who invited constabulary officers to a dinner, where they could not anticipate the toasts likely to be proposed, should remember the extreme embarrassment to which they were exposed by being placed in the position, at the spur of the moment, of either signifying a very marked dissent from the feelings of the company at large, or departing from their instructions, and being liable to the censure of the Government. The Sheriff had since expressed his regret that any act of his should have placed this gentleman in so invidious a position; and it was allowed by all (Colonel M'Gregor in particular), that this officer was a very valuable and useful member of the force.

The Marquess of *Normanby* expressed himself satisfied, and added, that he believed this was an appointment of his own; at all events, he knew the gentleman to be a deserving officer, and had no doubt he was led away by the weight of authority surrounding him. The name of the Rev. Mr. Henry, the Presbyterian minister, was to be added to the testimonials to his general good conduct.

THE SEES OF ST. ASAPH AND BANGOR.] The Earl of *Powis*, having presented six petitions against the union of the Sees of St. Asaph and Bangor, and for the immediate appointment of a Bishop of Manchester, said that he now proposed to lay on the Table a Bill to enable Her Majesty to make certain provisions for preventing that union, and for making that appointment. The latter part of the Bill was founded on the suggestion made in a former debate—that the measure would be incomplete without it; but it might be severed from the Bill without injuring the remainder. As his purpose was to obviate objections with respect to the prerogative, the Bill differed considerably from the former, and gave powers to Her Majesty directly, which the other only gave incidentally. He proposed that the former Bill be withdrawn; and that this new Bill be laid on the Table, read a first time, printed, and ordered to be read a second time on Friday, May 2.

Bill read 1ª

Lord *Monteagle* gave notice that in some stage of the Bill he would move a counter-proposition—that which was contained in the first Report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, namely, for the application of the revenues of one of these Welsh bishoprics, not to the General Episcopal Fund, but for the benefit of the parochial clergy of the Principality. He should be able to show that the circumstances referred to in that Report now existed.

House adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, April 24, 1845.

MINUTES.] BILLS. *Public.—Reported.*—Colonial Passengers; Museums of Art.

Private.—1º· Gravesend and Rochester Railway.

Reported.—Nottingham Inclosure; Huddersfield Waterworks; Surrey and Sussex Roads (Sunday Tolls); Glasgow and Shotts' Road.

3º· and passed:—Shelsley Road; London Orphan Asylum; Liverpool Docks.

PETITIONS PRESENTED. By several hon. Members, from a great number of places (166 Petitions), against the Grant to Maynooth College.—By Mr. Milnes, Sir George Grey, and Mr. Wawn, fram several places, in favour of the Grant to Maynooth College.—By Mr. Bouverie, from Kilmarnock, against Infeftment (Scotland) and Heritable Securities (Scotland) Bills.—By Sir P. Egerton, from Chester, for Exempting Salt Factories from the Smoke Prohibition Bill.

RAILWAYS REGULATIONS—COMMITTEES.] Lord *G. Somerset* moved the following Resolution:—

"That every Committee on a Railway Bill shall fix the Tolls, and shall determine the maximum rates of charge for the conveyance of passengers (with a due amount of luggage) and of goods on such Railway; and such rates of charge shall include the Tolls, and the costs of locomotive power and every other expense connected with the conveyance of passengers (with a due amount of luggage) and of goods upon such Railway; but if the Committee shall not deem it expedient to determine such maximum rates of charge, a special Report, explanatory of the grounds of their omitting so to do, shall be made to the House, which special Report shall accompany the Report of the Bill."

Mr. *Labouchere* said, that seeing the course which railway proceedings were perhaps necessarily taking, and that the public were day by day getting more and more into the hands of a few powerful companies, it was absolutely necessary that some means should be devised of placing a check upon their power of monopoly, and he was very glad that this Resolution had been proposed for the purpose.

Mr. *Hawes* expressed a wish that if Committees were to be required to conform to this Resolution, the House should instruct them by what means they were to accomplish that task, for all the elements upon which the Committees were to calculate the maximum of charge must be furnished by the companies themselves, and Committees would have no other means of estimating what ought to be the maximum. He held this notice to be utterly useless, and, because useless, unwise. So strongly did he hold that opinion, that if he had the least chance of success, he should take the sense of the House upon the question.

Sir *G. Cle rk* tought the Resolution would be beneficial, and that it would meet with a ready acquiescence from railway companies themselves, as in fact some companies had voluntarily inserted clauses in their Bills fixing a maximum of charge.

Mr. *Gisborne* thought that unless the House of Commons were prepared to abandon all attempts at placing a limit on the charges of railway companies, they must adopt some course such as that now proposed; but at the same time he trusted much more to the principle of competition than to the efficacy of this or any similar Resolution; and, although he would not oppose the noble Lord's Motion, he hoped the House would not adopt any measure which could have the effect of discouraging that spirit of competition which was the best security for justice to the public.

Mr. *S. Wortley* thought the Resolution would be a more effectual protection to the public if words were introduced to establish not only a maximum of charge, but also a proper proportion between the rates of passenger and goods traffic. He moved an amendment to insert the words, "Such railway, and the proportion to be observed between such rules of charge respectively."

Mr. *Aglionby* said he should give his cordial support to the present and every other proposition calculated to guard the public against what he considered the extreme powers of railway companies. He hoped some measure would be introduced to check the injustice which was committed by some companies, who, while they consulted the convenience and the pockets of long and wealthy passengers, utterly neglected the wants of the intermediate and poorer travellers.

Lord *G. Somerset* hoped the House would not agree with the Amendment, but adopt the original Resolution.

Sir *George Grey* said, that however important the Amendment might be, as it was brought forward without due notice, it should be postponed for some future occasion.

Amendment withdrawn. Original Resolution agreed to.

TREASURY CORRESPONDENCE.] Sir *C. Napier* wished to ask the hon. Gentleman the Secretary of the Treasury whether two letters, which had appeared in one of the public papers, in reference to Maynooth, were genuine or not? If the House would permit him, he would read them. They ran as follows:—

(No. 1.)

"MR. YOUNG, M.P., TO CAPTAIN MEYNELL, M.P.

"Dear Meynell — Pray come up. Peel wants every Tory vote. If we havn't a majority of our own on the second reading, it will be as much as my place is worth. D—n Lisburne. Fitzroy votes; Pringle cuts; and old Forbes Mackenzie, who has been vapouring at the Carlton that he should vote—perhaps against, certainly not for us—has just been with me to say that he had been thinking a great deal on the subject, and should vote with us. He pretended he didn't know that Pringle had resigned. Oh yes! Kelly is going to rat too. I hope he won't be sold. For God's sake come up and vote.

"Yours ever,
"*Treasury, Wednesday.* "J. YOUNG."

(No. 2.)

"CAPTAIN MEYNELL, M.P., TO MR. YOUNG, M.P.

"Dear Young—Peel and all of you may be d—d before I come up to vote for Maynooth. Because Fitzroy, and Mackenzie, and Kelly are rogues, that is no reason why I should be.

"Yours ever,
"*Windsor, Thursday.* H. MEYNELL."

He would like to know whether these letters were genuine?

[No answer, but much laughter, was vouchsafed to this question. The letters, it was understood, were fabrications.]

MONSTER MEETINGS.] Colonel *Verner* wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for Ireland whether the Government was aware of a great demonstration which was fixed to take place at Dundalk, on Thursday next, the 1st of May, on which occasion Mr. O'Connell was expected to be present? Invitations had been circulated, particularly throughout Ulster, calling on the people to assemble on the occasion, for the purpose of escorting that Gentleman (Mr. O'Connell) to the place of meeting. He wished to know whether it were the intention of the Government to put a stop to this meeting, in accordance with the sentiments expressed by the Law Officers of the Crown with regard to meetings of this description? He had to apologize to the right hon. Gentleman for not having made him acquainted with his intention of bringing forward this matter. Had he had sufficient time, he would have given the right hon. Gentleman due notice of his question.

Sir *Thomas Fremantle* observed that as he had received no previous notice of the question, he was not prepared to answer it. He had had no communication from Ireland on the subject himself; and, with reference to what might pass in Ireland, there was no doubt the Lord Lieutenant would take such steps as the occasion required, if any such steps became necessary.

Mr. *Hume* wished to ask the right hon. Baronet if he was aware of a monster meeting which was to take place in London on the 30th of this month, at which delegates were to assemble from all parts of the country, to come down and coerce the Members of that House on the subject of the grant to Maynooth? The Anti-Maynooth Committee in London were calling upon every town and district in which a petition against the grant had been got up, to appoint delegates to come up to London, so as to form a demonstration which might have some effect upon that House; as their petitions had failed to have any effect whatever. He begged to ask the right hon. Baronet whether he meant to take any steps to prevent such a demonstration?

Sir *T. Fremantle* thought that he might make the same answer to that as to the former question.

Sir *R. Peel* would give the same answer as he had given to a former question that evening, that, as he had not had any notice of the question, he was unprepared with a reply. He would state, however, to soothe the apprehensions of the hon. Gentleman, that he (Sir R. Peel) did not feel at all alarmed.

MAYNOOTH COLLEGE—ADJOURNED DEBATE.] On the Order of the Day for renewing the Adjourned Debate on Maynooth College,

Mr. *Monckton Milnes* presented a petition from the University of Cambridge, in favour of the grant.

Sir *R. H. Inglis* said, that this was a misnomer in respect to the petition just presented to the House, in so far as he had heard it stated that it was from the University of Cambridge. If it were so, he apprehended it was properly signed and stamped with the seal of the University. As a petition emanating from the University, it purported to be a petition signed by the chancellor, masters, and scholars, and no petition not so signed and sealed could be considered as a petition from the University of Cambridge.

Mr. *Monckton Milnes* said, he would have properly explained the nature of the petition, if his hon. Friend had only permitted him to finish. The petition presented was from members of the University of Cambridge, and signed by a considerable number of bachelors and under-graduates of the University. The petitioners stated that a petition similarly signed had been presented to the House by the hon. Member for Cambridge against the Bill; and that they thought it their duty to state their cordial assent to, and approbation of the measure. They further stated that they saw no immediate prospect of the Irish Roman Catholics becoming proselytes to the Established Church; and thought it their duty to advance the moral and religious development of that nation, without violating the principle of their hereditary creed. They also stated that the religious acrimony which now existed in Ireland necessarily prevented the waging of proper theological controversy, and had done much to retard reconciliation in feeling, if not in faith, between the two rival communions in Ireland.

Mr. *Colquhoun* hoped the House would allow him to refer to a personal matter relative to himself, which had been raised by the hon. Member for Sheffield in his speech last night, in the course of which the hon. Member took notice of some expressions made use of by him some time ago, which the hon. Member said were very fallacies and great inaccuracies with reference to certain historical facts. The hon. Member said, that he had uttered these expressions nine years ago, and he called upon him to retract or defend them. Now, he should be quite inexcusable if he attempted to take up the time of the House by going at length into these matters, for it was not in the House that he should presume to occupy any time on any such a topic; but he might be allowed to say that it was probable there were sentiments in that speech which maturer information might induce him to qualify. It would be hard if he alone were debarred from the privilege of reflection; if he were not to derive any advantage from that communication with others which was usually found to mitigate one's own opinions, and induce men to adopt something from the opinions of others, by showing how much sincerity there might be in the contrary opinions, how much was due to others, and how much respect one ought to cherish for the opinions of others. So much for that part of the matter. But as to the historical facts, the hon. Gentleman had specified two, in regard to which the hon. Member stated that he (Mr. Colquhoun) was wrongly informed. He should not occupy the time of the House by defending himself with respect to these two facts; but he had brought down two volumes, which he would put into the hon. Member's hands, and in them he would see the grounds of his assertions. One of them was a life of Wolfe Tone, the agent of the Roman Catholics at that time, who occupied the same position, in many respects, as Mr. O'Connell at present—[" No, no!"] At all events, Wolfe Tone was a high authority on a question with respect to his own times, and to transactions in which he bore a share. The other was the work of Messrs. M'Nevin and Emmett, recording facts of which they had cognizance. He thought, if he remembered correctly, that some of the facts he had stated in that speech were taken from the works of these competent authorities, and he left it to the hon. Member to dispose of them, not there, but elsewhere, as he pleased. It would be trifling with the time of the House, on a question affecting the future destination of Ireland, if he occupied them with explanations of opinions uttered nine years ago, which might, perhaps, be as worthless as the hon. Gentleman represented them. There was one expression of opinion made use of by the hon. Gentleman in his speech last night, and made in the frank manner his opinions generally were expressed in—namely, that though this was not a part of the Maynooth measure, yet it had so much bearing on that measure, that he and his Friends were right in discussing the one with the other. In that he concurred with the hon. Gentleman. The hon. Gentleman stated last night enough to show that the question of the Maynooth Bill had a most immediate connexion with the question of the Irish Church; and he could not help observing how delicately handled this fact was, and how noble Lords and hon. Gentlemen seemed afraid to touch it, as though it had been a sort of red hot bar laid down before the Treasury Bench for them to perform evolutions over, but not to come in contact with, lest it should set fire to their arguments. The noble Lord the Member for Lynn said, that the right hon. Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Macaulay) had proved to demonstration that there was no principle in this Bill. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said, that as to the principle of establishing the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, the opponents of this measure argued that principle because of their lack of argument touching the question; and he went on to say that they ought not to enter on that question, for that the establishment of the Roman Catholic Church was in the dark future. That was the Chancellor of the Exchequer's argument. Now, he must say, he thought that in the intervals of finance his right hon. Friend must have been reading Milton, and that he meant that kind of future which was "dark with excess of light," and whose revealed form was exceedingly clear to the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government. The hon. Member for Sheffield said, that the principle of the Maynooth Bill was to establish a Roman Catholic institution, to be followed in due time by the permanent endowment of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland. The Chancellor of the Exchequer did not deny that to be the case. The noble Lord the Member for London (Lord J. Russell) said, that was the principle of the measure. The First Lord of the Treasury said, that there was no religious objection on his part to endow the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, the only question being whether the Roman Catholic Church would accept the endowment. Now, he was not acquainted with the views of the Roman Catholic priests of Ireland. The right hon. and learned Member for Dungarvon (Mr. Sheil) could expound those views better than he could; and the right hon. and learned Gentleman had said, that if they offered as an endowment to these men half a million, to be paid quarterly, why should they refuse it? They might have objections; but they would put those objections into one pocket and the money into the other, whenever they were offered an endowment. If the only objection, therefore, in the right hon. Baronet's mind was whether the Roman Catholic Church would accept an endowment, he thought that could be no obstacle. But how did this question of the hon. Member for Sheffield's Amendment bear more particularly on the question of the Irish Church? He had listened last night to the speech of the right hon. Home Secretary with that admiration with which he generally listened to him, and he was quite sure that the right hon. Gentleman spoke sincerely. He was sure that, having made sacrifices for the Established Church of Ireland on account of his opinions, the right hon. Gentleman, when he said he retained those opinions, spoke with sincerity. He was quite sure that the right hon. Gentleman would not on any consideration wave those objections to the spoliation of the Irish Church on account of which he had formerly left office; but while he relied entirely on the right hon. Gentleman's sincerity, he questioned his sagacity; and he could not help expressing his surprise that any one so fully informed as the right hon. Gentleman was, could think of giving an endowment to the Roman Catholic Church, and suppose that he would be able to maintain for five years longer the establishment of Protestantism in Ireland; that he would be able to maintain in that country that which would be a sort of theological prize-fight, setting one Church against the other, one calling the other heretic, and the other retorting that the adversary was wholly immersed in error; and this to be done too for the sake of peace, and for the sake of the moral welfare of the country! Did they think that the people of England, who, whatever else they might be deficient in, had ever been remarkable for plain, sound sense, would bear this state of things for five years? If things took that posture, they would say to Parliament—"If you will have the Protestant Church, put down the endowment of the Roman Catholic Church; if you will have the Roman Catholic Church established, then put down the Protestant Establishment." The hon. Member for Sheffield said, that the Established Church of Ireland had a revenue of above 650,000*l*. a year. Now, it was quite certain that the Roman Catholic Church would require as much for its endowment. If so, did they think that the people of England would submit to be taxed to the amount of half a million to pay the Roman Catholic priests, when there were funds on the other side of St. George's Channel which they could lay hold of? He did not think that there was any one, who looked only to the language of the petitions which had been presented on this question, that could think we should be able to maintain two rival Establishments in that country. His own opinion was, that it was impossible to maintain such an anomaly; and he thought that it was most incoherent that the right hon. Baronet (Sir J. Graham) should state that his opinions respecting the Establishment in Ireland remained unchanged, when he was arguing in favour of a course of policy which must subvert the Established Church in Ireland. But what was the pressing argument used by the right hon. Baronet the First Lord of the Treasury as a reason why he adopted this course? He said it was because we must conciliate the Roman Catholics of Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman said, "I grant this as a boon." What a boon of conciliation! What was there on which the Roman Catholics had spoken more freely than on the subject of the Establishment? They were represented in that House by the right hon. Member for Dungarvon (Mr. Sheil), and he had been most explicit; and he had said that of all the mischiefs, of all the most monstrous anomalies that could be found in any country, the Irish Church was the greatest. If, then, they were going to give a boon of conciliation to the Roman Catholics—if that was their course of policy—they must be prepared to eradicate the Established Church of Ireland. He very much wished it was within the Orders of the House to call for a celebrated speech to be read. If it were so, he would call for a speech made by the right hon. Member for Dungarvon in 1833, or 1834, or 1835, or 1836, in which the right hon. Gentleman, with all the strength of his eloquent vocabulary, denounced the Established Church of Ireland, and told the House there would be no peace in Ireland till it was extinguished. As the right hon. Gentleman seemed to dissent, he would refresh the right hon. Gentleman's memory. On the 23rd of July, 1835, the right hon. Gentleman said—

> "It is the self-same question by which Cabinet after Cabinet has been annihilated, of which the Catholic question was but a part. It is the struggle for complete political equality on the part of the overwhelming majority on the one hand, and for political ascendancy on the part of a minority on the other. Can that ascendancy be maintained?"

Subsequently, in the same speech, the right hon. Gentleman spoke of the Church of Ireland as

> "The Church of the minority—the Church from which no imaginable benefit can henceforward flow; but whence evils after evils in such continuous abundance have been derived."

In another of his speeches the right hon. Gentleman said—

> "It is stated that the Church cements the Union. At this moment it disturbs the foundation of the Legislature, brings both Houses of Parliament into collision, and to the centre shakes the Constitution."

Now, if the endowment of Catholicism in Ireland was the avowed policy of the Government, they must be prepared for coming, and that speedily, to the measure which was consequent on their policy; namely, to the complete extinction of the Established Church of Ireland. He marvelled that the right hon. Baronet (Sir J. Graham) could be insensible of the inevitable necessity of that consequence. Some hon. Gentlemen might remember the words used last Session by the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government, which struck his mind as expressing the possible policy of the Government on this very question he was now referring to. The hon. Member for Sheffield had referred to a passage in a speech of the right hon. Baronet's, wherein he dealt with the question of compact; but a more remarkable passage had escaped the hon. Member's attention, which was worthy of the notice of the House. The right hon. Gentleman said, "Thinking it infinitely safer to stand upon the compact settled by Parliament"—if the right hon. Gentleman had stopped there, there would not have been anything to complain of; but then came the saving clause—"unless an overwhelming necessity of public policy compelled him to change his opinion, he should adhere to it." What guarantee was there for the Established Church in that? Was it not perfectly plain, that on the first pressure which the right hon. Baronet could construe as a necessity of State policy, away in one sweep would go the Irish Church, that Church for which the right hon. Baronet's supporters had been so long contending, for which they had struggled so long in perfect union, and which now, it seemed, rested on so precarious a ground as the contingency of the right hon. Baronet's opinion changing? This was a plank laid by which any man on the Ministerial side of the House who liked might pass over and join with the hon. Members for Montrose, and Sheffield, and Dungarvon, in their propositions for utterly sweeping away the Irish Establishment. Now, he was not saying whether the Irish Establishment were good or bad, but he begged the House to observe how this Maynooth question brought on the Ministry a pressure both from England and from Ireland, which he must be a bold man who would resist; but which the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel) was prepared to yield to, provided it were raised to the height of an overwhelming political necessity. Some remarks had fallen from the right hon. Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Macaulay), and the hon. and learned Member for Bath (Mr. Roebuck), which he confessed he had listened to last night with unwilling attention; for with great surprise and with great regret he had heard the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel) make the appeal to Parliament to which those remarks alluded—an appeal which struck his mind as not being wise, not prudent, in the First Minister of the Crown to make, as he had done, when he pointed on the one hand to the domestic difficulties he had to contend against in Ireland and the strong combination of the party there who wished to dissolve the Union between the two countries; and then, two sentences further on, spoke of the dark and threatening cloud on the other side of the Atlantic, which he looked on, he said, with some apprehension. The right hon. Baronet's words were, "I own to you when I was called on to make that declaration, I did reflect with comfort and consolation that I had sent that night a message of peace to Ireland." The right hon. Baronet in that speech seemed to speak as if we were negotiating with a hostile nation, when he spoke of having sent a message of peace to Ireland. If it was right, if it was wise to establish on firm foundations the College of Maynooth, let them do it because it was right; let them do it, because in their strong, calm, deliberate convictions, they regarded it as a measure of conciliation to Ireland which it was desirable to pass; but let them not tell him that Conciliation Hall was to subdue his judgment, and make him acquiesce in a measure which he condemned. In France, what did they infer but that this was a concession to our terrors? If, however, such evils as the right hon. Gentleman hinted at did arise; if there came a war with America, or if difficulties with France arose, he reposed confidence in the noble Earl who was at the head of the Foreign Affairs of the country, and he had great confidence in the First Lord of the Treasury, and he was perfectly certain that all sections of the House would rally round the right hon. Baronet, and assist him in taking that course which was due to English honour and English interests; and if power should pass into the hands of the noble Lord opposite (Lord J. Russell), though he differed from the noble Lord, and had opposed him through his whole course in Parliament, and probably should continue to oppose him through the whole course of his political life; yet he had ever done the noble Lord justice, and he thought the noble Lord would be unworthy of his position in the House of Commons, and of that great historical name which he bore, if the affairs of this country were placed in his hands, and he said to his hon. Friend near him (Sir R. Inglis), "We can't overcome your convictions—we can't subdue your reason, and now that war is threatening in the west, and there is a movement in Ireland, I appeal to your fears;" there would be but one answer in all parts of the country—the humblest yeoman would rather submit to the work of a soldier than allow the slightest tarnish to be cast on the honour of England. He regretted, therefore, that such an argument should have fallen from the First Minister of the Crown, for there were those who would know how it could be used. How had it, in fact, been used already? In the *Freeman's Journal*, the organ of the Irish Roman Catholic priesthood, he found that statement had been already seized and made use of as an incentive to fresh agitation; and when the right hon. Baronet spoke of the manner in which this his measure had been received in Ireland—when the right hon. Baronet told them what golden opinions it had won, what gratitude his measure had excited, and he turned to that organ of the Irish priesthood, and found that the language in which they spoke was to this effect — "That England yielded this great measure, this great boon!—no, but this paltry civility, in agony, and that the concession had been wrung from her, not by cringing, but by agitation;"—if that were a correct expression of the gratitude of the Irish Catholics, he was afraid they had little to expect from the boon they were now conferring—a boon which, as he said before, involved further and greater concessions. Those who supported the grant to Maynooth ought to be prepared for an attack upon the Irish Church—an attack which he had no doubt his right hon. Friend would have still the courage and the virtue to resist, but under which others would succumb. Some hon. Gentlemen on the other side complained of the union which existed on this question among all classes of Protestant Dissenters; and the hon. Member for Sheffield said that if they took 25,000*l*. from the Irish Church, that would have a great effect in assuaging the hostility against this measure. But the hon. Gentleman was entirely mistaken if he supposed their opposition was grounded on so mercenary a principle. The opposition of the Dissenters was perfectly clear. They saw what the House was going on to do—they saw that the House was going on to the establishment of a Roman Catholic Church; and they objected to that on account of the voluntary principle which they advocated, and also their dissent in religion, which many held most conscientiously. And when the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Dungarvon referred to the Free Kirk of Scotland, and complained so bitterly of their opposition, the right hon. Gentleman would allow him to remind him of the grounds upon which that part of the Presbyterian Church separated itself from the Kirk. Was it not because the Members of that Kirk came to that House and claimed certain powers which (the House) refused them? The House would not grant them that supremacy which the Members of the Free Kirk demanded; and they said that if the House went on to establish a Roman Catholic Church in perfect supremacy, they would give to that Church what they had refused to them. Upon that ground, if there were no other, the Free Church and Dissenters were opposed to this measure. But the hon. Member for Sheffield took up various petitions, cited their language, and said, "Did you ever hear such language—such extravagant ideas?" But were they to pare and cut down the mechanics and yeomen of England to their views of what was right in the language of petitions? Were they to say to honest men coming with their petitions drawn up in their own simple and rude phraseology, that those petitions should not come before the House expressed in that language? And when the hon. Member for Sheffield objected to the speeches that were delivered at public meetings against this measure, the hon. Member must allow him to say, that if those petitioners were to retaliate, they might find many speeches which had been delivered at meetings held upon this great question by many hon. Members opposite; speeches delivered at Covent-garden Theatre, which would not bear the closest examination, containing very strong opinions in not very nice phraseology; and, when the hon. Gentleman made an attack upon an hon. Friend of his for taking the chair at one of those meetings, he must say, it would be a strange thing if the chairman of a meeting was held responsible for all the language made use of there. If that were the case, they must shut up public meetings altogether; but, when his hon. Friend was afflicted with an infirmity of which the hon. Gentleman must be aware, to bring against him a charge so severe was passing the bounds of courtesy. He knew that on that occasion they had been accused of a strange union; and his hon. Friend (Sir R. Inglis) had been charged with finding himself in a curious conjunction with some hon. Members on the other side of the House, who entertained upon most points very opposite opinions from his hon. Friend; but if that were the case, he should like to know whether there were not also some very curious conjunctions on the other side, and whether in the other lobby there might not have struck the eye of those who took the last division some conjunctions which must have almost excited a smile? For example, suppose the noble Lord the Chief Commissioner of the Woods and Forests, when he passed the defile by which they moved from one part of the lobby to the other, had been found leaning on the arm of the hon. Member for Coventry; or, suppose they had found the hon. Member for Montrose, with that firm, inflexible resolution which he always evinced, followed out at a little interval by the hon. Member for Sheffield, and wedged between them the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newark, into whose ecclesiastical ear the hon. Member for Sheffield was pouring his voluntary suggestions; or let them observe the grave and measured step of the Chancellor of the Exchequer with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Dungarvon following him and entertaining him with eloquent promises of future peace in Ireland; and he thought if the right hon. Baronet passed that defile, and saw in the lobby before him many familiar faces of friends who used to adhere to him in the wintry days of his adversity, but whose principles he was afraid the right hon. Baronet had now cast off in this the hour of Ministerial prosperity, as he receded from that step he would hear a voice more familiar than welcome cheering him to advance before the noble Lord the Member for London. He perfectly well knew to what the hon. Member for Sheffield invited them by this Motion; but he would say to the hon. Member as he had ever said, that it was a road upon which on no consideration would he ever tread. To the Irish Church, on the grounds of principle and policy, he was inviolably attached, and be the difficulties or the lapses from principle what thee might, he at least would always pursue the same course to which he was directed, not by prejudice or passion, but by sober conviction. When he heard the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Edinburgh's eloquent speech on the previous evening, and listened to the sketches he gave of the past history of Ireland, and when he heard the hon. Member for Sheffield allude to the condition of the Church in that country in past times, he could not help thinking of one of those remarkable words by which Mr. O'Connell often appealed to the passions of his Irish audience—a word in which he denominated all who opposed him in Ireland or here as "Saxons." It was said that national songs were a sure mark of national feeling, and they would find that same word "Saxon" occurring frequently in the songs which were circulating at that time in every part of Ireland. It could not be doubted—it was impossible to deny it—that Saxons, as Mr. O'Connell called them, English and Scotch, had occupied Ireland by successive invasions, and planted their feet on the Celtic soil; and that the conduct of those foreign landlords—for such they were—was anything but politic or wise; they kept down the Irish Celt by cruel laws, inflicted upon him fresh and rigorous restrictions, and took no means for his moral and social elevation; and as to the Irish Church being, as was stated by the right hon. Gentleman, a Church fed by wealth, it was a Church starved to absolute inanition up to the last fifty years. ["Oh, oh!"] It was perfectly true; it was starved to absolute inanition by the same selfishness of the same landed proprietors. Did they deny it? Let them read the letters of Sir Henry Sydney, the despatches of Lord Strafford, and the correspondence of Primate Boulter; and then they would discover that the Church was in a dilapidated and neglected state. But there came a better time — when men were awakened to a consciousness of their duty, and laymen and ecclesiastics remembered the duties they had to perform. The Established Church, as the hon. Member for Sheffield said, came at last into a better and more wholesome condition. The hon. Gentleman traced it to the Motions brought forward by the hon. Member for Montrose; but the fact was, that in the last twenty years the Irish Church had been placed in a state of efficiency for the discharge of those great social and moral duties to which, as he contended, it was before incompetent. Hon. Members on the other side denied that proposition. He respected their opinions, but he maintained his own; and he said, that if they wanted a link between that which was the great evil of Ireland—two opposite races, Saxons and Celts, they could not have a better link than the labours of men of zeal, education, and unwearied charity, discharging their duties in the heart of a wild and turbulent populace. If he were asked for a proof, he need not go into long documents, but would state one case to the House, and leave them to judge what must be the effect of a hundred such examples on a rude people. He recollected being in a parish near the residence of the hon. Member for Bandon, a large and scattered parish, in which there were both Protestants and Roman Catholics; but the Protestants were collected on one side of it, whilst the Catholics were numerously spread over the wide district; and he remembered accompanying the clergyman of that parish, who was now a dignitary of the Irish Church, owing his promotion to the wise selection of Lord De Grey—a man far advanced in years, and who had spent his whole life in that remote spot—over a part of the parish where they were all Roman Catholics; and he could not help remarking the manner in which he was received. The peasants desisted from their labours, and children and parents all came to welcome him with a smile. In that instance, true Catholicity had triumphed over all divisions of sects and races, and had welded together discordant creeds—the Saxon and the Celt—in bonds of a true and enduring attachment; but if they destroyed such links as those, then he said, not only would it be dangerous to the best civilization of Ireland, but the future prosperity of that country would be dark indeed. It was upon those grounds—not upon the grounds of compact—not upon the Articles of Union — but upon those moral principles, that conviction of past advantages, that he still based, and had ever based his maintenance of the Irish Church. From that maintenance he would never swerve. Let parties be broken up; let Prime Ministers abandon their recorded principles, he would, at least, be true to his; and he would appeal, if not to the aristocracy, at least to the democracy of England, on this great struggle for the best interests of Ireland; and would maintain those principles which were valuable, not for their enthusiasm, but the cool and sober deliberation on which they were founded; and, upon these grounds, he should give to the Motion of the hon. Member for Sheffield his most strenuous opposition. One word upon what had fallen from the right hon. Baronet, on the Motion of his right hon. Friend the Member for the University of Cambridge. The right hon. Baronet had mistaken that Motion. The right hon. Baronet had accused his right hon. Friend of trying to throw out this measure by combining with hon. Gentlemen on the other side. If they had wished such combination, was it not competent for them, on the Motion the Speaker was about to put, to say "No," and then to find themselves in perfectly legitimate combination with hon. Gentlemen opposite? But then what would become of the majority on that (the Ministerial) side? It would be converted into a minority. If, therefore, such a combination had been wished, it would have been easy; but that was not the object of his right hon. Friend. Had it not been for the Motion of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Sheffield, his right hon. Friend's Motion would have been brought forward before, because it was their intention to meet every step of this measure with their most strenuous opposition; and they only abandoned that intention in this instance because they did not wish to combine with the hon. Gentleman. His right hon. Friend meant to meet that in the Committee with a negative which he could not do then, on the Motion for the Speaker's leaving the Chair; and, with a fair and legitimate combination with hon. Members, whether on the other side or not, while they objected to Roman Catholic institutions and the endowment of the Roman Catholic Church, they would not abandon one hair's breadth or iota of the Irish Church property.

Captain *Bateson* said: Entertaining as I do, Sir, the strongest objections to this Bill, and deeply regretting that Her Majesty's Ministers should have thought it their duty to introduce such a measure, I had intended to have addressed a few words to the House on the second reading of the Bill, for the purpose of recording my solemn protest against a measure which I consider fraught with such disastrous consequences to my country; but after the very able and eloquent speeches I have heard delivered against the Bill by hon. Members on this side of the House, and after their eloquence having failed to deter Her Majesty's Ministers from proceeding with the Bill, it would have been great presumption in me to think that any observations falling from so young a Member of this House as myself, could have any influence. I therefore gave a silent vote against the Bill. But, Sir, upon this occasion, as an Irish Protestant, and as a member of the Established Church in that country, I feel impelled by every sense of duty to raise my feeble voice against so monstrous, so iniquitous a proposition as that of the hon. Member for Sheffield. I am opposed to it on account of my Church, which I love and revere, and which I shall always be found prepared to defend from spoliation. I am opposed to it on account of its gross injustice. Why, Sir, I consider I should have just as much right to come down to this House and propose that the property of the hon. Member for Sheffield should be confiscated and applied for the education of the Roman Catholic priesthood, as that he should venture to make the Motion he has this evening submitted to the House. I am opposed to it on grounds of public policy; for it is my sincere and firm conviction that the Church of Ireland is the great bond of union between the two countries, and that her downfal—for downfal must follow spoliation—would be speedily followed by that separation which the Repeal cry and agitation have vainly endeavoured to accomplish. We have lately heard a great deal about compact in reference to Maynooth College; but will not those hon. Members recognise the compact which was entered into for the preservation of the Irish Church at the time of the Union, and which was renewed and confirmed at the time of the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Bill? I maintain that the faith of Parliament is pledged to support the Irish Church intact and inviolate; and even had she no firmer basis upon which to rest her claims than that of compact, I maintain that her title is unquestionable—undefeasible. We have heard much during the past week of the generosity and liberality of this grant to Maynooth College—we have heard it lauded by hon. Members on both sides of the House; but I trust that this liberality will not be all one-sided, and that the right hon. Baronet at the head of Her Majesty's Government will not overlook the claims of the Presbyterians of Ulster. They have been driven out from their College by the Unitarians, and are now anxious to found a College for the education of their ministers. I trust the right hon. Baronet will take their case into his favourable consideration, and will give them such pecuniary assistance as will enable them to accomplish their object. Parliament has added concession to concession—has founded a Roman Catholic College, and is now about to endow it permanently with a large additional grant, and has removed all restrictions from it. You have passed the Charitable Bequests Act—the Irish Church has been deprived of a quarter of her revenues—all this for the sake of conciliation. And what has been gained? Only increased demand; for concession is the parent of demand. Why, Sir, have we not been told in this House—have not the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Dungarvon, and my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Cork told us dis tinctly, even before this Bill had been read a second time, that the Roman Catholics of Ireland will never be satisfied until they are admitted to all the privileges of Trinity College, Dublin — an institution founded by a Protestant Queen, and endowed with Protestant money. We have heard our prelates and our clergy calumniated, and spoken of in language which I shall not venture to repeat. I assert that they have been most grossly maligned. I have no hesitation in saying that a more pious, more learned, or more charitable body of men does not exist in the universe. Prelates and curates alike excel in learning and in divinity, as they are indefatigable in the performance of their duties, and are bright examples of the purity of their Church. Have we not daily instances of Irish clergymen being invited to cures and benefices in this country, which fully attests the truth of my statement? But, Sir, I own I feel great satisfaction and confidence when I consider that the Irish Church has already weathered many a storm—has passed through many trials, and like refined gold has each time exhibited herself in all the lustre of her sterling purity and truth. And I feel assured that the hon. Member for Sheffield, however great his talents—however great his eloquence, will be greatly mistaken if he thinks he can conjure up the evil spirit of appropriation in sufficient strength to prevail against the Established Church of Ireland, or that this House would give its sanction to a proposition which (leaving all other considerations out of the question) is calculated to endanger the peace, the welfare, and stability of this great Empire. We have been told, Sir—

> "That the Protestant Church of Ireland is at the root of the evils of that country, that the Irish Catholics would thank us infinitely more if we were to wipe out that foul spot, than they would, even if Parliament were to establish the Roman Catholic Church alongside of it."

We have been told—

> "That we have every thing Protestant—a Protestant clique which has been permanent in the country—a Protestant Viceroy to distribute places and emoluments amongst that Protestant clique—Protestant Judges, who have polluted the seats of justice—Protestant magistrates, before whom the Catholic peasant could not hope for justice."

We have been told—

> "That Ireland has not only Protestant but exterminating landlords; and more than that, a Protestant soldiery, who, at the beck and command of a Protestant priest, had butchered and killed a Catholic peasant, even in the presence of his widowed mother."

Now, Sir, as an Irishman, as a Protestant magistrate, as a Protestant landlord, and as a Protestant soldier, I repudiate and deny in the strongest and most emphatic terms the English language will admit of, such unfounded, such calumnious, and such unchristian assertions. We have been told that these assertions are facts—notorious facts. But will any hon. Member get up in this House and tell me that these accusations are true? I will tell that hon. Member (Mr. Bright) whether he be Protestant—whether he be Catholic—whether he be Unitarian—or whether he belong to the Society of Friends, that I challenge him to the proof. I dare him—I defy him to prove them. I have spoken of the Society of Friends—I mean no disrespect to that Society—but I believe Members of that Society are accustomed to plain language from their early childhood; the notorious facts I have just read to the House are couched in plain language, and no hon. Member can be surprised if I give them a plain denial—a plain contradiction. We know, Sir, that this Society disowns such of its members as commit violent acts; and I cannot think that they can acknowledge one who could give utterance to such sentiments—sentiments alike devoid of that fraternal love and Christian charity which society holds to be amongst her first duties. Before I sit down, Sir, allow me to thank the House most sincerely for their kind indulgence on the present occasion.

Mr. *F. T. Baring* feared if he did not state his views upon the question, the vote he was about to give might be liable to much misconstruction; he was, therefore, desirous that the House should bear with him for a short time, while he explained the grounds upon which he was prepared to prefer the Bill of the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Robert Peel) to the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Sheffield; and he felt the more compelled to crave this indulgence at the hands of the House, inasmuch as his right hon. Friend the Member for Edinburgh, in his able speech of the previous night, commenced by stating, that the House was divided on this occasion into two parties: the one, those who were prepared to vote with his hon. Friend the Member for

Sheffield, and go further than the Bill proposed to go; and, that on the other hand, it must be understood that all who voted against the Amendment maintained that the property of the Irish Church should be inviolable. He was not prepared to be included as pledging himself to that. He did not consider that, by supporting the Bill as it stood, he was precluded from considering and carrying out those principles in favour of which he had given his vote on former occasions. He, in voting against the Amendment, abandoned no principle he had previously maintained; but when he had to choose between the Amendment and the proposal of the Government, and believing that the proposal of the Government would be a great boon and a great blessing to Ireland, he did not consider he was abandoning any principle for which he had contended by supporting that measure which he was desirous to see carried into effect, in preference to his hon. Friend's Amendment. His hon. Friend must forgive him if he canvassed the course he had pursued in interposing this Amendment. He was not always bound—(suppose he assented to the whole principle and detail of his Amendment)—he was not therefore bound on all occasions, and under all circumstances, whenever the proposition was brought forward, to follow out that general assent by his vote, should that proposition be interposed at a time when, and in a manner which, in his opinion might injure and impede that practical course of legislation he would pursue. His hon. Friend had stated, with his usual frankness, that if he had to propose a measure on the subject, his real opinion was, that looking at the circumstances of the case, and the difficulties of the position of the Irish Church, the better course would be to withdraw all State support from either Church. That, his hon. Friend said, was his opinion two years ago; he did not know whether he still adhered to it—

Mr. *Ward:* What I said was, that perfect equality should be obtained some way or other, and that you should pay all the clergy or pay none.

Mr. *F. T. Baring:* But whatever might be his abstract opinion, the case now was this:—they had before them a measure which would clearly benefit the Irish people, and a proposal they might fairly carry out, and his course, as a practical man, was rather to take the good they were sure of being able to obtain, than interpose a proposition which, whatever its abstract merits, they knew could not be successful. The right hon. Gentleman had alluded to an expected combination of parties against the Bill; but the right hon. Gentleman should remember that on a previous occasion, when it was expected that by an accidental combination of parties the Government might possibly be left in a minority with their Bill, the greatest consternation was felt by his hon. Friend (Mr. Ward), and Members generally on that side of the House, and means were taken to prevent such an occurrence. His object and that of his hon. Friends was to give the measure a fair, honest, and steady support; and they were too honest, if the Bill was likely to be defeated by an accidental combination such as had been suggested, to support an Amendment the success of which would have that effect. In point of fact many of those who voted for the Amendment to-night, would not do so if they had the least fear it would be carried. He did not consider that there was any abandonment of principle in this course. But he thought it was a conclusive proof of the inexpediency of proposing the Amendment at this time, and of encumbering the progress of the measure with such a proposition. The mode of bringing forward the Amendment, therefore, would induce those who agreed with him (Mr. Baring) as to the importance of the Bill to vote for that which was a practical measure, rather than for an abstract proposition, such as that involved in the Amendment of his hon. Friend. Then, what was the advantage of that Amendment? If it were carried, the Bill would be lost. It was quite evident it could not pass into a law if they tacked to it the proposal of his hon. Friend the Member for Sheffield. His hon. Friend had himself said, that he did not propose his Amendment as a measure adapted to this particular Bill. If he understood him correctly, his hon. Friend stated, that he did not consider it so much as affecting this particular Bill, as the introduction of a great principle. Now, where was the advantage of that? Was there any necessity of deciding it at all? was it necessary to decide it and involve a sum so small and trifling as hardly to be worth discussing? The other view of his hon. Friend was more important, he admitted. His hon. Friend had stated, and others had also stated, that as this Bill was the first step in the course they were now pursuing, and which circumstance would render it necessary for them to proceed further, it was advisable to speak out at once, and give to the people a distinct notification of the principles upon which their future progress would be based. There was something catching in that argument, he admitted. There was something catching — something that fell in with the character of his hon. Friend as a public man in the proposition, that when they proposed to adopt a particular course of policy, to state at once, if they could, the principles on which they were about to proceed. But did his hon. Friend tell them what his proposal—what his principle was? Admitting the argument of the importance of declaring to the people the principles upon which they were to proceed, he (Mr. Baring) said they should state those principles intelligibly and distinctly; but as yet he could not understand what was the principle which his hon. Friend's proposal involved. He was aware that the Amendment was advocated by those who were hostile to all church endowment. Was he to understand that those hon. Gentlemen looked upon it as involving hereafter the proposal of endowing the Catholic Church? For, whether it were out of the Consolidated Fund or the revenues of the Church, the proposition was for an endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy. Was he to understand that those who were hostile to endowments altogether, were now abandoning that principle, and would hereafter be ready to support, under whatever circumstances, and at whatever time it might be proposed, the question of the endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy? Was that to be understood as the nature of their Vote to-night; or did they not reserve to themselves rather the entire liberty hereafter of proposing a measure such as the alternative contemplated by the hon. Gentleman, but not by his Resolution, of withdrawing all grants from either the one religion or the other, and also from the Presbyterians? Was this the understanding? Others were asked to transfer entirely the funds of the Protestant Church in Ireland to the Catholic Church? His noble Friend was prepared to reduce and remodel the Protestant Church, and to support that Church and the Roman Catholic Church also. Which was the course his hon. Friend (Mr. Ward) adopted? If it was so expedient to declare to the people of England the principles upon which, in future, they were to proceed in this matter, let his hon. Friend have the goodness to state which of all those courses he would have them pursue. He was not surprised at the difference of opinion upon the subject on that (the Opposition) side of the House, any more than he was surprised at the difference of opinion on the other side. It was one of the great difficulties of legislation on the subject, that there were so many gradations of opinion, and so much variety in the decisions to which different minds arrived. Was it, then, advisable to lay down at this moment any decision as determining the course they were hereafter to pursue, from which no deviation could be permitted? Were there not difficulties already sufficiently embarrassing to any public man who might hereafter have to deal with this question; and was it not sufficient to know that they should have to deal with those difficulties, without binding their hands and the hands of Parliament as to the course in which they should legislate? He thought it far better that they should pass no such Resolution—that they should make no such decision than risk being placed in this position—that having made it, and announced it to the people of England as the fixed determination of the Government and the Legislature, they should afterwards be compelled to withdraw from it, and legislate upon a different principle? But he was told that by admitting the principle of his hon. Friend (Mr. Ward), they would be more likely in this, or any similar measure, to meet with the general assent of the country. He well knew the difficulty of obtaining that assent; but he could not persuade himself that such would be the result. What party would they conciliate by that course? Was it the Irish Protestants? Against the present Bill comparatively few petitions had emanated from that body; but did they suppose, if they introduced a clause which, not only as regarded the present Bill, but in its future legislation, would bind the House to this particular principle of appropriation, they would conciliate the Irish Protestants? Did they believe that they would conciliate the Irish Protestant body if they held out the prospect of stripping their Church of its endowments? Then, with regard to the Catholics themselves. He saw nothing to lead him to suppose that the Roman Catholics of Ireland would be dissatisfied if they did not deprive the Protestant Established Church of every means of revenue whatever. He did not believe that any such feeling existed amongst the Catholics of Ireland; if he did, he should have much less satisfaction in supporting the Government Bill. Then as to the question of endowment. So far as principle was concerned, it mattered little whether the funds for endowing the Catholic Church came from the Protestant Church revenues or the Consolidated Fund—it was equally endowed in either case. The difference was merely one of expense—how the payment should be best made; it became not a question of principle in this view, but one of finance—whether you would lay on additional tithes for the payment of the Catholic clergy. He wished they could get rid of the religious feeling, and deal with it altogether as a financial question. There was no proposition more clear, than that any money which they might lay out for the purpose of obtaining peace and satisfaction in Ireland, would repay them amply, and to a greater extent, than they could possibly expect. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle had expressed his opinions as to the feelings of the country, and had said that the question was not, with the people, whether there should be an Established Church or not, but the great objection was against endowing a religion which they believed to be founded in error. But if they endowed at all, they would be no more endowing error if they took the money from one source or the other. He agreed in this opinion expressed by the Member for Newcastle. He believed, after all, the objection was—and they saw it in the petitions generally—that, whatever might be the opinion as to the question of Establishments, the real objection arose out of a feeling of hostility to the Catholic religion. Hon. Gentlemen on this side of the House were not sensible enough of the power and influence possessed by the Church of England; and he believed that they would throw incalculable difficulties in their way if they roused that power, and the feelings which it would prompt, against the progress of improvement in Ireland. He, for one, would be no party to binding the House to any course to be afterwards pursued. This was not with him an objection of conscience to the Resolution of his hon. Friend. He did not entertain upon the subject of the grant, those conscientious objections felt and expressed by others. He believed that it was for the advantage of the Protestant Church in Ireland that its temporalities should be reconsidered, and that the scandals of which they heard should be swept away from that Establishment. He said this quite independently of the question of the appropriation of the revenue of the Protestant Church for Catholic purposes. Even although the Catholic Church were endowed from other sources—if he wanted not a farthing for its Establishment—still, as a Protestant, and as, he trusted, not an indifferent one, he should be anxious to reduce the amount of the revenue of the Irish Protestant Church to that sum which should be considered sufficient for its maintenance, and for the due instruction of the flocks committed to its charge. On the other hand, he believed that the endowment of the Catholic clergy would be a great blessing. When he spoke of the endowment of the Catholic clergy, he spoke of such an endowment as could be received by them without degradation—without injury to their usefulness among their flock, and not with the view of making them the servile dependants of the State. The endowment of the Irish priesthood, he maintained, would be a blessing to Ireland in itself; it would be an act of justice to Ireland, of policy towards this country, and an advantage to that common Christianity which, Catholic or Protestant, they all held. While he said so, however, he believed that there was a large body of the people in this country who would willingly consent to the payment of the Catholic clergy from the public purse; but if that proposition were to be united to one for the deprivation of the Protestant Church of its revenues, they would find that the number of its supporters would be very much diminished. There were many Protestants who by no means thought the abuses of the Irish Church a part of its religion; and who, while they would be very willing to support a revision of the Establishment, would by no means so readily entertain the proposition of handing its revenues over to the Church of Rome. He was desirous for both these measures; but he found that their conjunction made them more difficult to be carried. He did not see any necessity for such a conjunction; and he therefore objected, not to the measures themselves, but to such a union as he considered would impede them. In stating this he was, of course, merely giving utterance to his own private opinion that such was the case. Under all the circumstances of the case, he felt great reluctance in adopting any Resolution which would bind the House as to its future course. It was in vain to conceal from themselves how deeply the English people felt upon this subject. He was not one who would be inclined to abandon an opinion because it was not the opinion of a majority; but this House must look to a certain extent, and those who governed the country must look to a certain extent, to the feelings of the people; and if they found that they could obtain their end in a manner which, upon abstract principles, they might not prefer as the best upon paper, but, at the same time, which would give to Ireland what they wished to give it—which would give it in a way which would produce less dissatisfaction in England—he, for one, would be prepared to support such a measure, let it come from whom it might; and he would not, by voting for the proposition of his hon. Friend, throw any difficulty in the way of carrying it.

Mr. *Bernal* said, we lived in singular political times, and as a proof of the fact, he might cite his own case, at finding himself called on to oppose the view of the question taken by his right hon. Friend (Mr. Baring). His right hon. Friend was a powerful opponent of any measure, because it was quite evident that his sentiments proceeded from his heart. But he confessed, in this instance, the reasoning of his right hon. Friend had not satisfied him, nor would it deter him from openly expressing his opinion that, in his judgment, the right course for him to take was to support the Motion of the hon. Member for Sheffield. When his right hon. Friend said he wished to warn the House not to embark in a course of difficulties which would have the effect of fettering subsequent legislation, he would ask the right hon. Gentleman how he proposed to remove the difficulty? Did the right hon. Gentleman think the Bill of the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel) was sailing as it were, on a Mediterranean Sea, with no wintry gales to disturb its unruffled progress? So far from this being the case, he considered that the Bill was embarked on a tempestuous ocean; and he would tell the right hon. Gentleman that there were difficulties in it which would embarrass its progress more certainly than any Motion which the hon. Member for Sheffield would bring forward. His right hon. Friend had asked whether the proposition would conciliate the opponents of the Government measure; and had advised Government to attend to the opinions of the people. He quite agreed with the right hon. Gentleman that it was right to attend to the opinion of the people when that opinion was conscientiously expressed, provided no violence was done to the conscience; but he for one, from cowardice, would never abandon one sentiment or principle which he believed ought to be entertained. The hon. Member for Sheffield had said that in his present Motion he did not depart from any one opinion he had previously expressed on the Irish Church Establishment; but, abiding by the principle, he was willing to make some concessions to his opponents. His right hon. Friend (Mr. Baring) had said there were many persons who would support a Motion for the reform of the Irish Church, but who would not vote for anything that tended to the destruction of the Church. He avowed himself of that party or section, or shadow of a party, or ghost of a section, if such a thing could be, who thought that the Irish Church Establishment ought to be fined down; and he would not be deterred from voting for a measure that embraced such an object, from false or real assertions that it was in contemplation to destroy the Irish Established Church. It had been asserted that the compact at the Union forbade any legislation for the reform of the Church. He would ask the House to recollect what had been done by former Acts. Had they not narrowed the episcopal circle? Had they not, by the instrumentality of the Ecclesiastical Commission, taken a portion of the revenues of the Irish Church, and diverted them to other purposes? He counselled the House to abandon all delusion to the effect that it was fettered and chained by the terms of that compact. Any man of sense, who addressed his unbiassed reflection to the important subject of the expediency of making some change in the present position of the Irish hierachical Establishment, must acknowledge there was nothing in past history to warrant him in saying that the House was fettered on this question by previous contract. The hon. Member for Newcastle stated, that the general body of Dissenters on the old ground—the *odium theologicum*—objected to the policy of the Ministers, and that this feeling—the fear of disseminating what they termed the odious doctrines of Popery—had led them to cover the Table of the House with petitions against the grant. His hon. Friend ought to recollect the different arguments used by the various classes of Dissenters, and the different opinions entertained by the Wesleyan and other Dissenters; and this reflection would possibly induce him to think that it would not be very advisable for the House to be swayed by a clamour raised on such different grounds. Such expressions as had been used at meetings—namely, treason to Her Majesty, treason to the Throne, and similar strong language, he entirely deprecated. He would not hold alliance —he would not be considered to be in amity, with men who held such opinions, and who indulged in such language. Adieu to careful consideration of important questions; adieu to that coolness and temperate tone in which discussions within doors ought to be regulated, if such violent and intemperate expressions out of doors were to be regarded. In saying thus much, he was bound to declare that when a conscientious feeling did pervade the breasts of any large part of his fellow countrymen, that such a feeling ought not to be slurred over; and if asked whether he thought the measure of the hon. Member for Sheffield would solve the difficulty which surrounded the question, he replied that though the measure might not entirely smooth the difficulty, it would do something towards that object. He considered this question was totally distinct from the question of an annual grant to Maynooth. The moment the proposition was put in the shape of a Bill, that moment the original spirit of the grant was departed from—and the measure must be considered as containing something more than an idea respecting the future endowment of the Roman Catholic priesthood. By this grant he did not conceive he was going to increase the number of dangerous emissaries of Rome, or "jesuitical incendiaries;"—bugbears put boldly forth by the opponents of the Ministerial policy, not for the terror of children, but of children of a larger growth. He had seen in one of the morning papers, that if the Roman Catholic priests were better educated, by means of the increased grant, the result would probably be the Protestantising of Ireland. This was the view taken by some of the supporters of the grant; but he would pass it over without remark. He would, however, ask the right hon. Baronet a question to which he hoped to have a serious reply. It was—why, if this measure (the increased grant to Maynooth) in his view was so consistent with justice, to the safety of the Empire, and to the stability of the institutions of Europe, why was it postponed until the year 1845; and what in the year 1845 had occurred so imminent in its character as to induce the right hon. Baronet to bring it forward? The right hon. Baronet in his speech alluded to the position of this country with reference to certain countries across the Atlantic, and with reference to our situation with respect to Ireland. He said, conscientiously and firmly, that this part of the right hon. Baronet's speech was indiscreet. Nothing could be more dangerous in the present position of affairs, whether abroad or in Ireland, than to make such an allusion as the right hon. Baronet had done, to be quoted by itinerant orators in Ireland; to give them an opportunity of saying that the right hon. Baronet had made this concession, not merely to do good to that country, but from his seeing the shadow of coming hostilities, and therefore it was necessary for him to palliate the feelings of our Irish countrymen; otherwise he would not have been prepared to grant such a measure. ["No, no."] This was the impression on every Member's mind, that without some such feeling this measure would not have emanated from the Government. ["Hear, hear," *from the Treasury bench.*] Then he would ask those Gentlemen who cried "Hear, hear," and "No, no," for what reason this measure had been postponed till now? Why had it not been brought forward in 1839 or 1840? The Judge Advocate laughed; he should be happy to hear his defence of Her Majesty's Ministers. Did they consider that they had waited till the strong arm of the law had reached the monster meetings in Ireland? He would repeat a question that had been often put, —he would ask, did the monster meetings form the only objection to this increased grant to Maynooth? He thought the House could scarcely forget that, year after year, the measure now proposed by the Ministers of the Crown had been urged upon the consideration of the House of Commons by those friends near him who now sat on the Opposition benches; and he would put another question—when the present Ministers were out of office, did they receive the propositions of his friends on the subject of Maynooth in the same spirit that the Opposition of the present day had received theirs? He believed that no one would attempt to answer that question in the affirmative. He wished to carry his interrogations a little further;—the question which he had to put was an "old tale," but he must repeat it, if there be 7,000,000 of Roman Catholics, 800,000 Members of the Established Church, and 1,000,000 of Protestant Dissenters of all sorts, was the existing system of the Church Establishment in Ireland to be maintained for a minority so exceedingly small? The Established Church in Ireland had two archbishops, ten bishops, and a multitude of parochial clergy. For that rev. and right rev. body he entertained the highest respect. He doubted not that many of them deserved to be described as the lights and the ornaments of the Protestant Church, and that there were amongst them men who fully sustained the apostolic character. He would not have any one man suffer who held a benefice in the Irish branch of the Established Church; but, then he begged the House to remember that a considerable sum of money had already been accumulated; that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners had already invested as much as 47,000*l.* in the Three per Cent. Consols. It was also well known that there was an enormous number of parishes in Ireland which did not contain more than ten Protestants. Could, then, such an Establishment as that which they had in Ireland co-exist with such a state of things? It would be impossible to maintain a tranquil state of society amidst such a diversity of sentiment and such inequality of numbers. If they attempted to maintain it they could only succeed by physical force, and by the sword. He was one of those who thought that two Establishments might co-exist in Ireland. In Rhenish Germany there were Protestants and Roman Catholics living together as fellow-subjects and fellow-citizens in perfect harmony, and the same temples were used for the religious ceremonies of both persuasions. This was the case at Heidelberg, at Baden-Baden, and in various places throughout Switzerland. He must not, however, leave this subject without adverting to a charge which had been preferred against his right hon. Friend the Member for Dungarvon. It was said that he and the great body of the Roman Catholics were desirous of seeing the Protestant Establishment in Ireland destroyed. His right hon. Friend had often expressed a contrary opinion in private; and he believed there were many hon. Members now in the House belonging to the Roman Catholic Church who never had felt the least wish to effect the destruction of the Established Church in Ireland, and he called upon them now publicly to avow the sentiments which they had often privately expressed. In supporting the Motion of his hon. Friend the Member for Sheffield, he was abiding by principle, and in these days principle was worth more than a Bill; for unfortunately at present public men did not stand so very high with regard to consistency as to render principle a matter of anything less than the highest importance.

Captain *Gladstone* wished briefly to state his reasons for the vote he had already given, and was about to give. He wished to speak with all respect of the gentlemen who signed the petitions from the place he represented; but having made up his mind to support the grant, he would be less entitled to their confidence if he did not vote according to his convictions. As an hon. Member had given notice of a Motion to make the grant annual, he should, for the present, reserve what he had to say on that point. From a personal visit to Maynooth College he could confirm what had been stated by the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Peel) respecting the dilapidated state of the building, and the insufficiency of the fund for the maintenance of the students. The present state of Maynooth was not creditable to the State with which it was connected, nor were the feelings with which the students left the College favourable to the general peace of the country. By improving the education of those who were to be the future priests, they would bind the institution in a better spirit, and no doubt would materially contribute to soften the animosities existing between the Roman Catholic peasantry and their Protestant fellow-subjects. He did not agree with those who thought the endowment of the Roman Catholic clergy lurked behind the present measure. If that were his belief he would not support the grant. It did not necessarily follow that because we gave a better education to the Roman Catholic priesthood, we were therefore bound to provide for them in after life. During his visit to the College of Maynooth, he asked the rev. President, to whose kindness he bore willing testimony—"Suppose a larger and more liberal endowment were made, would it induce the higher classes of Roman Catholics to send their sons to enter the priesthood?" His answer was—"a higher class does not exist." He meant that they did not exist in sufficient numbers to fill up the vacanies in the Roman Catholic priesthood. Mr. O'Connell, in arguing that money was not necessary to the support of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, said—

> "Has the Catholic church fallen for want of money? No: she was never in a more triumphant state. She has four archbishops, twenty-three bishops, two thousand parish priests, each of whom has two or three curates. We have an unbroken hierarchy as perfect and as organized as before the days of Henry VIII. It is not money, then, that supports her."

He did not think, therefore, that by supporting this grant he was doing an act that would lead to the endowment of the Roman Catholic priests. He believed their position was as comfortable, if the station in life from whence they were taken was considered, as that of the clergymen of this country, or of the ministers of the Church of Scotland. He should give the Motion of the hon. Member for Sheffield his most strenuous opposition. He believed if hon. Members on that (the Ministerial) side of the House voted for the Amendment then, they might be justly taunted with having deserted their principles. He should defend the Church of Ireland on religious grounds. He believed the prescription of 300 years was sufficient to make the Protestants of Ireland consider that Church as their birthright, and that it was their duty to transmit it to their posterity. Much had been said of the remissness of the Protestant clergy in past times; but now, when it was admitted on all hands that they were performing their duties, it would be very unjust to deprive them of any portion of their revenues. He should willingly support any measure calculated to confer a real benefit on the Roman Catholics of Ireland; but if any attempt were made to diminish the revenues of the Established Church, then his principle was still "no surrender." The extent of church accommodation provided in some parts of Ireland had been contrasted with the paucity of the Protestant parishioners, but it was well known that in general the number of churches was insufficient. A vast number of churches had been lately erected by private subscription, and the wants of the Protestant community required many more. He should give the Amendment his decided opposition.

Viscount *Howick:* I agree to a great extent in what fell, in the beginning of his speech, from my right hon. Friend the Member for Portsmouth. I certainly cannot concur in his concluding observations; but I agree that the great question brought before us is not submitted either in a convenient form or on a convenient occasion. I think the occasion inconvenient, because it undoubtedly interferes with the progress of a Bill to which I, for one, am anxious to give my best support. I think the form inconvenient, because the question really raised, as I understand it, is the great and important question whether the whole arrangement of the Irish Church should be remodelled or not. And that is submitted incidentally as to the funds from which the comparatively small sum of 26,000*l.* is to be drawn. Sir, this seems to me far too small a proposal to bring forward as the test of so great a principle. But, at the same time, as it seems to be the wish of Gentlemen at both sides that this question should be considered as really intended to decide the point, whether the present appropriation of Church property should be continued, or whether the existing arrangement should be reconsidered —when a division is to be taken as the test of our views on this question, I am willing to consider it in the manner in which it has been submitted. And, though I feel very unequal to the task of addressing the House on such a subject, yet having, ever since my entrance into public life, taken a deep interest in this subject —having entertained strong opinions upon it, and every additional year's experience only serving to strengthen them—I cannot allow this debate to close without expressing my views, however inadequately I may be able to do so. I have always regarded the Church of Ireland in the same light as my right hon. Friend the Member for Edinburgh. In his most unanswerable speech of last night I entirely concur. I have always regarded the maintenance of the Irish Church on its present footing as contrary to every principle of justice and policy. I believe, in my conscience, the maintenance of that Church has been the great obstacle to the spread of the Protestant religion. I am so persuaded of the truth of the great principles of that religion, that I firmly believe, if they were given fair play, if they were not weighed down by the injustice of the system to which they are united, they must in three centuries have taken root and flourished in the soil of Ireland as they have done in other countries. I believe also the Church of Ireland is the main source of all that misgovernment and oppression under which the Irish for nearly three centuries have suffered. Sir, this is the view I take of this subject. It is one I never concealed. When I was a party to bringing forward the Appropriation Clause, I never attempted to disguise the fact that the arguments on which I supported the proposition were arguments which, if pushed to the utmost, would have carried me further than the clause then proposed. I never disguised that such was the fact; and if I was content with a proposal falling far short of the principle for which I contended, it was because I believed that at that time the Roman Catholics of Ireland were inclined to accept far less than justice entitled them to demand. In 1838, when I consented to the passing of a Tithe Bill without the Appropriation Clause, I also did not conceal that I acquiesced in the determination of Government, not because I had altered my opinion as to the justice of the Appropriation Clause, but because I felt that the time at which such a compromise could have been accepted had gone by. The right hon. Baronet opposite may remember that that, and that only, was the ground on which I consented to the bringing forward of a Tithe Bill without the Appropriation Clause. I have always held that the Appropriation Clause—not so much from what it did as from the spirit it displayed—as being a tender, of part at least, of the just claims of the Catholics, and which, when originally proposed, the Catholics were willing to accept—to be a concession, not so much to their interest as to their feelings and sense of honour, which are wounded by the existing arrangement. But I said in 1838 that it was perfectly obvious that from the protracted contests, from the debates of many years, the original state of things was altered, and that the language of those opposed to the clause had so far succeeded as to render it not worth the struggle by which it could be obtained; that I saw that a compromise of this kind would be no longer accepted; that, not being acceptable, it was clear that the larger and more difficult question with respect to the Church must at no distant period be raised; that I did not then raise it because those interested did not think it could then be advantageously brought forward, but which I saw must come before us ultimately, and I never concealed in what way justice, in my opinion, required it should be settled. I have referred to these things merely to show that when the right hon. Secretary for the Home Department spoke of Gentlemen on this side as being now prepared to go farther than they did formerly, he did not do us, or at least all of us, justice. He will bear me witness that my opinions were formerly strongly avowed, and supported to the utmost of my ability. I shall not attempt now, after having so often addressed the House on the subject, and more especially after the admirable speech of my right hon. Friend the Member for Edinburgh, to point out the defects of the existing arrangement. I wish rather at once to go to the practical question of how this anomaly and injustice, as I consider it, is to be dealt with. Sir, I have no hesitation in stating my opinion on that point. I have already said that more than two years ago I stated it as my persuasion that the time had gone by when a compromise on this question could be listened to. You might, I firmly believe, had you been content to accept the Appropriation Clause of 1835, have maintained the Church, for our time at least, without seriously trenching upon its revenues. But you triumphed in resisting that compromise. The result is that you have now brought about a state of things in which, in my opinion, compromise is no longer practicable. You must now do full justice to the Catholics of Ireland. It is no use any longer endeavouring to palter with the question. I, for one, will never again be a party to an incomplete and inadequate measure of reform. I will never disturb the country by proposing any measure that does not, in my opinion, go to the root of the evil—when I say go to the root of the evil, what I mean is, one that does not deal on entirely equal terms with Catholics and Protestants. There must be no distinction—there must be no insolent assumption of any greater correctness of doctrine, or of a claim to be regarded by the State and by the Government as the Protestant party in the State. The Catholic and Protestant interest, must, in my opinion, be considered and be dealt with alike. I am persuaded this is not the time to disguise our opinions as to the Church. I wish to have no concealment whatever on the subject; and I will tell you, therefore, what, according to my present information, appears to me the mode in which the subject should be dealt with. I say, in the first place, I would save all existing interests. I would not, on any account, mulct of their incomes those who now receive them from the Irish Church. Therefore, to meet the immediate difficulty, I think we are bound to draw on the Consolidated Fund of this country. Under other circumstances this might be unjust, and I am most strongly of opinion that Ireland herself should ultimately provide for the religious instruction of the Irish people, just as England provides for the religious instruction of the English people. As a permanent arrangement, I hold that to be what justice requires; for we have no right to call on the English people to contribute from the taxes to the instruction of Ireland. But as a temporary arrangement the case is different. I think it is the fault of the English people themselves that we are not now in a situation to provide for the religious wants of the Irish people from the property of the Irish Church. But for the prejudices of this country a considerable sum would now be disposable for the purpose. But for the prejudices of England and Scotland the Appropriation Clause would have been carried in 1835; and not only that, but if those prejudices had not interfered, and we had then been able to deal with the application of the property of the Irish Church, as reason and common sense dictated, you would not have been compelled to fritter and waste it away as you have done. You wasted it by the arrangement of 1838, as to bishops' lands. If the property of the Irish Church had not been devoted to unpopular purposes—if you had not applied it to objects to which the general sense of Ireland was opposed, you need not have wasted it in the scandalous way you have done. If the property of the Church had been devoted to the religious instruction of the great body of the people, I believe neither the Parliament nor the Irish people would have consented as to the arrangement with respect to the bishops' lands. Precisely in the same manner, from the unpopular and unjust application of the revenues, a sacrifice of 25 per cent. was made of the tithes in 1838. Therefore, I maintain, as those mistakes have arisen from what I conceive to be the prejudices, the no doubt honest prejudices, of the English and Scotch people, the consequences should fairly fall on those who committed them, and England and Scotland ought to pay for the present religious wants of Ireland. But I say that instruction should ultimately be supplied by Ireland itself. If I had to deal with the property of the Church, I should invest it in Commissioners, I should provide that they should pay the existing incumbents. And as those interests fell in, the first charge I should make on it would be a provision for the Roman Catholic clergy. I say the first charge, because I know it is the custom on this and on the other side to talk of giving any surplus that may be found to the Roman Catholics. I repudiate that notion as altogether unjust. I say the Catholics have the first claim on the funds. They are the majority; they are of the poorest class; the property originally belonged to them until it was transferred to the maintenance of the Established Church. In every point of view, then, in which this property can be regarded, they have the first claim on it. Not only in this view, but in another, I think it is for the national interest that the clergy of the Irish people should be provided for. Precisely as it is the interest of England that the clergy of England should have an independent provision without forcing contributions from their flocks, I think it of essential importance that the clergy of the great body o the Irish people should have incomes independent of the caprice of those whom they teach. I for one have no hesitation in saying that I am most distinctly opposed to what is called the voluntary principle. I am utterly unable to understand the views of those who adopt that policy. In education, Gentlemen on both sides concur in saying that the State ought to interfere, and that we should not trust merely to voluntary efforts. Large grants have been made in England, Ireland, and Scotland, of late years for the purpose of education; and the general complaint on both sides has been, that owing to the unfortunate sectarian feelings, and the want of charity that prevailed either in the Church or amongst the Dissenters, we have not been able to carry as far as was desirable the assistance given by the State to education. But if in the great measure of education we cannot trust to voluntary efforts, I think that this is more strongly the case as to religious instruction. Who are those who most want religious instruction? Precisely those who are not sensible of the want. ["Hear, hear."] I am glad you cheer that sentiment; but if you admit the necessity of religious instruction, will you say by whom it shall be provided for the people? Let me ask you in what shape should it be given—in a shape in which it will be useless, or in which it will be acceptable? I suppose it is for some practical object that you mean to provide religious instruction. And in Ireland, where the great mass of the people will only receive it on the terms of its being conveyed through the Roman Catholic religion—if you consider it necessary that religious instruction should be afforded, how can you justify refusing to offer it on the only terms they will be content to take it? For my part I am so persuaded of the necessity of some such provision, that I am ready to find the means from any source I can. I am ready to take the money, in the first instance, from the Consolidated Fund, or any other fund you can fix upon; but I do feel that, with regard to the Roman Catholic population of Ireland, it is absolutely necessary to make some provision for their religious instruction. To impose the tax you now do on the population of Ireland; to compel a peasantry, the most destitute and the worst off in the world, to find the means of paying for religious instruction, when there is in the country a magnificent national endowment, which is theirs by right, is, in my opinion, the most flagrant violation of justice that any nation was ever guilty of. But if we provide in the first instance for the Catholics, I am perfectly willing to provide also for the Protestants; and if the existing Church property is not sufficient to provide for them on a scale adequate to their wants, I am prepared to secure funds for that purpose out of the property of Ireland. I am prepared to take back from the landlords the sum they obtained from Church property in 1838; and I believe, if so increased, we should have a national endowment sufficient to meet the real wants of both Catholics and Protestants. When the right hon. Baronet tells me that though he has no conscientious scruple against a State provision for the Catholic clergy, yet he will not propose it because the Roman Catholics tell him that they would not accept it; I cannot help asking him whether he is really serious in submitting that as an argument to the House? Does he believe that if the Catholic clergy were provided forwithout any attempt to interfere with their Church in matters of discipline—if an endowment was offered in the same liberal and generous manner that the Maynooth grant is made—does any Gentleman for a moment believe that an offer of that kind, fairly and frankly made, would not be readily accepted by the people and clergy of Ireland? If Irish Members or clergy say no, I cannot credit them. I do not impute to them wilful misrepresentation; but I say they know neither themselves nor their flocks, nor human nature, if they persist in saying that an offer so made would be rejected. We were now told that a legislative recognition should be given to the religion of the great majority of the Irish people. It is vain to disguise the fact, that the great majority of that people are Catholics; and that being the case, it is our interest to educate their clergy, and raise the standard of their qualifications. If that be the case, are we not also called upon by the same principle to make a State provision for the maintenance of the clergy, whose education we are now providing for? The right hon. Gentleman told us that a happier day was dawning for Ireland, and that new principles of government should be adopted towards that country. It is a libel on human nature to suppose that conciliation will not produce the happiest effects; and that the message of peace sent over to that country will be without its advantages. What are we to understand by that language? Simply this, that the right hon. Baronet feels we had been carrying on the government of Ireland hitherto on a wrong foundation, and tha a Government resting only on the support of force is based on a hollow and false foundation. If you admit that, you must govern Ireland so as to obtain the good-will and affections of the Irish people, you ought to legislate as a Parliament sitting in Dublin, and freely representing the Irish people. If the Irish people were legislating for themselves, would they continue to maintain the existing arrangements with respect to the Established Church? Should we do so in the same case ourselves? The security and safety of the Established Church has been made the ground of every act of injustice and harshness towards Ireland. Can we wonder that 150 years of such conduct has produced its natural results? If the people of this country were subjected to similar treatment with the Irish, what would be their feelings? Now that the right hon. Baronet has brought forward measures inconsistent with his former policy towards Ireland, and has commenced a new system of concession, he ought to follow out his policy fully and fairly. It was with regret that I heard from the right hon. Baronet the Secretary for the Home Department, last night, a renewal of former declarations of his resolution to maintain the Established Church. In the course of these debates, Her Majesty's Government have felt themselves in a position of great difficulty; they have been told that the measures they are now adopting were altogether at variance with those they recommended in Opposition. They have met those attacks in the most creditable manner. The right hon. Baronet said that he should despise himself if any feeling of desire to preserve his consistency should deter him from bringing forward the measures required by the public service. It is honourable to a Minister to hold such language; but is it not at the same time most painful to the right hon. Baronet, and most injurious to the country, that he should be placed in a situation where it becomes necessary for him to employ it? The right hon. Baronet should be aware of sowing, by a hesitating and uncertain policy, seeds which will produce, in a few years, a similar crop of disaffection and enforced concession, when he will be driven to adopt the alternative of abandoning the pledges he now gives, or of shrinking from bringing forward such measures as the country may demand. The right hon. Gentleman may be assured that he will find himself unable to maintain the declaration he has made relative to the Established Church. We have only to look to what has gone before to see what will follow after. If the right hon. Baronet be determined to maintain the Irish Church, he may be sure that Irish agitation never will be put down. This measure will be accepted indeed, but it will be accepted only as an instalment and earnest of future success; the demands of the agitators will again be urged, in a louder tone, and with greater certainty of success. The battle will be fought again on a different ground; the same watchwords as of old will be heard from the same ranks. Again the religious prejudices of England and Scotland will be arrayed against the settled determination of the great majority of the Irish people. The assailants of the Church, flushed with victory, animated by the acquisition of vast success, and encouraged by the proof they have received that everything is to be obtained by agitation, will make greater efforts, which will be infinitely more difficult to resist than before. As the right hon. Baronet has been driven to yield the outworks and bulwarks of the Church, so will he be driven to yield the Church itself. As he yielded Catholic Emancipation, the Irish Reform Bill, and Irish Municipal Reform, and as he is now driven to make this attempt to grant peace to Ireland by the endowment of Maynooth, in the same manner he will be driven to take another step in advance. Does the right hon. Gentleman reflect how infinitely he diminishes the advantages of concession by making it thus gradual, and fighting his way, inch by inch, for every step he is compelled to yield? If the right hon. Gentleman were to come forward and tell the people of England that he must govern Ireland on the principle of perfect equality, founding his measures on the principle of making them such as the Irish people would themselves make them, my conviction is, he would meet with infinitely less difficulty and opposition than that with which this partial measure has been received. A great portion of that opposition springs, I believe, from a feeling that this measure is not the conclusion of the course which the right hon. Baronet purposes to follow; his policy is felt to be vague and indefinite, and leading to uncertain results which the people of England are unwilling to admit. Retaining strongly the convictions to which I have repeatedly given expression in this House, I shall give my vote in favour of the Motion of the hon. Member for Sheffield.

Mr. *G. A. Hamilton* was very sensible of the disadvantage under which he laboured in addressing the House after the noble Lord who had just sat down, and at so late a period in the debate; but he was glad he had been unable to catch the Speaker's eye, as he had sought to do, at an early period of the preceding evening, for he had the opportunity of now remarking upon some most erroneous statements—some gross mis-statements—that had been made by the hon. and learned Member for Bath, in reference to the Irish branch of the Church of England; and also by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Edinburgh. These hon. Members had spoken of the Church of Ireland as consisting of pastors without a flock, as consisting of Protestant sinecure parsons; and the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bath had stated, that in a large proportion of the parishes of Ireland, in nine out of ten, the Protestant clergyman was alone in the midst of a Roman Catholic population; and the hon. Member had, he must say, rather offensively challenged any one to deny his statement. Now, he would most emphatically deny it. There is no one who knows Ireland that must not know that the assertion of the hon. Member is utterly without foundation. What were the real facts of the case? The House was aware that in the year 1834 a Commission was appointed consisting of persons certainly not disposed to exaggerate the number of Protestants, and this Commission had made a Report of the population of different denominations in each benefice in Ireland. And what was the result? Why, in the first place, there were just forty-one benefices in Ireland with no member of the Established Church. He had examined that Report carefully in reference to the statement of the hon. and learned Member; time had not admitted of his taking more than a limited number of benefices, but he had examined the Report of the Commissioners of Public Instruction with reference to every benefice in Ireland which contained not more than ten members of the Established Church; and he had examined the Report of the Commissioners of Ecclesiastical Revenue with regard to the emoluments of such benefices, and he had arrived at the following results:—There were then in Ireland 82 benefices with not more than ten members of the Established Church. ["Hear."] He was quite aware of the distinction which he supposed the hon. Members who were cheering him ironically meant to draw between parishes and benefices; but when the hon. Member for Bath had spoken of pastors without flocks, and overpaid sinecure parsons, he must maintain that it was by benefices and not parishes that the accuracy of the hon. and learned Member's statement was to be tested. He begged to observe he did not include Dissenters of any description in his calculation, whereas it was well known that Dissenters in Ireland for the most part attend church. Of these 82 benefices, in the case of 39, the clergymen had other duties to perform; and he thought the House would not be surprised or think it unreasonable that they should perform other duties (generally they were curates of adjoining benefices), when he stated that the gross income of those 30 benefices was 4,134*l.* a year, or little more than 100*l.* a year each on an average. Of the remainder of the 82, six benefices were suspended and in the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners; he believed some others had been suspended since. In the case of 24 there was no provision whatever for the payment of a clergyman; and in the case of the remaining 13, the incumbents of which, from there being no glebe or place of residence, were non-residents, the gross income was only 1,169*l.*, or about 80*l.* a year each. He had not had time to follow that inquiry further—he had selected what would appear the worst cases; he had the list of them in his hand, which any hon. Member was at liberty to examine; he had no doubt that if the same process of inquiry was applied to others up to any amount of population the result would be similar. Now, he would beg to ask the House, was it just, was it fair, for hon. Members to talk of nine out of ten of the parsons in Ireland being shepherds without flocks? The question of the income of the Established Church had been so frequently brought before the House, that he would not trouble them with the details, but he felt it right to re-assert what had been stated last year, that at the present moment, without any deduction for ecclesiastical tax or for poor rate, out of 1,395 benefices in Ireland, there were just 31, the gross income of which was above 1,000*l.* a year, 26 being in the Protestant province of Armagh; and, as he had shown in several instances last year, the net income of these, after deducting necessary expenses, could not be estimated at more than 700*l.* a year on an average, and that when the Church Temporalities Act shall be in full operation there will be no sinecures or pluralities. Already they have been nearly all prevented; there will be just nine benefices exceeding 1,000*l.*, seven of them being in the Protestant province of Armagh. Considerably more than one-half will be under 300*l.* a year, and in the proportion of 12 out of 14 will be under 600*l.* And further, supposing a new distribution of Church property in Ireland made according to the Church population, which, however, he should think most objectionable, each clergyman would have a congregation of 620 members of the Established Church, besides Dissenters, and an income of about 220*l.* It was, therefore, he thought, quite manifest that the Church Establishment was at the lowest point at which it was possible for an establishment to be maintained as such, and that therefore the real question was, whether the Church was to be maintained or utterly destroyed in Ireland? The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Edinburgh, while he admitted the present efficiency and improved state of the Irish Church, had denied that it had effected the object for which, as he maintained, it was instituted, and, therefore, he had called for its subversion. Now, he could not admit that the apparent success or want of success which might attend a religion or a religious establishment, was the criterion by which that Establishment was to be judged. If the Church in Ireland had not succeeded in former times, he might attribute it to the manner in which its patronage had been abused by the British Government. But he could not admit the force of the argument at all. Religious establishments are but instruments for the promotion of religious truth. It is no doubt the duty of States and of men to make them as efficient as possible; but it is not by mere human means that religious truth will be ultimately triumphant. Would the right hon. Gentleman venture to apply his principle to religion generally? Considering the immense proportion of mankind who are still ignorant of Christianity, can it be said that the Christian Church, or Christian churches, of any denomination, have fully accomplished the purposes for which they were instituted; and, if they have not, would the right hon. Gentleman say that churches are all to be abolished, and Christian truth left to take its chance in the world? He would correct every abuse in a Church; but he was persuaded that it was the duty of a State, having an Established Church, to bring the truth inculcated by that Church within the reach of every one who might choose to listen to them; and however we may differ now as to what truth in religion was, no Christian can doubt that Christian truth will ultimately prevail. Or would the right hon. Gentleman apply this principle to educational establishments? If it was the case in this country that educational institutions had in a great degree failed in their object, would the right hon. Gentleman maintain that, therefore, the educational establishments of the country were to be subverted? The House and the country had heard a great deal recently on the subject of restitution. As that argument had been used, he thought it necessary to say a few words on that part of the subject. He did not wish to trouble the House with elaborate historical proofs, but he felt bound to say, that the doctrine and argument of restitution was quite inconsistent with the real facts of the case, as supported by the most conclusive historical proofs in reference to the Church of Ireland. The first of those facts which he would advance, and was quite ready to maintain by historical proofs, was this, that the early Church had no connexion with the Church of Rome; that it was far from agreeing with the Church of Rome in doctrine; that the Pope exercised no ecclesiastical authority in Ireland over the Irish Church, previous to the end of the twelfth century; that all attempts to assert such authority were strenuously resisted by the Irish Church. He certainly could not deny that for three centuries after the reign of Henry II. the connexion with Rome was established; but then he must maintain that that connexion was thrown off at the time of the Reformation, or, at least, in the reign of Elizabeth, by all except two of the hierarchy of Ireland, and by a large proportion of the clergy; that at the time of the Reformation there was no transfer of property in Ireland from one existing Church to another existing Church—there was no new Church set up, and no old Church turned out; the Church reformed itself, and for ten years, at least, the population of Ireland frequented the Reformed Churches; and it was only when the Pope found it impossible to induce the existing Church to return to the allegiance which he considered to be due to himself that he came to the resolution of setting up a Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, with the hope of ultimately supplanting the Reformed Church. He most conscientiously believed these to be the real, plain facts of the case—he believed they admitted of the clearest historical proof; and, if they did, what became of the whole argument of restitution? There was another branch of the subject connected with the Resolution before the House, upon which it was his duty to make some remarks, and that was, the insult to the feelings and opinions of the Protestants of Ireland, which the adoption of the Resolution now before the House, to say nothing of its injustice, was calculated to inflict. In reference to a question of this peculiar and delicate nature, the House ought not to be insensible to the feelings which prevailed in Ireland among the Protestant population on such subjects. The endowment of Maynooth by the State out of State funds might, and he hoped would, be discussed without exciting any angry feelings; but for the House deliberately to affirm, or seriously to entertain a proposition that the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth should be endowed out of the funds of the Established Church, would be regarded, he could only say, as a wanton insult to the feelings of Her Majesty's Protestant subjects in Ireland. It was the fashion to talk of insults to Ireland, though not on his side of the House; and the allegation of insult seemed the argument which had most force. But who were the Protestants whose feelings were to be thus wantonly insulted?—were they entitled to no consideration at the hands of the Government or the Legislature? Through evil report and good report they had proved themselves the unflinching supporters of the law and the Constitution; unappalled by the threats, unseduced by the blandishments of the enemies of the British connexion; undergoing trials and persecutions, which those unacquainted with the real state of things in Ireland could not well appreciate, they formed the British garrison in the midst of a hostile country. When your Constitution is in danger, when the peace of Ireland is exposed to risk, when the British connexion is threatened, when a political object is to be gained, when sacrifices are to be made, you are sure to appeal to the Protestants of Ireland; and never yet, whether that appeal was made to their spirit or to their moderation, has it been made in vain by a British Government or a British Legislature. Year after year have they seen principles and institutions, which they valued—and valued because they felt that they were identified with the safety and welfare of the Constitution—one after another abandoned, or handed over to their political opponents. At the request of those who now hold the reins of Government, the Protestants of Ireland had freely broken up a confederacy which they deemed essential to their own security, and which was endeared to them by many highly cherished recollections. It may be easy, perhaps, for the Minister or the politician to say to a high-spirited and warm-hearted people, "Abandon your ancient usages, the occasion for them has gone by. Your ancient associations and recollections are obsolete—you had better forego them;" but little he knows of the working of the human passions and feelings—but little he knows how closely entwined round a people's heart are even the customs and usages of their ancestors, commemorative of achievements in defence of their liberties, their country, and their religion, who fancies there is little sacrifice in their abandonment. These usages were abandoned, the bond of connexion by which the Protestant population was linked together was loosed in proof of their devoted loyalty. He had no wish to say anything harsh, or throw any blame unnecessarily upon the Government; the impression in Ireland certainly was that these considerations were forgotten, and that Protestant claims and Protestant feelings were not sufficiently regarded by Her Majesty's Government. But he warned the House how, by the adoption of such a Resolution as that proposed by the hon. Member for Sheffield, they added insult to the wrongs of which the Protestants complain. He warned the House to beware how it taught them the dangerous and bitter lesson—a lesson which, once learned, is never forgotten by a people—that, politically, the meed of loyalty is ingratitude, while the reward of agitation and disloyalty is favour and concession. If that lesson be once impressed upon the minds of the Protestants of Ireland, one or other of two most disastrous results would be sure to follow—you will either see the Protestants of Ireland joining with the Repealers in hostility to a connexion from which, as they think, they will have received nothing but ingratitude and injury; or else, which would be in his opinion almost worse, you will see again the collision and conflicts of classes and persuasions in Ireland—you will see the prospect of concord and harmony which now exists completely dissipated. You will see the one class exulting, naturally, in the triumph of their principles and of their Church, over the principles and the Church of their political opponents; you will see the other bitterly lamenting all past concessions, determining, as far as their individual feelings and conduct are concerned, to concede no more. These will be the fruits of the adoption of the hon. Member's Resolution; and that feeling will be generated, the worst that can be imagined for the tranquillity, peace, and prosperity of a country—a feeling which is blasting, blighting, and fatal in its effects, and utterly subversive of all social concord; the exultation of extorted triumph on the one side, and vain regret for fruitless concession on the other. The very feeling would be created which, under somewhat similar circumstances, had been so well described by the Roman historian—

> "Majores quoque, si divinássent concedendo omnia, plebem in se non mitiorem, sed asperiorem, alia ex allis iniquiora postulando quam prima impetrassent, futurum, quamlibet dimicationem subitures fuisse, potius quam tales leges sibi imponi paterentur."

Captain *Ralph Osborne* did not think it was a very satisfactory spectacle for the admirers of their academical institutions to see that the Representatives of the Universities, with one exception that might be taken, were to a man disinclined to consent to any measure of liberality. He denied, however, that the hon. Gentleman who had spoken last, represented the feelings of the Protestants in Ireland; he represented only the Orange party of that country, and while he talked of their loyalty, what did the right hon. Baronet think when the hon. Gentleman threatened, if the Government added insult to injury, that they would join the Repealers? [Mr. *G. A. Hamilton:* My observations had reference only to the adoption of the Motion of the hon. Member for Sheffield.] He accepted the explanation of the hon. Gentleman; but would remind him that his hon. and learned Colleague (Mr. Shaw) expressed similar sentiments, and threatened, if the complaints of his party were not attended to, that they might be found acting in conjunction with the Repealers. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Hamilton) had carried them back to some remote period of ancient history, when, according to some ideal description of the Irish Church, given by Archbishop Usher, that Church was not Roman Catholic. He (Captain Osborne), however, would take a much later period; let him bring them down to the time when it was the Protestants in Ireland who fomented the rebellion. At that period the chief plotters of the movement in the North of Ireland were Protestants. Wolfe Tone was a Protestant, and so were all the leaders. Away, then, with this claim to particular and exclusive loyalty on the part of the Protestants of Ireland. From a long acquaintance with that country, he could say, that the Roman Catholics there were fully as loyal as any Protestants in that House. And if in the course of time the right hon. Baronet should propose to give Members to the University of Maynooth, these Members would not be found raising that outcry against Protestantism which the Members of the University of Dublin were raising against the Roman Catholic religion of their countrymen. He apprehended the present question was rather that of maintaining the revenues of the Established Church, than of increasing those of Maynooth College. The right hon. Baronet, in his speech in the present debate, had, with his usual adroitness, in talking of Mr. O'Connell and the Oregon Territory, passed completely away from the subject under consideration, and they were left as much in doubt as to what his views on it were as before. But he did not think the right hon. Baronet could have identified himself with the views expressed by the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for Ireland. That right hon. Gentleman had revived the exploded analogy between church and private property. He held in his hand the opinion of one whom, as he belonged to the right hon. Gentleman's party, he might deem an authority on this point; it was the opinion of Lord Brougham. The noble Lord said:—

> "God forbid I should contend that the Church has the same power over its property as individuals have over theirs; there is no sort of analogy between them. The Church receives its property for performing certain service; private persons hold theirs unconditionally."

He might quote other passages from Paley and Sir J. Mackintosh to the same effect, but it was unnecessary. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for Ireland had also entered into the argument founded on the compact made at the Union. If any one argument was more untenable than another it was this; the Representatives of a small minority of the Irish nation, in order that their Church — the Church of the minority—might be held by them in perpetuity, and for certain other pecuniary considerations, sold the liberties of their Catholic brethren. They had heard the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel) reject the compact as conclusive, and there could on that subject be nothing in common between him and the right hon. Secretary for Ireland. The right hon. Secretary had dwelt on the danger of establishing a precedent; but the precedent of Catholic endowment had already been established in Canada, and why should not that which had effected such good in Canada be applied to Ireland? He thought the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for the Home Department, had rather misrepresented what had fallen from Gentlemen on this side of the House; the right hon. Gentleman argued as if they wished for the total subversion of the Irish Church; he denied the charge. For his part, he did not wish to subvert the Established Church in Ireland; but he thought it would be advisable to put that Church upon a congregational, instead of a territorial footing. It should be remembered, in considering that question, that there were in Ireland 218 parishes in which there was not a single Protestant. He could not help lamenting the ignorance of the English people with regard to the condition of Ireland. What Lord Clare complained of at the time of the Union was still true—there was no country in Europe with which Englishmen were less acquainted than Ireland. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Hamilton) had endeavoured to carry the House away to a distant period, when the Catholic Church did not exist in Ireland. But he was prepared to maintain that the Reformation had never been carried thither. There was a revolution in tithes, but no change of opinion; and so far from taking any pains to convert the Irish from error, the English Government rather took pains to confirm them in their creed, as the best means of getting at their property. It was not till the reign of James I. that any order was given to have the Bible translated into the Irish language; and it was a saying at that time, that in Elizabeth's reign they had Irish priests and English Bibles, and in James's reign English priests and Irish Bibles. Thus was the Reformation carried out. He was prepared to maintain that there was no similarity between the Irish Established Church and the Church of England. The English Church had been allowed to enjoy the peaceable possession of its temporalities because it was the Church of the great body of the English people. But with respect to the Irish Church the case was totally different. He would go further, and say that there was a vast difference as to doctrine between the English and the Irish Churches. It was stated in a work called "*Ireland and its Rulers*" quoted by the right hon. Secretary for Ireland himself, that

> "The religion of the Irish Church partook rather of Puritanism than Protestantism, and that its clergy were much of the same creed as the Dissenters; they preached a sour and bitter morality, and were found to entertain narrow and pedantic views, unlike their English brethren."

What great names had the clergy of the Irish Church given to literature or learning? Where were the men it had produced to be compared to the Hookers, Butlers, Warburtons, and Chillingworths of the English Church? Would they select the names of Daly and Mant? The former had written a biography, containing some passages which the Bench of Bishops would not consider quite orthodox; and Archdeacon Mant had declared that the penal laws were calculated to benefit the Papists themselves. Then look at their conduct towards the right hon. Baronet on the National Education question. If they were held up as ornaments of society, what had they contributed to science or letters? What had the University of Dublin done for the advancement of learning? Let them show the great men it had produced. The noble Viscount the Member for Bandon (Lord Bernard) would perhaps quote to him the name of some little Dissenting minister, a great man in his own parish, and a distributor of tracts in the diocese of Bandon; but that was not the sort of great man he meant. One hon. Member had talked of the Establishment being a missionary Church, and of the expansive force of Protestantism; they might as well talk of the expansive force of bishops' purses. And he begged to read to the House an extract from a Parliamentary document, which would give some idea of the fortunes left by Irish prelates; it was a return of the probates of the wills of several Irish bishops; it had been before read collectively, but he would now give it in detail. The hon. Member then read the following document to the House:—

PROBATES OF WILLS OF IRISH BISHOPS.

		£.
Stopford, Bishop of Cork	..	25,000
Percy, Bishop of Dromore	..	40,000
Cleaver, Bishop of Ferns	..	50,000
Bernard, Bishop of Limerick	..	60,000
Knox, Bishop of Killaloe	..	100,000
Fowler, Bishop of Dublin	..	150,000

	£.
Beresford, Bishop of Tuam ..	250,000
Hawkins, Bishop of Raphoe ..	250,000
Stuart, Bishop of Armagh ..	300,000
Porter, Bishop of Clogher ..	250,000
Agar, Bishop of Cashel ..	400,000
Making a total of ..	£1,875,000

in the course of forty or fifty years. What was the evidence of Dr. Doyle, given in March, 1825? He said that he respected the Established Church more than any other in the universe that was separated from the Roman Catholic religion; but he thought that the amount of its property was prejudicial to the interests of that Church, as well as to the interests of the country. He thought that no man not warped by prejudice would dissent from that opinion. The hon. Member for Newcastle-under-Lyme had given as a reason for objecting to the grant to Maynooth, that it met with the approbation of Mr. O'Connell; and had made a petty squabble with that hon. Gentleman a ground for denying this grant to a great nation. Now, he considered the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. O'Connell) to be a far-seeing and sagacious statesman. He remembered the time when a Viceroy of Ireland had been put into Coventry because, agreeing with Mr. O'Connell in some points, he had acted on that opinion; and now, notwithstanding this, they had a Prime Minister who made it a matter of congratulation that he had sent a message of peace to Ireland, and who was ready to be dragged at the chariot-wheels of a "convicted conspirator." On a late occasion, when he addressed the House, it was his intention to vote against the Government proposition, not because he objected to its policy, but because he objected to taking the money from the Consolidated Fund, inasmuch as a great portion of the people of this country were unwilling that their money should be applied to Roman Catholic purposes. He confessed, however, that in the course of that debate he was very much shaken in his intention, when he heard the speech of the hon. Member for Kent, who in a very courteous and bland manner held out damnation to all his Roman Catholic fellow-subjects. That speech first made him pause in his intention; but when the hon. Member for Elgin succeeded, and last of all, when another hon. Gentleman (Mr. Spooner), whose claims to an infallibility and hardihood of reasoning might well qualify him for a Birmingham Pope,—when that hon. Member rose and pronounced the religion of three-fourths of Ireland an awful delusion, he should not have liked, by voting with that hon. Gentleman, to have countenanced so gross an insult to Ireland. He would tell the hon. Gentleman that it was better to be insane in his charity, than rational in his malice; and he would refer him to a passage in Burke, where it was said, that in many points they of the Established Church agreed with the Roman Catholic Church; and that if mere dissent were meritorious, then he that dissented altogether from the Christian religion was most Protestant. He saw the hon. Gentleman turning up his eyes at this, as if the hon. Gentleman pitied him for what he was saying; but he asked the House whether his words were not more the words of charity than those which had fallen from the lips of the hon. Gentleman? There appeared to be a coalition between the extreme "voluntaries" on that (the Opposition) side, and the enthusiastic "involuntaries" on the other; but supposing they were to succeed in throwing out the present measure, and upsetting the Government, what sort of Administration, he should like to know, would they be able to form? Probably the hon. Member for Durham would be appointed Secretary at War, while the Great Seal would be tendered to the hon. and learned Member for Cambridge University, whose "dramatic readings" had lately afforded so much amusement to the House. He had now some personal interest in Ireland, and he tendered his thanks to the right hon. Home Secretary for the noble and statesmanlike speech he made on a late occasion. That speech had done more good in softening the feelings of the Irish people than any other speech which had been delivered. The Government of Ireland had too long depended on the chances and changes of parties in that House. He hoped now that a new light had dawned on that country—but he feared that there would be no ultimate settlement of the Irish question until the Irish Church was put on a different footing.

Viscount *Bernard* said, the noble Lord the Member for Sunderland had asked what would be the fate of the Irish Church, were it to be decided by an Irish Parliament sitting in Dublin? Now, he would ask the noble Lord, and he would ask the

House, what would be the fate of the Act of Settlement itself—what would be the fate of Protestant property—what would be the prospect of that illustrious infant Prince on whom the affections of the country were centred, in the hope that at some far distant day he would rule over the country—what would the prospects of that illustrious Prince be if an Irish Parliament were to sit in Dublin? He would not trespass upon their patience for more than a few moments. But after the attack which the hon. Member who had just sat down had made upon the Protestant clergy, he must allude to it. The hon. Member had alluded to the wills of past bishops; why did he not allude to the conduct of the bishops of the present day—to the munificent piety of the Archbishop of Armagh, who had spent 1,700*l.* in restoring the cathedral of Armagh, and in supplying the deficiencies of the Church of Ireland. It was not denied that the clergy of the present day performed their sacred functions with a zeal and attention and an assiduity which could not be improved. Gentlemen talked of having an equality of churches, but how was it possible to achieve that? Sure they might destroy the Protestant Church, and defray the expense of the Roman Catholic Church with its spoils; but he would defy them by that means to produce equality. Wherever there was a larger number, that larger number would have the greater power. He would not go into the subject further, but he would appeal to the House—he would appeal to the country—to maintain inviolate the property of the United Established Churches of England and Ireland.

Mr. *Ellice* (Coventry) rose principally to set himself right with the House, with respect to a statement made by his right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department, in the course of his speech last evening. But before he did so, he wished to say, in a few words, that he cordially supported the present Motion. He should have been at some loss to do so, if he thought it would in any way have interfered with the success of the measure which Her Majesty's Government had introduced. But, inasmuch as he saw that it was practicable to come to such a vote without injuring the progress of that measure, and as he thought it essential upon this, probably the first step in a new course of ecclesiastical polity in respect to Ireland, to make a protest, so far as he was able, against taking from the taxes of the country means for the support of any ecclesiastical establishment in Ireland, he thought it right for that reason, and more especially on this occasion, to vote for the Motion of his hon. Friend the Member for Sheffield. He need not detain the House with going over the grounds over which his hon. Friend had so ably gone, nor need he attempt, in worse language, to repeat the arguments which had been concentrated in the powerful speech of his right hon. Friend the Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Macaulay)—a speech which, followed as it had been by the speech of his noble Friend the Member for the city of London (Lord John Russell), and the speech of his noble Friend the Member for Sunderland (Lord Howick), had completely exhausted the subject. To those speeches, complaining as they did of the Irish Church Establishment, no answer had been attempted to be given from any quarter of the House. Her Majesty's Government had stated that it was impossible for them to concur with him (Mr. Ellice) and his hon. Friend the Member for Sheffield upon this subject; but in giving that opinion they had assigned no reason which could show to the House or the country that they had the least security of being able to stand where they were. They had taken the first step in a progression which must go on, let who would occupy the seat of Government. He had always taken a very anxious interest in this subject. More than twenty years ago he seconded a proposition of the hon. Member for Montrose (Mr. Hume) for the appointment of a Committee to inquire into the state of the Irish Church, his hon. Friend making at that time the same statement which the hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Ward) had made in support of the Motion now before the House. Upon every subsequent occasion (he Mr. Ellice) followed the same course; and when he came into the Government of Earl Grey, which his right hon. Friend (Sir James Graham) left, he then declared his opinion upon this subject as distinctly as language could express it. He therefore could not undertand where his right hon. Friend (Sir James Graham) had been able to discover any statement made by him on his coming into the Government of Lord Grey that differed from the principle of the Motion now before the House, or to the terms of the proposition which at that time led to a change of the

Government. He at that time stated that there was no intention on the part of the Government to take from the Protestant Church in Ireland means for founding a Roman Catholic Establishment in Ireland. The Government had not then obtained sufficient information to judge as to what purposes or to what extent they could make an appropriation of the property that might be derived from the surplus of the revenue of the Established Church. But when the right hon. Gentleman (Sir James Graham) left office, a Commission was appointed, in order to enable the Government to devise proper measures upon this subject. He forgot the precise statement made by the head of the late Government on that occasion; but although he refused to admit the intention of the Government to apply any surplus, if there were any, of the fund belonging to the Protestant Church to any particular object apart from that Church, he still maintained the power of the Government and the State to apply such surplus to any purpose which might be deemed expedient by Parliament. With respect to his own language, he remembered perfectly well that, on a debate arising respecting the settlement of the tithe question in Ireland, brought forward by the present Lord Hatherton, who was then Secretary for that country, he, in the course of it, took occasion to lament the loss which the Government had sustained by the retirement of his right hon. Friend opposite (Sir J. Graham) and his noble Friend the now Secretary for the Colonies (Lord Stanley). He (Mr. Ellice) thought then, as he thought now, that their retirement, under the circumstances of the case, and considering the principle upon which they placed their retirement, was more detrimental to the cause of good government and to the progress of good government in Ireland, than it was possible to describe. The Government of that day had a large party of friends and supporters in the House of Commons. The Irish people were at that time disposed to accept the conciliatory measures then proposed; and if at that period the Government of the day could have gone on unitedly in the course of policy in which they had embarked, it was his conviction that a very different state of affairs would have existed in Ireland than what they had now the misfortune to witness. In stating his regret at the retirement of his right hon. Friend and of his noble Friend, he found, on referring to the records of their proceedings—to which he himself contributed but little—that he used these terms, which afforded a remarkable confirmation of the statement which he was now making:—

> " For what has this sacrifice been made (alluding to the loss of his two right hon. Friends), but that the Government should be enabled to act upon one principle, and to avow that principle now before the House—"

(That was the Irish Tithe Bill.) Upon some cheers being made, he (Mr. Ellice) observed :—

> " I scarcely know how to interpret that cheer coming from the quarter it does. But if it means that the Government is not united and determined to act consistently with its declarations, I say that if I had thought there had been the least difference upon one principle amongst those who formed the new Government, and that principle was the one of advising the fit application of the surplus revenues of the Church of Ireland to purposes not dissimilar from those stated in the Resolution of the hon. Member for St. Alban's, I would have been the last man to have joined it."

He thought that language was sufficiently decided to show the House that his opinions had never swerved, and to those opinions he still adhered. He thought, encouraged as they must be by the new system of liberality adopted by Her Majesty's Government towards the people of Ireland, they ought not to go too steadily forward. To the first step in that progress he should give his most cordial support, though he at the same time felt himself perfectly at liberty to enter his protest by voting in favour of the Motion of his hon. Friend the Member for Sheffield against the principle of taking money for such a purpose as was now contemplated (when it could be taken from other sources), which was contributed by the taxation imposed on the people of Great Britain.

Mr. *E. B. Roche* said, that he could not but admit that the measure proposed by the right hon. Baronet in respect to Maynooth was a good one as far as it went. It was a measure that was introduced, he believed, in a good, an honest, and a kind spirit; and for that reason he regretted that the Protestant Church in Ireland should have been brought forward on this occasion. He regretted it the more because, urged by old and long-entertained principles, he should give his vote in favour of the Motion of the hon. Member for Sheffield. The question of the Irish Church was not, after all, as important a question now as it was some years since. It was not regarded by the Irish people now with much anxiety, because, in the first place, the question was overlaid in the Irish mind by another measure which absorbed it, and which, he believed, was a much more important question; and in the second place, the people of Ireland had seen this question of Church reform trifled with by parties on his side of the House before, and therefore they did not believe that even the present advocates for it were quite sincere in their proposals for reform. This was the general feeling of the people of Ireland. He admitted that they were quite wrong in this impression. He had no doubt that the hon. Member for Sheffield was quite sincere in the course he was taking. At the same time the people of Ireland had seen this question taken up apparently with great spirit, by leading parties in this House; and after it had served the purposes of party it was laid down very quietly. He regretted that the question should be introduced on the present occasion, because he thought it would be much better that the other question should be first disposed of by itself. He regarded the Irish Church as a great abuse, and he deplored the existence of that abuse in his country. He could not forget that it was the great bone of contention which divided parties in Ireland; and he felt the greatest regret at its being brought forward now, inasmuch as it prevented all parties in his country from uniting together for the common good of their common country. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Dublin University was in great tribulation about the Irish Protestant Church, in case the Union should be repealed, and Irish questions should come to be settled by Irishmen; but he (Mr. Roche) asked him, whether, after the speeches made to night by the Whig leaders, he thought, that if they came into power, they would grant very flattering terms to the Irish Church. Let him (the hon. Member) well consider whether Irishmen in Ireland could not settle this Irish question more fairly and honestly for both parties, and more honourably for themselves, than when they were obliged to come to this country, which the hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin admitted in his speech to be a foreign country. That hon. Gentleman, in strengthening his arguments, said, that if they took from them the Church, they would lose the support of that party which he represented, which party, he added, was a garrison existing in a foreign and a hostile country. He had listened with feelings of humiliation when he heard a fellow countryman obliged to make such an admission. [Mr. *G. A. Hamilton;* I did not say so.] He therefore retracted the words; but the hon. Gentleman certainly used the words "a British garrison in a hostile country." He would tell the hon. Gentleman that if there was any hostility shown, it was all on one side. The people of Ireland did not regard him or his party with hostile feelings: they regarded the prejudices by which he was actuated with feelings of horror and contempt, but undoubtedly they did not regard their fellow countrymen with anything like feelings of hostility; and many of them hoped that a blessed day would yet come when they should all unite together for the common good of the common country. The right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government had certainly received a large support of his measure of endowment for Maynooth; but let him remind the right hon. Baronet that all the support which he received from that side of the House did not originate from a sacrifice entirely of party to principle. Honest men supported his measure because they considered it to be just; and those who were not honest, because it was expedient. Amongst the lower grades of the Whig party there were murmurs and reports of a coalition. Many persons indulged in the idea that the noble Lord the Member for London, and the right hon. Baronet opposite, would yet be found hobnobbing together at a Cabinet dinner. What a scene would that be for the talented Gentleman who had constituted himself the historical painter of the House of Commons! They all remembered the story of Antony and Octavius dividing the empire amongst their immediate followers. In this case too, as of old, there would not only be spoils to be divided, but former friends to be proscribed. There would be the noble Lord the Member for London devoting to destruction his old ally the learned Member for Cork; the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government, satisfying an ancient hatred against his highly talented Friend the Member for Shrewsbury; and the Home Secretary demanding the blood of his former friend and present enemy, the energetic Member for Finsbury. All those dreams were based on the hopes that Ireland would acquiesce in this coalition—that

Ireland would be tempted by paltry bribes to sacrifice and to give up her allegiance to the cause in which she was embarked. He told the right hon. Baronet, in a candid spirit, that such would not be the case; that he would not be able to tempt Ireland by single measures of this kind. He must give her ample and full justice; for the people were embarked in a cause which they considered to be just and good. He believed that they were entitled, upon every principle of truth and justice, to a domestic Legislature. They should listen to their demands—they should argue this question with them—they should convince them that they were wrong, or concede their rights; the people of Ireland were not now to be intimidated. They should recollect how the aspects of things were changed in that country—that there had sprung up a body of men in that country who commanded the confidence, the attention, and the admiration of the Irish people. They had declared that Ireland would never be satisfied with anything short of a domestic Legislature; and if the Government of this country reckoned without these men, they reckoned without their host. He wished that this question would be settled amicably and fairly. He wished that the right hon. Baronet, who had great powers and great personal weight in the country, would come forward and settle this question upon a firm and enduring basis; but it was his duty to tell him, that nothing short of what he had already mentioned would satisfy the Irish people.

Viscount *Palmerston:* Sir, I can assure the House that I shall detain them but for a very few moments from that division to which they are anxious to go; for it is not my intention to go into any of those extraneous topics which have been treated of by hon. Gentlemen who have taken part in this debate, and which have not immediately borne upon the question we are now discussing. Sufficient, I think, for the debate is the question thereof. And the Motion of the hon. Gentleman raises a question of sufficient importance to render it unnecessary for us upon this occasion to debate the Bill which is now passing through this House. Sir, if my hon. Friend had brought forward his Motion at the time and under the circumstances in which he first gave notice of it, I should have felt it my duty to vote against him, unwilling as I should have been to take any step which should, by any remote possibility, have endangered the safety of the Bill, for the success of which I had a very great anxiety. But the course he has taken will enable me to give him my support; and I give it believing that those who oppose the Bill do not mean to take advantage of the fitful opportunity which his Motion gives them of dividing with him on this question for the first time. But the question which my hon. Friend has brought under the consideration of the House is this—whether the funds which are required for the purposes of the Bill are to be taken from the Consolidated Fund, or from reductions to be made in the Establishment of the Irish Church? I shall be prepared to vote for their being taken from the Consolidated Fund, if the Motion of my hon. Friend shall be rejected. But I have no hesitation in saying that I should prefer taking the course proposed by my hon. Friend, and on that account I shall give him my vote on this occasion. The first question that arises is, whether there can be such a surplus created out of the revenues of the Irish Church, after providing for the proper service of that Church for the Protestant portion of the Irish people? Can there be made such a reduction in the revenues of the Church as will afford the means of providing the sum required? I think nobody who has heard the statements made in this debate, with regard to the present condition of the Irish Church, can for a moment doubt that, after every provision which can be required for the proper discharge of the duties of that Establishment, ample funds might be found for the purposes to which my hon. Friend would apply them. Well then, Sir, is Parliament authorized to make that application? Why, I think no man who has voted for the Church Temporalities Bill can for a moment doubt or dispute that Parliament has that power. I hold that the revenues of the Church belong, or at least in the manner stated by the right hon. the Secretary for the Home Department last night—they are property held in trust by the State for uses; but, if those uses are satisfied—if the revenues are greater than are required for the proper performance of those uses—then I contend, and those who brought and supported the Church Temporalities Bill must also admit, that the State is authorized to make such other applications of that surplus as may, in the opinion of the State, be most analogous to the uses for which that revenue at present exists. Therefore, Sir, upon the same principle on which I voted for that principle of appropriating the surplus revenue of the Irish Church to the purposes of general education, I am prepared to vote for the application of any such surplus to the service of the College of Maynooth. Now, I know I shall be met by some one saying that this is a step beyond the Appropriation Clause; that the application contemplated by the Appropriation Clause was an application for education common to Protestants and Catholics; and that this College of Maynooth is an establishment confined necessarily to Catholics alone. But was that principle wholly repudiated by the Church Temporalities Bill? We did not in that Bill contemplate the application of any surplus to religious Catholic purposes. But was not a large amount destined to be applied to the relief of the Catholic portion of the population of Ireland? Why, when you relieved the Catholics from the Church cess, and applied the surplus of the Protestant revenues to the repair and maintenance of the fabrics of the Church, you did apply that surplus partly to Catholic purposes, because you relieved the Catholic population from a tax to which they had been subject. And you went a step further, I should be justified in saying, for by relieving them from that tax you made them more able to contribute to the support of their own religion. But, whether that principle was then affirmed or not, I am prepared to support it. I hold that the revenues of the Church of Ireland were primarily destined for the religious instruction of the people of Ireland; and if it be shown to me that the religious instruction of that portion of the people by whom those revenues are now possessed does not require support to the full extent to which those revenues go, I should not feel any difficulty in applying any portion that might be wanted for other purposes; not indirectly to the support of persons intended to be instructors, but directly to a use analogous to that for which they are now employed, directly in aid of the religious instruction of the people of Ireland. Therefore I am not to be deterred from giving this vote by the apprehension that any Gentleman may entertain, that if you once establish this principle, and apply to the College of Maynooth any surplus revenue by the reduction of the Protestant Establishment, you thereby lead to the ultimate consequence of the endowment of the Irish Catholic priesthood. Sir, in my opinion, that is a question which will necessarily press itself upon this House. Sir, it is impossible, in my opinion, that the present state of things in Ireland, in regard to the two establishments of the two different sects in Ireland, can be permanent. You have a population of 8,000,000, of which nearly 7,000,000 are of one religion, the Catholic, and the remainder of a different religion, the Protestant religion. You have a large Church Establishment, which is appropriated to the instruction of only half of that Protestant minority. You pay, you contribute, at least, by an annual grant to the religious instruction of the remaining portion of the Protestant minority. Can you possibly contemplate such a state of things as lasting? Is it possible that you regard as permanent the arrangement that 6,500,000 or 7,000,000 of the poorest portion of the people of Ireland are to receive their religious instruction from a priesthood dependent upon the eleemosynary contributions of their flock, going from door to door, from farm to farm, and from cabin to cabin, to collect the wretched and precarious sums of which their income is composed? Sir, I say that, in my opinion, whatever may be the feeling of any portion of this House, and of (as I admit it to be) the people of this country upon that subject, a provision by the State for the Catholic priesthood is a measure to which the Government and this House will at no distant period be compelled by their sense of justice to proceed. The great mistake made by Governments, not only in this country but every where, is to be too late in the measures which they adopt. For a long time their own prejudices—for a long time the prejudices of their supporters—prevent them from coming to that resolution to which each individual among them perhaps foresees that he shall be obliged to come. In the meanwhile, discussions enlighten the public mind; the grievance which exists creates discontent, and leads to the expression of it; at last the force of argument produces conviction, and the Government comes down with its measure, but comes when the time of proposing it with effect is gone by; and that concession which may be—no doubt on the present occasion it is—the result of conviction, and the spontaneous offering of modified opinions and a sense of justice, wears to the public all the appearance of a surrender to fear. It is so dealt with by those to whom it is made: and on the present occasion, though I wish to abstain from anything that may savour of criticism upon the past conduct of the Government, I must say that I join in that regret which has been avowed by others, that expressions which were recently used by the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel) were calculated to convey the impression, which I have no doubt he did not intend to convey, that this measure was as much prompted by a consideration of State necessity as it was the result of the conviction of the Government founded upon argument and upon considerations of justice and sound principle. Sir, I conjure the Government not to be deterred by any of the difficulties into which this measure has brought them from going on in the path of which they have announced that this is only the commencement; but I do conjure them not to delay. I conjure them to lose no time in bringing forward those other measures, which I am convinced they must have in their minds, as a sequel to this Bill about Maynooth. There are many other questions of great importance, with a view to conciliate the goodwill of the people of Ireland. If the Government take advantage of the present moment to bring forward measures calculated to redress all the grievances of which the Irish people have just reason to complain, they may then hope that at no distant time they will be able to disband that British "garrison," of which we have heard as stationed in "a hostile nation;" but if they delay those further measures, if they think they can rest upon this one and single Bill—if they imagine that the temporary contentment which it may produce will be sufficient to accomplish the purpose which, as entrusted with the government of this great country, they ought steadily to keep in view, they may depend upon it they will be mistaken. This measure will then be justly considered as one yielded to apprehension, instead of being the result of altered convictions. On the other hand, if they pursue that course, of which this measure is stated to be the commencement, they may be the means of doing as much good to Ireland in future as, in my humble opinion, the conduct of that party of which they are the leaders has in former times been productive of mischief.

Mr. *Sidney Herbert*: Sir, I will detain the House only while I say a very few words. I will not enter into the question of the Protestant Church Establishment; I will make no allusion even to the time chosen by the hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Ward), though I do most deeply regret that this question should have been brought forward now, when, as I think, it will be very much misunderstood in Ireland, and when it will be most unfortunate that the unanimity which might have prevailed among the leaders of parties upon the measure now in the House, will be disturbed by the introduction of the expression of an abstract principle, which has no necessary reference to the measure itself —which is of necessity a barren principle at best, because the only effect it could have (were it successful) would be to destroy that measure itself. I should hope that this system of introducing barren assertions of principle into practical measures, had already led to so much inconvenience in the hands of the hon. Gentleman himself, that he would have been the last person to propose it. He might well recollect, that for three years a measure admitted by both sides of this House to be of paramount necessity for the tranquillization of Ireland, was delayed through the annual production of that suicidal course which so long hindered the settlement of the tithe question, and prolonged all the evils, all the animosities, and I fear, likewise, all the crime which tithe agitation produced. But I am led upon this occasion more especially to call the attention of the House to a statement which was made last night, and has been repeated this evening, in spite of the emphatic contradiction from the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel)—namely, that this measure has been brought forward, not from any sense of justice, not from any preconceived opinion of its fitness for the state of Ireland, or of the effect it would have in tranquillizing that country, but that it has been extorted by fear and through alarm created by the state of our foreign relations. I think it was shown by the dates adduced last night, that this measure was contemplated—nay, more, that it was already put into shape, long before any question arose respecting Oregon. It was stated first, that it was announced at the commencement of the Session, long before any suspicion existed in this country that the negotiation with regard to the territorial boundaries of North America, might be any subject of difference, or of anything but amicable arrangement. It was stated further, that this Bill was actually drawn, and the Roman Catholic authorities in Ireland consulted upon it, so long back as November last. I say more—that during last Session, when the discussion took place upon the Vote on Education, and likewise on the grant for Maynooth upon the introduction of the subject by the right hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. Wyse), and upon his calling the attention of the Government to it in a speech on the subject of the deficiency of academical education in Ireland, my right hon. Friend (Sir R. Peel) stated that this matter was already under the consideration of the Government; and it was only the lateness of the Session, and the unwillingness to risk hasty legislation upon a subject so important, so necessary to the prosperity of Ireland, and so much involving religious feelings, that prevented him from then proposing a measure to the House. I can speak to a still further date; for communications were made to me by Members of the Government in private in reference to this very measure, and I was aware that it was contemplated. I say, therefore, that nothing can be more contrary to the facts, than to insinuate this unworthy motive—a motive which I think would be disgraceful to the character of the Government, and one which I am most anxious to repel, not only because I think it would produce an impression most unfavourable to those who conduct the Government, but likewise because I think, if that opinion were to gain ground, it would greatly diminish the good effect to be hoped from the measure. I very much regret, therefore, that the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Macaulay) should have so studiously fixed this imputation upon the Government in forgetfulness of all these facts. I regret it much, because it appears to me that he was thinking less of the benefit this measure might produce to Ireland, than of the degree of party advantage which might be gained from it. [*Cheers.*] I perfectly understand the cheers of hon. Gentlemen opposite; but I draw a great distinction between the course which the Whig party has pursued upon this occasion, and the course which has been taken by one, I believe only one, exception to that rule. I am as willing as any man to admit frankly, and to express the thanks of the Government for the disinterested support given to them on a measure they believe to be right; I have no unwillingness to acknowlege generous conduct from public opponents; but when I see the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Macaulay) taking a course so diametrically opposite to that pursued by the noble Lord (Lord J. Russell), I cannot but express my opinion that the studious ingenuity with which he tried to distort the motives, and assign the influence of cowardice and fear rather than of a sense of justice, does entitle me to express my regret that such expressions have been used, and attempts made apparently to injure the success of this measure in Ireland. I must say that if this opinion could be generated in Ireland, that the measure has been extorted by fear, all the advantage of it would be lost. And if, through that means, its healing qualities as a measure of tranquillization should be impaired, let the responsibility rest upon that right hon. Gentleman who has laboured to produce the effect. If, on the contrary, the anticipations of the Government shall be realized, and if it does produce a better feeling, a more attached feeling to the state of the Roman Catholic priesthood, then I say the right hon. Gentleman will, at any rate, have this consolation, that he has not been so far wanting in the duties of Opposition as to have in any way contributed to the tranquillization of that country. But I allude to the subject likewise for this reason, that I think it would be most unfair to attempt to claim for the leaders of Conciliation Hall the credit of a measure which, I must say, I attribute to persons of a very different description. I have already stated that this measure was first announced in answer to a speech made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Waterford; and if, from any external cause whatever, this measure has been quickened, then I say that it is due to those gentlemen in Ireland, those Roman Catholic gentlemen, and Roman Catholic prelates, who, not fearing the consequences of exposing themselves to great obloquy, and to great misrepresentation, and much abuse in times of excitement, have nobly stood aloof from that agitation, have refused any partnership in measures which they disapproved, and have shown that if a Government is determined to bring forward just measures, not as bribes, not as concessions, but because they believed them to be right, there is a Roman Catholic party, there are Roman Catholic gentlemen, there are Roman Catholic prelates, who are anxious to give the force of their example and of their influence for the promotion of prosperity and good order in Ireland. Sir, I undertook to speak very shortly; but I was anxious to vindicate the Government from these charges; I was anxious to vindicate them from the charge of inconsistency in bringing forward this measure, which, in my opinion, is one which they would have suported when in Opposition, as they now carry it when in Government. I was anxious likewise to vindicate them from the imputations of having extorted from them by menace, or by fear of foreign troubles, that which their own sense of justice would not have prompted them to yield. I beg the House to recollect that when agitation was rife in Ireland, when danger did exist, that was not the moment the Government chose for bringing forward this measure; that violations of the law were repressed by the law; and then, when a comparative state of tranquillity was secured, they did think it in conformity with their professions of governing Ireland with equal justice, to introduce measures in redemption of their pledge. I trust that in Ireland they will be received in the same spirit in which they are proposed; and of this I am sure that, whatever be the obloquy which may attach to the Government in this behalf, be it the railings of Exeter Hall, or the more brilliant and polished vituperation of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Edinburgh, neither the one nor the other will deter them from doing that which their conscience tells them is necessary for the tranquillization of Ireland, and necessary, therefore, for the cementing together of the two countries.

Sir *H. W. Barron* said, it was a remarkable fact, that although that debate had continued for two nights, not one single Irish Roman Catholic had risen to express his opinion on the question before the House. As an Irish Roman Catholic Member, he could not vote that night without previousl tendering his thanks to the Government for the manner in which they had brought forward the question with regard to Maynooth. No man in that House had given to them a more firm, decided, manly and open opposition than he had done at all times and under all circumstances. But when he found them adopting a course which was diametrically opposed to the policy by which they had obtained power, he was willing to tender to them, in the name of his constituents and of the people of Ireland, with whose feelings he was well acquainted, his most sincere thanks. He thought that, consistently with this feeling, he could not vote for the Motion of his hon. Friend the Member for Sheffield. He conceived that it would be ingratitude towards the Government, and inconsistent with the respect which he entertained for the object which they had in view, and the manner in which they had brought the measure forward, if he were to vote otherwise than he intended. The Motion of his hon. Friend was inopportune now. He had been for many years in favour of increasing the grant to Maynooth. When he was told that it was the people of England who rendered this grant necessary, by maintaining the Protestant Church in Ireland, he wished to show them by his vote to-night that if they were determined to maintain the Protestant Church they must pay for it. The only way to bring it to their minds, and feelings, and senses, was by letting them know that while there was such an Establishment there they must pay for it, and must themselves suffer for maintaining it. It was notorious, notwithstanding the assertion of the noble Lord the Member for Bandon, that the Protestant Church was in possession of what had been for hundreds of years Church property — that the small minority, by force of British bayonets and corruption, extorted it from the Catholics. And now the people of England, and the British House of Commons, were determined to sustain a rich Church for the small minority, and for the richer portion of the people, while they allowed the great majority, who were, moreover, the poorest people in Europe, to support their own Church by their own voluntary contributions. But if they persevered in this course, they must pay for it, and must be made to feel that they paid for it. It was only by such means the injustice of maintaining such a Church could be brought home to their minds. He would not now answer the taunts against the Catholics of Ireland contained not only in the disgraceful petitions presented to this House, but also in the speeches delivered in this House, They had been taunted with every species of disgraceful conduct, profession, and belief. More unfounded calumnies were never uttered. When did they hear that the Catholics of Ireland made use of language such as that made use of in Exeter Hall—even in this House? Did the Catholics taunt the Members of the House with such disgraceful epithets, or turn round and call them heretics? The calumnies against the Catholics of Ireland expressed not only by those petitioners, but by their Representatives in this House, showed that, however much they might talk of religion and charity, they had none of either in their hearts [" Oh! oh! divide"]. He could only say, in justification of himself, and he believed he was expressing the opinion of the great majority of the Catholics of Ireland, that if the Government should follow up this measure by similar measures of justice towards the Irish people, they would be found to be the easiest governed people on the face of the globe. You cannot govern them by the sword—you can by justice. Only follow up this grant to Maynooth by similar acts of common sense and common justice—and you will find Ireland the right arm of England in the hour of danger, and proud to stand by her in the hour of her necessity.

The House divided, on the Question that the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:—Ayes, 322; Noes, 148: Majority, 174.

List of the AYES.

Ackers, J.
Acland, Sir T. D.
Acland, T. D.
A'Court, Capt.
Acton, Col.
Adderley, C. B.
Ainsworth, P.
Alexander, N.
Alford, Visct.
Allix, J. P.
Arbuthnott, hon. H.
Archbold, R.
Archdall, Capt. M.
Arkwright, G.
Arundel and Surrey, Earl of
Ashley, Lord
Astell, W.
Bailey, J.
Bailey, J. jun.
Baillie, Col.
Baillie, H. J
Baird, W.
Baldwin, B.
Bankes, G.
Baring, rt. hon. F. T.
Baring, T.
Baring, rt. hon. W. B.
Barneby, J.
Barrington, Visct.
Barron, Sir H. W.
Bateson, T.
Beckett, W.
Bell, M.
Benbow, J.
Bentinck, Lord G.
Beresford, Major
Bernard, Visct.
Blackburne, J. I.
Blackstone, W. S.
Blakemore, R.
Bodkin, W. H.
Boldero, H. G.
Borthwick, P.
Botfield, B.
Bowles, Adm.
Boyd, J.
Bradshaw, J.
Bramston, T. W.
Brisco, M.
Broadley, H.
Broadwood, H.
Brooke, Sir A. B.
Browne, hon. W.
Brownrigg, J. S.
Bruce, Lord E.
Bruce, C. L. C.
Bruen, Col.
Bruges, W. H. L.
Buck, L. W.
Buckley, E.
Buller, Sir J. Y.
Bunbury, T.
Burrell, Sir C. M.
Burroughes, H. N.
Cardwell, E.
Carew, W. H. P.
Carnegie, hon. Capt.
Castlereagh, Visct.
Chapman, A.
Charteris, hon. F.
Chelsea, Visct.
Chetwode, Sir J.
Cholmondeley, hon. H.
Christopher, R. A.
Chute, W. L. W.
Clayton, R. R.
Clerk, rt. hon. Sir G.
Clifton, J. T.
Clive, Visct.
Cockburn, rt. hn. Sir G.
Codrington, Sir W.
Cole, hon. H. A.
Colebrooke, Sir T. E.
Collett, W. R.
Colquhoun, J. C.
Colvile, C. R.
Compton, H. C.
Conolly, Col.
Coote, Sir C. H.
Copeland, Ald.
Corry, rt. hon. H.
Courtenay, Lord
Cowper, hon. W. F.
Cresswell, B.
Cripps, W.
Damer, hon. Col.
Darby, G.
Davies, D. A. S.
Dawnay, hon. W. H.
Deedes, W.
Denison, E. B.
Dick, Q.
Dickinson, F. H.
Douglas, Sir H.
Douglas, Sir C. E.
Douglas, J. D. S.
Dowdeswell, W.
Drummond, H. H.
Dugdale, W. S.
Duncombe, hon. O.
Du Pre, C. G.
East, J. B.
Eastnor, Visct.
Egerton, Sir P.
Egerton, Lord F.
Emlyn, Visct.
Entwisle, W.
Escott, B.
Estcourt, T. G. B.
Feilden, W.
Fellowes, E.
Ferguson, Sir R. A.
Ferrand, W. B.
Fitzmaurice, hon. W.
Fitzroy, hon. H.
Flower, Sir J.
Ffolliott, J.
Forbes, W.
Forman, T. S.
Fox, S. L.
Fremantle, rt. hn. Sir T.
Fuller, A. E.
Gaskell, J. Milnes
Gladstone, rt. hn. W. E.
Gladstone, Capt.
Godson, R.
Gordon, hon. Capt.
Gore, M.
Gore, W. O.
Gore, W. R. O.
Goulburn, rt. hon. H.
Graham, rt hn. Sir J.
Granby, Marquess of
Greene, T.
Gregory, W. H.
Grimsditch, T.
Grimston, Visct.
Grogan, E.
Hale, R. B.
Halford, Sir H.
Hamilton, J. H.
Hamilton, G. A.
Hamilton, W. J.
Hamilton, Lord C.
Hampden, R.
Hanmer, Sir J.
Harcourt, G. G.
Harris, hon. Capt.
Hayes, Sir E.
Heathcoat, G. J.
Heathcote, Sir W.
Heneage, G. H. W.
Henley, J. W.
Henniker, Lord
Hepburn, Sir T. B.
Herbert, rt. hon. S.
Hervey, Lord A.
Hinde, J. H.
Hodgson, F.
Hogg, J. W.
Holmes, hn. W. A'C.
Hope, hon. C.
Hope, A.
Hope, G. W.
Hornby, J.
Hotham, Lord
Howard, P. H.
Hughes, W. B.
Hussey, A.
Hussey, T.
Ingestre, Visct.
Inglis, Sir R. H.
Irton, S.
James, Sir W. C.
Jermyn, Earl
Jocelyn, Visct.
Johnstone, Sir J.
Johnstone, H.
Jolliffe, Sir W. G. H.
Jones, Capt.
Kelly, F. R.
Kemble, H.
Knight, H. G.
Knightley, Sir C.
Law, hon. C. E.
Lawson, A.
Lefroy, A.
Legh, G. C.
Lemon, Sir C.
Lennox, Lord A.
Leslie, C. P.
Liddell, hon. H. T.
Lincoln, Earl of
Listowel, Earl of
Lockart, W.
Lowther, Sir J. H.
Lyall, G.
Lygon, hon. Gen.
Mackenzie, T.
Mackinnon, W. A.
Maclean, D.
McGeachy, F. A.
McNeill, D.
Mahon, Visct.
Mainwaring, T.
Manners, Lord C. S.
Manners, Lord J.
March, Earl of
Martin, C. W.
Martin, T. B.
Marton, G.
Masterman, J.
Maunsell, T. P.
Maxwell, hon. J. P.
Meynell, Capt.
Mildmay, H. St. J.
Milnes, R. M.
Mordaunt, Sir J.
Morgan, O.
Morris, D.
Mundy, E. M.

Neeld, J.
Neeld, J.
Neville, R.
Newdegate, C. N.
Newport, Visct.
Newry, Visct.
Nicholl, rt. hon. J.
Norreys, Lord
Northland, Visct.
O'Brien, A. S.
Ossulston, Lord
Oswald, A.
Owen, Sir J.
Packe, C. W.
Pakington, J. S.
Palmer, R.
Patten, J. W.
Peel, rt. hon. Sir R.
Peel, J.
Pennant, hon. Col.
Philipps, Sir R. B. P.
Pigot, Sir R.
Plumptre, J. P.
Polhill, F.
Powell, Col.
Praed, W. T.
Pringle, A.
Pusey, P.
Rawdon, Col.
Reid, Sir J. R.
Repton, G. W. J.
Richards, R.
Rolleston, Col.
Round, J.
Rous, hon. Capt.
Rumbold, C. E.
Rushbrooke, Col.
Russell, C.
Ryder, hon. G. D.
Sanderson, R.
Sandon, Visct.
Seymour, Sir H. B.
Shelburne, Earl of
Sheridan, R. B.
Shirley, E. J.
Shirley, E. P.
Sibthorp, Col.
Smith, A.
Smith, rt. hon. T. B. C.
Smythe, hon. G.
Smollett, A.
Somerset, Lord G.
Somerton, Visct.
Somes, J.
Sotheron, T. H. S.
Spooner, R.
Standish, C.
Stanley, E.
Staunton, Sir G. T.
Stewart, J.
Stuart, H.
Sturt, H. C.
Sutton, hon. H. M.
Taylor, E.
Taylor, J. A.
Tennent, J. E.
Thesiger, Sir F.
Tollemache, J.
Tomline, G.
Tower, C.
Trench, Sir F. W.
Trevor, hon. G. R.
Trollope, Sir J.
Trotter, J.
Turnor, C.
Verner, Col.
Vernon, G. H.
Villiers, Visct.
Vivian, J. H.
Wellesley, Lord C.
Whitmore, T. C.
Winnington, Sir T. E.
Wodehouse, E.
Wood, Col.
Wood, Col. T.
Wortley, hon. J. S.
Wortley, hon. J. S.
Wrightson, W. B.
Wyndham, Col. C.
Wynn, rt. hon. C. W. W.
Yorke, hon. E. T.

TELLERS.

Young, J.
Baring, H.

List of the NOES.

Aglionby, H. A.
Aldam, W.
Anson, hon. Col.
Armstrong, Sir A.
Baine, W.
Bannerman, A.
Barclay, D.
Barnard, E. G.
Bell, J.
Berkeley, hon. C.
Berkeley, hon. H. F.
Bernal, R.
Blake, M.
Blake, M. J.
Blewitt, R. J.
Bouverie, hon. E. P.
Bowes, J.
Bowring, Dr.
Bright, J.
Brocklehurst, J.
Brotherton, J.
Bulkeley, Sir R. B. W.
Buller, C.
Buller, E.
Busfeild, W.
Byng, rt. hn. G. S.
Carew, hn. R. S.
Cavendish, hon. C. C.
Cavendish, hn. G. H.
Chapman, B.
Christie, W. D.
Clay, Sir W.
Cobden, R.
Colborne, hn. W. N. R.
Collett, J.
Collins, W.
Corbally, M. E.
Craig, W. G.
Currie, R.
Curteis, H. B.
Dalmeny, Lord
Dalrymple, Capt.
Dashwood, G. H.
Denison, W. J.
Denison, J. E.
Dennistoun, J.
D'Eyncourt, rt. hn. C. T.
Duke, Sir J.
Duncan, Visct.
Duncannon, Visct.
Dundas, Adm.
Dundas, D.
Easthope, Sir J.
Ebrington, Visct.
Ellice, rt. hon. E.
Ellis, W.
Elphinstone, H.
Etwall, R.
Evans, W.
Ewart, W.
Fielden, J.
Ferguson, Col.
Fitzroy, Lord C.
Forster, M.
Fox, C. R.
Gibson, T. M.
Gore, hon. R.
Granger, T. C.
Grey, rt. hon. Sir G.
Grosvenor, Lord R.
Guest, Sir J.
Hall, Sir B.
Hallyburton, Lord J.
Hatton, Capt. V.
Hawes, B.
Hayter, W. G.
Heathcoat, J.
Hindley, C.
Hobhouse, rt. hn. Sir J.
Hollond, R.
Horsman, E.
Howard, hn. E. G. G.
Howick, Visct.
Hume, J.
Humphery, Ald.
Hutt, W.
James, W.
Labouchere, rt. hn. H.
Lambton, H.
Langston, J. H.
Leveson, Lord
Macaulay, rt. hn. T. B.
Macnamara, Major
McTaggart, Sir J.
Mangles, R. D.
Marjoribanks, S.
Marshall, W.
Marsland, H.
Martin, J.
Matheson, J.
Mitcalfe, H.
Mitchell, T. A.
Morrison, J.
Muntz, G. F.
Napier, Sir. C.
O'Connell, M. J.
O'Ferrall, R. M.
Ord, W.
Osborne, R.
Paget, Col.
Palmerston, Visct.
Parker, J.
Pechell, Capt.
Philips, G. R.
Ponsonby, hon. C. F. A.
Protheroe, E.
Pulsford, R.
Rice, E. R.
Roche, E. B.
Roebuck, J. A.
Russell, Lord J.
Russell, Lord E.
Rutherfurd, A.
Scrope, G. P.
Smith, B.
Smith, rt. hon. R. V.
Stansfield, W. R. C.
Strickland, Sir G.
Strutt, E.
Stuart, Lord J.
Stuart, W. V.
Tancred, H. W.
Thornely, T.
Traill, G.
Trelawny, J. S.
Troubridge, Sir E. T.
Tufnell, H.
Tuite, H. M.
Villiers, hon. C.
Warburton, H.
Watson, W. H.
Wawn, J. T.
White, S.
Wilde, Sir T.
Williams, W.
Wilshere, W.
Wood, C.
Worsley, Lord
Yorke, H. R.

TELLERS.

Ward, H. G.
Berkeley, Capt.

On the main Question being put,

Sir *R. Inglis* hoped that the hon. Gentlemen who thought with him would not be put to the trouble of another division at that late hour, and that therefore the right hon. Baronet would be content with merely going into the Committee *pro formâ*, in order to sit again on Monday.

Sir *R. Peel* said, that on the understanding that the hon. Baronet and his Friends would not make any objection to the Speaker leaving the Chair, he would make the Motion immediately after they got into Committee, that the Chairman leave the Chair; but surely they ought to sit again to-morrow, if the discussion on the Scotch and Irish Banks were over soon enough. Indeed, he hoped there would be no discussion, but that he would be allowed merely to make a general explanation. [Mr. *Hume*: There will be a discussion.] If the discussion went on till ten o'clock, he would not ask the House to go on with this Committee. But they had already had nine nights' debate upon the Question, and he could not ask Gentlemen a second time to give way on their Notices of Motions on Wednesday after the readiness with which they did so before. He hoped at least that they should be able to get into the Committee on the Bill that day week.

Mr. *Law* hoped that the Government would not leave hon. Members in uncertainty as to the course intended to be pursued. The hon. Member for Montrose wished to express his sentiments on banking to-morrow evening, and it would be impossible if he spoke to prevent other Gentlemen from addressing the House also; and he did think, therefore, that it would save the time of the House, and greatly promote the convenience of many hon. Members, if Monday was fixed for the resumption of this subject.

Sir *R. Peel* said, that if he gave his assurance that the discussion on this subject should not commence at a later hour than nine o'clock, he thought it should be considered satisfactory.

Lord *Northland*, as one who voted against the second reading of this Bill, would not lend himself to this factious opposition.

Sir *R. Inglis* said, he distinctly understood, on going into the upper lobby, that the further discussion should not be proceeded with until Monday next.

Mr. *Plumptre* denied that there had been any factious opposition to this measure; but there was a strong feeling out of that House that the second reading had been brought forward very prematurely, and, as he had heard said, with indecent haste.

Lord *J. Russell* said, he did not suppose there would be much discussion on the subject of the right hon. Baronet's statement as to Scotch Banks, and that it would not be too late to proceed with the discussion of this subject to-morrow. He, therefore, thought the right hon. Baronet's proposal very reasonable; but he should be sorry to concur in the statement of the noble Lord, that there had been any factious opposition. The opposition had been carried on as fairly as possible; and he did not think the second reading had been hurried on improperly.

Lord *Northland* said, he merely stated that he would not be a party to any factious opposition.

House went into Committee *pro formâ*, and having resumed, the Committee was ordered to sit again.

House adjourned at one o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, April 25, 1845.

MINUTES.] BILLS. *Public.*—1^{a}· Ecclesiastical Courts Consolidation.

Private.—2^{a}· Wallasey Improvement; Bradford Gas; Molyneux's Estate.

Reported.—Fisher Lane (Greenwich) Improvement; Kingston-upon-Hull Docks.

3^{a}· and passed: — Manchester Stipendiary Magistrate; Forth and Clyde Navigation.

PETITIONS PRESENTED. By the Bishops of Hereford, Durham, London, and Cashell, the Duke of Buccleuch, Earls of Winchilsea, and Verulam, Marquesses of Breadalbane, and Lansdowne, and by Lords Monteagle, and Beresford, from Minister, Elders, and others of the Free Church of Holytown, from Montrose, and a great number of other places, against Increase of Grant to Maynooth College.—By the Earl of Clancarty, from Castle Connor, and Killglass, and numerous other places, for Encouragement to Schools in connexion with Church Education Society (Ireland).—By Bishops of Bangor, and St. David's, from Diocese of Bangor, and several other places, against Union of St. Asaph and Bangor.—By Lord Kenyon, from Clergy and others of St. Marylebone, and several other places, against Union of St. Asaph and Bangor, but in favour of the Appointment of a Bishop to the See of Manchester.—By the Duke of Norfolk, and by Lords Dacre, Campbell, and Brougham, from English Roman Catholics, and Protestant Dissenting Ministers of the Presbyterian Denomination, residing in or about the Metropolis, from Belfast, and several other places, in favour of Increase of Grant to Maynooth.—From Royston, in favour of Increase of Grant to Maynooth College, but praying that the Money appropriated for that purpose may be provided out of the Surplus Revenues of the Established Church in Ireland.—By Lord Sondes, from Tradesmen of Norwich (2), for Repeal of the 57th Clause of Insolvent Debtors Act.—From Beverley, for Repeal of Provisions of Insolvent Debtors Act, relating to Power of Arrest for Debt under 20*l.*—From Dundee, for Improving the Condition of Schoolmasters (Scotland).—From Drogheda Union, against Poor Law (Ireland) Act.—By Marquess of Normanby, from Wisbeach, for Establishment of Local Courts.—By Lord Brougham, from Metropolitan Tradesmen, against the Law relating to Debtor and Creditor.—By Bishop of London, from Eaglesfield, for the Suppression of Intemperance, especially on the Sabbath.—From Redbourne, for better Regulation of Beer Houses; and from Hawick, in favour of the Fresh Water Fishing (Scotland) Bill.—From Caistor, and several other places, for Protection to Agriculture.—From Presbytery of Orkney, for Abolishing Religious Tests in Universities (Scotland).

LAW OF INSOLVENCY.] Lord *Brougham*, in presenting a petition from the traders of London, complaining of the operation, more particularly of that of the 20*l.* clauses, of the Act of last year, took occasion, in warmly supporting the petition, to express his conviction that it was essential Parliament should, during the present Session, and as soon as possible in it, take some steps for remedying the manifold inconvenience, the ruinous injustice, which the measure complained of had inflicted upon the whole retail trade of the country. He should prefer the remedy for these evils to proceed from the Government itself; but if no one else took up the subject, he most certainly should do so, the more especially that he thought he saw his way to an effectual remedy.

Lord *Cottenham* said, that innumerable communications from all parts of the country, and his own observations, enabled him fully to bear out his noble and learned Friend in his statement as to the excessively injurious operation of the measure referred to upon the retail trade of this country. The Act of last year, while it abolished imprisonment for debts under 20*l.*, gave the unfortunate creditor no practical remedy whatever. He was exceedingly glad to hear his noble and learned Friend intimate his intention to take up the subject should the Government fail to do so.

Lord *Campbell* had also received complaints from many shopkeepers of the operation of the 20*l.* Clause, and he should be glad to know what were the intentions of Her Majesty's Government in respect to this matter. Their Lordships all had very great confidence in the ability of his noble and learned Friend; but it would be still more satisfactory if the Government would take the matter into their own hands.

The *Lord Chancellor* said, he should have been extremely obliged to his noble and learned Friend, if he had given him notice of his intention to put a question upon this important subject. The measure referred to was not a Government measure; it emanated from a Committee, and in the course of the discussion upon it he suggested a clause, which was considered in Committee, and adopted. If, as his noble and learned Friend had said, the clause was productive of inconvenience, the Committee might be reappointed to reconsider it. He did not think he was acting for the Government when he suggested the clause. He would consider the subject, and on Monday next mention what course should be taken.

Lord *Ashburton* reminded their Lordships of what he had before endeavoured to impress upon them, that the system of legislation upon this subject had been conducted without due consideration for the interests of the principal sufferers, the creditors. He thought their Lordships would neglect their duty if they allowed the present Session to pass over without doing something to remedy the evil.

MAYNOOTH.] The Duke of *Norfolk* said that he rose to present a petition from English Roman Catholics residing in the Metropolis, Liverpool, Cheltenham, and other places, and having 7,200 signatures, in favour of the Government measure with respect to Maynooth. He had also a similar petition to present from Leicester. In presenting this petition of the English Catholics, he might be allowed to state that, as he had not signed the petition, he should take that opportunity of thanking the Government for having brought the measure forward, and for the gallant fight they had made against those manifestations of religious excitement and bigotry which were too often shown; but which were much more fit for ages long passed than for the times in which they lived.

The Marquess of *Lansdowne* said, that as he had had the honour on former occasions of being called upon by the body from which this petition emanated to present their petitions to that House, at a time when his noble Friend, to whom this present petition was most naturally and properly entrusted, and those who professed the same religious creed, were incapacitated from sitting in Parliament, he wished to make a few observations on the subject-matter of this petition, without, however, wishing to go into the general subject. It was now about sixteen or seventeen years since the Roman Catholics of this country had all civil privileges conceded to them, and were enabled to sit in both Houses of Parliament, and were competent to hold any office in the State; and during so many years it did not appear that even the slightest shadow of an imputation had been cast on the conduct of any part of that body. They, from their comparative wealth and station in society, and from the advantages they enjoyed of a superior education, were well competent to form a just estimate of the measure for the improved instruction of the clergy of the Irish people; and when they came to the House and asked their Lordships to afford the best and most appropriate means for the religious education of their co-religionists in Ireland, and stated that such a measure was calculated to produce good subjects and valuable members of society, their opinion was entitled to much attention. They in their conduct afforded striking instances of the value of an improved religious education, which they now wished to have extended to the great mass of the people of Ireland, and to have combined with it all the advantages of an enlarged system of secular, and scientific, and literary education; and they showed that the most important consequences could not fail to arise from it. Having said so much with regard to the petitioners, he should, without going into the question at large, shortly make a few observations on the subject. He need hardly say that he had been anxious for many years to see a measure brought forward of the nature of that introduced by Her Majesty's Government; and as he found that in consequence of their doing so, a great deal of odium had been excited against them, he was desirous of stating that he was fully prepared to take his share in any such odium and responsibility. After all the excitement out of doors, he felt bound to say that he cordially approved of the principle as well as the details of the Bill. He regretted most deeply the religious excitement which prevailed on this subject. He had no doubt that it was perfectly conscientious; but he believed it to be most erroneous. Some allowance, no doubt, must be made to those who objected on the grounds of objecting to any State allowance for religious instruction; but he could not understand the objections which had been raised on a pecuniary ground. With respect to the funds for the purpose of this measure being taken from another source than that proposed in the Bill, he felt bound to state that he objected strongly to such a large and delicate question as the reconstruction of the Church of Ireland being mixed up with this question, or that they should legislate for that most important matter in a paragraph in a Bill for the education of the Roman Catholic clergy. He was satisfied that this Bill would do as much for the tranquillity and peace of the United Kingdom, as anything that had been paid for by the joint Exchequers of England and Ireland. Complaints had been made that this grant of money was for an exclusively Irish matter, and that, therefore, the funds should not come out of the revenues of the United Kingdom. Now he had that morning been looking over the Estimates, and he saw at least twenty votes which were more peculiar, and which did not in any way touch Ireland. For instance, the first vote which caught his eye was a vote of nearly twice the amount of the proposed grant to Maynooth, for the payment of stipendiary magistrates for the negroes in our West Indian Colonies. This was a consequent of the system of negro slavery which we formerly encouraged in these Colonies. Now, Ireland, before the Union, had little or nothing to do with our West Indian Colonies; they, therefore, should not be called to contribute, according to this argument, to such a Vote, as they had not been involved in the guilt of maintaining a state of slavery. He found Votes also, of many descriptions in which they were as little interested. For instance, for the purchase of pictures, for the maintenance of museums, and for the splendid building which could be viewed from the windows of that House. What, it might be said, could the fishermen of the Shannon or the peasantry of Munster have to do with these things? and yet they were called upon to pay taxes, from the produce of which these charges were defrayed. Were they, then, to be told that this measure should not pass, because it referred to only an Irish object, which was the extension of the system of education of the clergy of the Irish people? There were two objects which they should have in view in a measure of this nature. The first was, that they should carry it into effect in a manner the most satisfactory to the mass of the Irish people; and, secondly, that they should carry it in such a manner as to put a stop to those annual manifestations of theological excitement which took place on this subject. He found that these objects were provided for in this Bill; he therefore cordially approved of it, and also all that part of it which made the grant permanent, and therefore, so far, closing the question for the future. He felt, also, that the circumstance of the funds required being taken from the revenues of the United Kingdom, would speak to the feelings of the Irish people more strongly than if the funds were taken from any other source. He believed, also, notwithstanding the excitement which prevailed out of doors on this question, that the measure would, within a short time, obtain the general assent of the country, as much as the Catholic Emancipation Act now did.

House adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Friday, April 25, 1845.

Minutes.] Bills. *Public.*—1°· Canal Companies Tolls; Canal Companies Carriers.

2°· Physic and Surgery; Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons; Sheriffs (Wales).

3°· and passed:—Infeftment (Scotland); Heritable Securities (Scotland); Colonial Passengers.

Private.—1°· Glasgow, Barrhead, and Neilstown Direct Railway; Manchester Court of Record (No. 2).

2°· Dublin and Belfast Junction Railway; Cork and Bandon Railway; Dublin Pipe Water; Agricultural and Commercial Bank of Ireland; Newry and Enniskillen Railway; Wexford, Carlow, and Dublin Junction Railway; Calvert's Estate.

3°· and passed:—Paisley Gas; Foulmire Inclosure.

Petitions Presented. By Mr. Turner, from the Parish of St. Clement, Cornwall, for Arranging Differences between Churches of England and Ireland.—By Mr. Fox Maule, from Glasgow, for better Observance of the Lord's Day.—By several hon. Members, from a great number of places (176 Petitions), against the Grant to Maynooth College.—By Mr. Ellice, from St. Andrew's and Cupar, for Abolition of Tests in Scotch Universities.—By Mr. J. Wortley, and Sir T. Hepburn, from Rothesay, and Dunbar, against Alteration of present system of Banking (Scotland).—By Mr. Wakley, from University College, London, in favour of Physic and Surgery Bill.

Acts relating to Banking—(Ireland and Scotland]. House in Committee on the Banking in Ireland and Scotland,

Sir *R. Peel* said: Mr. Greene, I am about, Sir, to interpose between the stages of a discussion which has now continued for several nights, and which has excited the greatest interest—the consideration, or rather to-night the proposal, of a measure which can borrow no interest whatever from any connexion with any of those circumstances which have lent so much interest to the other debate, and which must be decided, at least can be only properly decided, by the weight of authority, by reason and by argument, and which requires on the part of this House a calm and dispassionate consideration. On one account, and on that only, I regret this interposition. The attention which I have been compelled to pay to the other debate, which has continued for so many nights, and the extreme pressure of other business, render me even more incapable than I otherwise should be to do justice to the subject which it is now my duty to bring before the House; and no consideration but the pledge which I gave to hon. Members connected with Scotland, would have induced me on this day to run the risk of making so imperfect a statement as I fear I shall make on the present occasion to the House. I trust, however, that the House will have the kindness to bear in mind the peculiar position in which, for several nights past, I have been placed on account of public business; and I hope it will view my explanation either of the principle or the details of the measures which, on the part of Her Majesty's Government, I am about to propose, with forbearance, allowing me to refer the particular clauses of the Bill, if leave be given, as I trust it will, to introduce it, for further consideration. Sir, the House will bear in mind that in the course of last Session the subject of Banking in this country occupied the attention of Parliament; that measures of great importance were adopted with reference to the circulation of the Bank of England, and with reference also to the circulation of the joint-stock and country banks in this part of the United Kingdom; and the House will allow me shortly to refer to the principal enactments on this subject, which then received the sanction of the Legislature. With regard to the Bank of England, the limitation imposed upon the issues of the Bank on securities was 14,000,000*l.* The Bank was permitted to issue promissory notes to the extent of 14,000,000*l.* on securities; but in regard to any additional issue, that issue could only take place on specie, the public being entitled to demand notes in exchange for specie, or coin in exchange for notes, and the whole of the circulation of the Bank of England beyond 14,000,000*l.* being determined by the free action of the public demanding either notes or gold, as they might require. With regard to the issues of the other banking establishments, the provision made was this—that in respect to every private bank of issue, or joint-stock bank of issue, an average amount of its circulation for the twelve weeks preceding the 27th of April, 1844, was taken; and those banks were required to confine their future issues of their own paper within that limit. There was no prohibition to their increase of the issue of promissory notes, provided that, beyond the prescribed limit, the issues should be of Bank of England paper, that Bank of England paper being founded on gold. I apprehend that the House sanctioned these measures on the following assumptions:—That the standard value, or standard of value, in this country is a certain quantity of gold, definite in point of weight, and definite in point of fineness; and that a promissory note being an undertaking to pay a pound, the issuer is bound to deliver neither more nor less to the holder of that note than a definite quantity of gold of a definite degree of fineness. The House assumed, too, that the issue of that promissory paper might fairly be subject to regulations to which other forms of paper credit need not necessarily be subject; that the issue of promissory notes representing gold, and acting as substitutes for gold, differed in character and effect from other forms of paper credit; that those who issued them were in possession of a valuable privilege—valuable to themselves, and important to the country; and that this House had a perfect right at any time to subject the issuers of that paper to such restrictions as might be deemed expedient for the public good. There was another assumption on which the House also acted, that with a perfectly unregulated competition in the issue of paper, there was no necessary guarantee for the permanence of the convertibility of that paper, or, I should rather say, that though there might be the guarantee of permanent convertibility, yet there was no guarantee, where competition was perfectly unrestricted and unlimited, against the occasional necessity of sudden and violent contractions of the circulation, leaving, indeed, the note convertible into gold, but deranging the monetary transactions of the country, and shaking all confidence in private, and even in public credit. On these general assumptions, this House and the other House of Parliament sanctioned the measures proposed by me as the organ of the Government, imposing certain limitations on the issue of promissory notes. I am quite aware that the interval has been but short since these measures came into operation. I am quite as well aware as, I believe, any one can be, of the necessity for great caution in drawing inferences as to the effect of measures of this nature on the circulation, and on the public credit of the country. I draw my inferences from the closest observation of the subject, and of the working of those measures, which the shortness of the interval would permit me to give them; and I must say, that so far as we can judge from experience, we have a perfect right to be satisfied with the operation of the measures which were then adopted. Admitting our experience of these measures to be short, so far as it has gone, I must contend that it has been decidedly in favour of the policy and justice of the measures sanctioned by this House in the course of the last Session of Parliament. Since these measures were adopted, we have had in this country a period of extraordinary commercial activity; we have had a great demand for the application of new capital to manufactures and other branches of the public industry; and we have had a very unusual degree of speculation in projects connected with the internal improvement of the country—I refer particularly to the projects for the extension of locomotion by means of railways. But I cannot find that the restrictions imposed last year have, in the slightest degree, cramped or fettered the commercial energies of the country. I cannot find that there has been the slightest check on the application of capital—that there has been the slightest ground of complaint, either that prices have been unduly affected, or that the increased demands of the country cannot be met on account of a restricted circulation. I find, at this present time, that the amount of specie in the Bank of England is—in gold bullion and in coin at the Bank, the two being held in nearly equal proportions—about 13,580,000*l.*; that the Bank is in possession, at the present time, in silver bars, of an amount of about 2,073,000*l.*; and of silver coin, about 188,600*l.*; making a total of bullion now held by the Bank, in silver coin, silver bars, gold bullion, and gold coin, of about 15,842,000*l.* I do find, also, among many of those who were the foremost opponents of those measures of last year, a disposition to admit that there has been an increased confidence in the monetary transactions of the country. I find a disposition also to admit that if, during the prevalence of the recent speculations, there had been an unlimited power of creating new banks of issue—that if there might have been established new banks of issue, these new banks, with the unlimited right of issue, acting and being reacted upon by this speculative mania, or rather, I should say, by the fever of speculation which prevailed, and still prevails to a great extent, in many parts of this country — I find, I say, an impression among many that the state of the credit of our paper circulation would not have been of as sound a character as it is now. I have not heard any complaints from the country bankers of the injurious effects of the restrictions imposed upon their paper. I have not heard such complaints; and I must say that they have very rarely reached that Department of the Government with which I am connected, even from the rural districts of this country. I certainly have heard that many of the bankers, whose issues were thus restricted, have been compelled to provide for their increased issues by the paper of the Bank of England; but I think that the slight expense to which they have been thus exposed in making that provision is but small as compared to the increased stability which they experience in their banking concerns, and the increased security which they feel in the conduct of their monetary transactions. I must say of the country banks, and of the joint-stock banks in the country, that I believe, speaking generally, that they have acted most fairly and most honourably in the execution of the acts referred to. There have, it is true, been occasional attempts to evade the provisions of the law. There have been in some districts of the country new forms of paper credit resorted to for the purpose of increasing the circulation; but I must say that those attempts have been, speaking generally, discouraged by country bankers, and by joint-stock banks —that they have shown no favour whatever to those efforts at the infraction of the law; and, although perfectly prepared — as I gave notice I should be perfectly prepared — if those attempts prevailed to any serious extent, to apply to Parliament for the means of repressing them, I cannot say that, up to the present time, there has appeared to me any necessity for parliamentary intervention. The law has worked, so far as I am aware, with general satisfaction; and the Government has met with the cordial co-operation of those whose circulation was restricted, but who still rendered a most willing, a most cheerful obedience to the law. The enactments to which I have now referred apply exclusively to this part of the United Kingdom. The restraints as to the circulation which were imposed, were imposed on the Bank of England, and on the issues of the joint-stock banks in this country; but there was another enactment, which passed simultaneously, and of general operation, which prevented the establishment in any part of the United Kingdom of any new bank of issue, and which restricted the privilege of issue to those bankers, in every part of the United Kingdom, who were entitled to exercise it on the 6th of May, 1844. The consequence has been, of course, that the existing banks in Ireland and in Scotland, although their circulation has not been in any respect interfered with, have yet been protected from the competition of other establishments, and enjoy the monopoly which that enactment was intended to confer upon them. The question now is, whether we shall apply to those banks thus protected from the competition of other issuers, the general enactments of the law which we have applied to the banks in this part of the country. I was requested the other night by the noble Lord the Member for Sunderland (Lord Howick) to postpone the consideration of this measure until another Session of Parliament. I felt it to be my duty to resist that request; because if it is right that this subject should be taken into consideration at all, the sooner it is disposed of the better. I can conceive nothing calculated to have a more injurious effect on a matter of this peculiar character than to give notice that, at some period of next Session, some measure would be brought forward, without entering at present into its principle or details; but leaving all those concerned in the banking interests of the country at a total loss to comprehend what these principles or what these details might be. I can conceive no measure affecting large and important interests, in reference to which it is more incumbent on the Government to be at once explicit and determined, than in reference to measures immediately connected with the public credit, and with the monetary transactions of the kingdom. It is fitting, therefore, that the House should at once decide whether they will apply to the other establishments entrusted with the charge of supplying the public with promissory paper the enactments which have been applied to the banks in England. When I speak of these enactments, I do not mean that we should necessarily apply them as to the letter, but as to the principles involved in them. If I thought that the general principles of these enactments could not be applied to Ireland and Scotland without the risk of inflicting injury on those parts of the United Kingdom, I would not propose that we should purchase any general theoretical or practical benefit at the expense of endangering the prosperity of those parts of the United Kingdom. I think that, in considering whether or no the enactments should be applied, it is perfectly fit for us to take into the account the peculiar habits and customs of those countries—to take into the account their local peculiarities—and not attempt rigidly to enforce a principle at the hazard of deranging the long-established habits of business, or I may say, shocking the feelings, or even the prejudices, of the people of those countries. Such was the principle on which we attempted to act last Session. We wished to secure the willing and cordial co-operation of those whose interests appeared at first sight to be affected. I think that in this we succeeded. After discussing the matter, those connected with the country and joint-stock banks were satisfied; and the banks, being satisfied, gave their cordial co-operation to the Government. In the same way, I now feel satisfied that it is easy to apply the general principle of the measure adopted last Session both to Scotland and Ireland, without in the slightest degree affecting the peculiar or local interests of those countries. The relative positions of Ireland and Scotland are in some respects different; and I will first state the position of Ireland in respect to its banking establishments, before I refer to Scotland, and point out the difference which exists between the two countries. In Ireland, you have what you have not in Scotland, a national bank with peculiar privileges. In Ireland you have, which you have not in Scotland, a national bank with peculiar privileges, holding a charter, which is determinable on a notice of six months. The Government has the power of giving that notice, and dissolving its connexion with the Bank of Ireland, and withdrawing from that bank the exclusive privileges which it now possesses. In Ireland you have, on the whole, eight banks of issue. There are no private banks of issue in that country. There are the Bank of Ireland and seven other banks of issue, being joint-stock banks. There are, in addition to the Bank of Ireland, the Provincial Bank, the National Bank, three joint-stock banks of issue in the town of Belfast, and two in the county of Tipperary—making, in the whole, seven banks of issue, being joint-stock companies, independently of the Bank of Ireland. In Ireland, the general law of banking requires to be considered. There are Statutes of the Irish Parliament still in force in that country, or which may be virtually regarded as yet in force, which place the joint-stock banks, and the partners in joint-stock banking companies, on a different footing from those in this country; and sometimes these ancient enactments come in conflict with that Act which passed some years since in the Imperial Parliament, and under which joint-stock banks in that country have since been regulated. Her Majesty's Government intends to consider the bearings of these several enactments, and, at some period of greater leisure, to amend and consolidate them into a general law. I will not, therefore, on the present occasion, divert the attention of the House by going into details not connected with the main subject, and will only state that we are perfectly aware that the general law in Ireland with respect to the business of banking, is in an imperfect, a confused, and a complicated state. The Bank of Ireland acts as the banker of the Government, conducts the general payment of the dividends, has the management of the debt, and, in short, transacts the general business of the Government. The capital of the Bank of Ireland is 2,769,000*l.* The debt from the Government to the Bank is rather a smaller sum than this, namely, 2,630,000*l.* We pay to the Bank an interest of 3½ per cent. on that amount. The Bank of Ireland has certain exclusive privileges. The privileges of that Bank are these—that no joint-stock bank in Ireland can have a house or place of business in Dublin, or within sixty-four English miles of the capital; that no joint-stock bank can issue in Dublin, or within sixty-four miles thereof, any promissory note, payable to bearer on demand, or any note payable at a less interval of time than six months; and that no joint-stock bank can issue any bank post bill, or draw any bill of exchange payable on demand, or any bill of exchange of a less amount than 50*l.* I am bound to say that these exclusive privileges have been loudly complained of by many parties. There are other establishments of great respectability, conducting business in Ireland to the general satisfaction of the country. I believe that in the other joint-stock banks, which are limited to seven in number, there are not less than 4,000 shareholders, and the number of their customers in various parts of the country exceeds that number by many thousands. The capital offers many advantages. It is the place of resort of the majority of the shareholders; it is the seat of the vice-regal court, and of the courts of law, the seat of the university, and the channel of communication between Ireland and this country; and it certainly is a source of inconvenience to many arriving in Dublin, of many whose business is transacted with great satisfaction through the intervention of the joint-stock banks, to be referred, while there, to another bank, and told that there is no place in the metropolis in connexion with the other banks to which they can go to conduct their affairs than the Bank of Ireland. I must own that, in my own opinion, provided you get security against excess of issue, it will be a great advantage to withdraw these exclusive privileges from the Bank of Ireland, and to permit the other banking establishments to issue their notes within the limits of sixty-four miles of the metropolis; to give them the privilege of establishing houses for agency, and for the transaction of business within these limits; to give them permission to draw bills of exchange without limitation, and, in short, to remove altogether the exclusive privileges of the Bank of Ireland. I am bound to say, in justice to the Bank of Ireland, that nothing could be more liberal than their own views on this subject. They do not wish to retain their exclusive privileges for any object of their own, and are perfectly content to relinquish them, provided only that we subject others, as we subject them, to some limitation as to the amount of their issues. They feel this: that issues being limited, there will be no reason whatever for maintaining in Ireland their exclusive power—that there will be no particular reason for preventing other banking establishments from exercising those powers which have hitherto been denied them. In these matters the views of the Bank of Ireland perfectly coincide with those of Her Majesty's Government. I am bound also to say that the Bank of Ireland, an establishment consisting generally, I believe, of those who profess the Protestant religion—that those composing that establishment have been the first to ask that certain oaths which are now administered, distinguishing the Protestant members from their Roman Catholic brethren, shall be repealed. It is their earnest wish that no other oath shall be administered as a qualification for being a director of the Bank of Ireland than simply the oath of allegiance, and the oath that is requisite as to the possession of the amount of property qualifying a party to become a director. The governor and others connected with the Bank state that it is painful to them, when a Roman Catholic is called upon to qualify, that he has to be sent into a separate room, when a separate oath is administered to him; and it is at their express instance that I propose in the Bill which I now ask leave to introduce, that there shall in future be no distinction in the oath between a Protestant and a Roman Catholic director or proprietor of the Bank of Ireland. I hope the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. F. Maule) approves of this. We propose that the Bank of Ireland shall still remain the banker of the Government, shall still be entrusted with the public business, and that we should continue to pay a sum of 3½ per cent. for ten years on the amount of the debt, that excess of interest covering the whole of the charges which the bank is to make for the conduct of the public business. That, we think, will be an economical arrangement. If we were to pay a separate sum in each item, probably there would be an excess; but we propose, partly in consideration of the perfect willingness with which the Bank of Ireland has relinquished its exclusive privileges, that the debt shall continue as the foundation of their issues for a period of ten years, and that the same rate of interest as before shall be paid to the bank; that establishment making no charge whatever for the various duties which it undertakes as the banker of the Government, and for the various services which it may render in that capacity. We propose, also, to subject the Bank of Ireland to an obligation to make a weekly return, exactly corresponding with that now made by the Bank of England. The Bank of Ireland makes no objection to such a return, and there will, therefore, in future, be a weekly return from that institution, similar to that now imposed as an obligation on the Bank of England. I apprehend that it is that weekly return containing a full development of the affairs of the bank, stating the amount held by it of bullion, and showing the variations which from time to time take place in the amount of bullion—to giving without reserve an account of the state of the bank, which has tended to give so much satisfaction and security to the commercial community of this country. These are, I believe, the main, if not the whole of the peculiarities in the condition of Ireland as compared to Scotland. I will now refer to the condition of Scotland; and as most of the regulations which we are about to propose will apply to the banks of the two countries, in order to spare the time of the House I will not make a separate statement as to each country, but, having referred generally to the position of Scotland, will state the nature of the measures which we propose to apply to both. In Scotland, there is no such establishment as the Bank of Ireland. There is some difference in the constitution of the different banking companies, but none as to equality of privileges. There is no reservation in favour of any; all stand upon an equal footing in respect to the privilege of issue. There are in Scotland three great chartered companies, the members of which have limited liabilities. There are altogether nineteen joint-stock banks in Scotland; for in Scotland, as in Ireland, there are no private banks of issue. All the banks of issue in that country are without exception joint-stock banks. Of the nineteen, three are the ancient chartered companies, with limited liabilities; there are two banking companies recently incorporated under the Act passed a few years ago, and fourteen other banks which are not incorporated under an Act of Parliament. But there is not the same necessity for their incorporation as existed with regard to the joint-stock banks in England, because the joint-stock banks in Scotland have, by the force of law, the privilege of suing and being sued. At the same time, I think it might be better that these fourteen banks should receive charters of incorporation, although that is a matter which must be left to their own discretion. But I think it would facilitate the conduct of their business, and give them facilities which they do not now, perhaps, possess as to tenure of property, if they did apply for charters of incorporation. To these nineteen banks in Scotland, as to the existing banks in Ireland, the privilege of issue, as defined by the Act of last Session, is now confined. I now proceed to state the regulations which we propose to apply to those banks. And we are first met with that question of exceeding interest in Scotland, and scarcely less so in Ireland—what will you do with the circulation of notes below *5l.*? Now, Sir, I say at once that we don't propose, either in Scotland or in Ireland, to take away or to affect the privilege of issuing notes below *5l.* Whether or not the importance attached to the continuance of that privilege can be perfectly justified by reason and argument I know not—whether there be not an undue value attached to them may be a fair question of doubt—still, in attempting to introduce principles which I believe to be good, I will not attempt to shock even the prejudices of the people of either country, or to run the risk of encountering that opposition which I know I would have to encounter from Scotland almost universally, and from Ireland, probably, following the example of Scotland, and desiring to retain the privilege to which she saw the people of Scotland attach so much importance. Without guaranteeing, therefore, the continuance of these notes, all I can say is, that we do not propose to prohibit them at present. I say nothing, however, as to the future. The discretion of Parliament must be left unfettered in respect to them. If the continuance of the privilege affects no interests, if it has no injurious effect upon the circulation either of Scotland or of other parts of the Empire, there is no doubt whatever that a future Parliament will entertain the same forbearance, and will not disturb the settled habits of business of a whole country, or run counter to its feelings, for the mere purpose of carrying out some theoretical principle. I do not propose any vexatious interference with that system, which at present exists in both countries. I do not propose to establish any proportion between notes below *5l.* and notes above *5l.* I propose to leave to the banks of Scotland and Ireland respectively the privilege which they now possess, to issue notes below *5l.* without limiting them as to the proportion which such notes shall bear to notes of a higher amount. The banks of Scotland and

Ireland will thus have two advantages—they will have first the advantage of being protected from competition; and they will also retain a privilege which the banks of this country have been compelled to relinquish for nearly twenty years—namely, that of issuing notes under 5*l.* Now, leaving them in possession of both these privileges, I propose to apply to them principles, that in their character are analogous to those principles which we have held it to be necessary to apply to joint-stock company banks in this country. I propose that we should ascertain the amount in circulation for some years past of the issues of these banks in Ireland and in Scotland; not to impose any limitation on the amount of the future issue of paper, as far as that ascertained issue extends; but to require from them, if their issue should extend beyond that certain amount, then that that issue shall take place on specie. That principle we applied to the joint-stock banks in this country. We ascertained the amount of their issue for a certain period before the 27th of April. We limited their issues to that amount, ordaining, if their issues extended beyond that, they should consist of Bank of England paper, which is based on gold. I do not propose to introduce into Scotland and Ireland the provision, that it shall be compulsory upon the banks there to be provided with Bank of England notes. On the contrary, I wish only to clear up the doubts as to whether Bank of England paper be or be not a legal tender there. The most eminent legal authorities in Ireland are adverse to the construction put upon the law here. They are of opinion that Bank of England paper is not a legal tender there. I think it is fitting that there should no longer be any doubt. I consider that the best course for us to take is, to clear up that doubt by enacting, that paper of the Bank of England shall not necessarily be a legal tender either in Ireland or in Scotland. It will, I believe, be more acceptable to the bankers in Scotland and in Ireland, if they had to choose for providing for the excess of circulation, that it should be based on specie rather than on the paper of the Bank of England. So far as the public are concerned, I conceive that the manner in which the issue takes place is to them a matter of entire indifference. I consider that the Bank of England paper is now at all times perfectly equal to an issue in gold; yet still, as it is not current in Scotland, I propose to require that the excess of circulation in Scotland beyond the permitted amount should be issued upon specie, and not necessarily upon the paper of the Bank of England. I think it will be perfectly just to establish that principle both in Ireland and in Scotland. Now, let us bear in mind that we have a guarantee for the stability of our paper circulation in this part of the United Kingdom beyond the guarantees that we took in the course of the last Session, which does not practically exist either in Ireland or in Scotland. We have diffused generally over England and Wales a great specie circulation. The Bank of England can now issue no paper beyond 14,000,000*l.* except upon gold—so that we have a security that paper will be kept in value equivalent to gold. But we have also this additional guarantee, that there is a great basis of specie in our circulation on account of the almost universal diffusion of coin throughout every part of this country. It is then a question of some interest, though of some difficulty, to determine what is the probable amount of circulation in gold in this part of the United Kingdom. There has been issued to the public, that is, there has been coined at the Mint from 1816 to the month of June, 1842, about 60,106,000 sovereigns; and since June 1842, to the present time, there has been issued from the Mint to the Bank 17,013,000*l.* in silver. Since June 1842, there has been put into circulation 11,000,000*l.* out of these 17,000,000*l.* It is exceedingly difficult to hit upon anything like a satisfactory conjecture as to the amount of gold in circulation, and which affords the means of carrying on the minor affairs of trade. I do not know any better test—and that is a very imperfect one—than that of taking the amount of the light sovereigns which have been paid in, at different periods, at the Bank, and ascertaining the proportion which they bear at these different periods to the total amount of sovereigns paid in. In the year 1839—I will not take any more remote period—of the total amount of sovereigns paid into the Bank, 21½ per cent. were rejected, being below the legal weight. In the year 1840, 28 per cent. were rejected. In the year 1841, 27 per cent were rejected. In the year 1842, up to the 10th of June, 33 1-3rd per cent. were rejected. The proclamation was issued in the month of June calling in the light sovereigns; and from the 10th June, 1842, to the 31st December, 1843, the amount of light gold coin withdrawn from circulation was 11,137,000*l.* Now, if you estimate that that was at the rate of 33 per cent. upon the total amount which was paid in, on that calculation the amount of the gold circulation diffused through this country would be an amount varying between 30,000,000*l.* and 35,000,000*l.* If you estimate the number of guineas in circulation, and the amount of notes below 5*l.* belonging to the Bank of England and to private and other Banks, in circulation, before the withdrawal of the small notes below 5*l.*—if you take that as the criterion by which you attempt to judge, I do not believe that you will come to a very different conclusion. I think the best conjecture that can be formed—it is necessarily a very vague one—would give, as the probable amount of gold coin in circulation in this country, between 30,000,000*l.* and 35,000,000*l.* I am bound to admit that the data from which any conjecture can be formed are necessarily very vague; but, whatever the sum may be, it does, from its general diffusion, give stability to our paper currency; and, in addition to the measures adopted last Session, it is a guarantee which does not exist in Scotland or in Ireland. I propose, then, both in Scotland and in Ireland, to ascertain the average amount of the issues of each bank for a definite past period. I propose to permit the continuance of that amount of circulation, without any restriction whatever, applying there the principle which was applied to the English banks. We say to them, you are permitted to have that circulation without inquiry and without restraint; but that, if there be a circulation beyond that, that there shall be a security for it in gold. I propose to apply to them the simple principle that is acted upon here. The question then arises, what is the period to which the average shall be limited? I propose, in the case both of Ireland and of Scotland, to ascertain the average from the period which has elapsed since the announcement of the measure of last year, that is, from the 27th of April last. That will be a period of 13 lunar months. The variation is very great in Scotland at different periods of the year. In May and in November the amount of the issues exceeds the amount of the issues at other periods. I believe that so far as Scotland is concerned, it would be a matter of very great indifference whether you founded your average upon a review of two years, of one year, or of six months. Whether you took in two periods of extraordinary issue, or whether you took in one, in the one case, taking 12 and in the other 6 months, the amount of the circulation would in each case be nearly the same. In Ireland I am bound to say the period does make a considerable difference, because there has been of late a very rapid increase in the circulation of promissory notes; and I think it is but just, so far as the public interests are concerned, to extend the average over the whole period, and not to take in Ireland the last two months, or the last three months, when there has been a very large issue as compared with the former months. I propose in the two countries to take the average of the 13 lunar months before the 27th of April next. The average issue of each bank during that period will be, according to my proposition, the amount of issue to which it will hereafter be entitled. Now, it makes a material difference in Scotland whether you take the weekly return in the manner in which you take it in England, or in the manner in which it is now taken in Scotland. In England you require from the joint-stock banks a daily return of the amount of notes in circulation; you divide that return by the number of days of business, and that gives you the average amount of the notes actually in circulation. But in Scotland a different practice has prevailed. In Scotland the return required by the Act of 1841 was not a daily, but a weekly return—a return of the amount of notes actually in circulation on a given day in that week—namely, the last day of business in the week. A system of exchange between the banks has long prevailed in Scotland, and if you were to take the amount of issues of the banks without allowing for the exchange of one bank with other banks, you would have a return giving you a different amount of circulation from that which you would have, if you adhered to what has been the practice in Scotland. Now, I propose, that we should adhere to the present system in taking the returns in Scotland; that we should allow Scotland the benefit of these continued exchanges, and that we should permit that country to make a return, as it does at present, of the amount of bank-notes actually issued from each bank on the last day of business in each week. That is a point to which I apprehend Scotch banks attach considerable importance. I think the calculation made by the right hon. Gentleman opposite was, that it would make a difference of nearly 30 per cent. in the amount of the Scotch circulation, if you took the daily average of the notes, instead of taking the returns upon the last day of transacting business in the week; and that is the reason, I apprehend, why the amount of the circulation in Scotland appears so low. That return, if you were to rely upon it, would be a fallacious one. What we propose, therefore, is that, after having defined the amount which each bank shall issue, you shall for the future, after a given day, require each bank to certify the amount of its weekly issues, or rather the amount of its issues, as at present, on the last day of doing business; and that then, in Scotland, as in Ireland, you shall take a period of four weeks, and determine the average upon that period. If the average of the four future weeks does not exceed the amount of the permitted issue, in that case no restraint whatever will be imposed upon the bank; but if the issue for the four weeks exceed the permitted amount, in that case the excess, whatever it be, shall be issued on specie. That is the same principle as we applied to England, except that instead of requiring a daily return, as in England, we respect the custom which we found in Scotland, and give facility for the exchanges between the several banks. We then take a period of four weeks, and, dividing the returns by four, determine whether or not the bank has exceeded its privileged amount of issues. As I said before, if the issues for the month are within the limited amount, there will be no necessity for anything beyond that necessity which will still exist for the banks being able to pay their notes in specie on demand. There is to be no restraint upon them beyond their present liability to pay in specie. We do not interfere with that obligation. We leave to their own sense of what is for their own security, to do that which they think ought to be done; and provided they keep within the average of the thirteen months, we trust to their own discretion to do that which is calculated to secure the confidence of those who deal with them. I apply the same rule to Ireland. The average amount of the issues of each bank, and in this I include the Bank of Ireland, is to be that to which they are entitled by the average from their past circulation. They are to continue within that amount of circulation, and if there be an excess, then that excess shall be issued on specie. We are willing to trust to the honour of the bankers both in Scotland and in Ireland, as to their retaining in their custody a sufficient amount of assets to meet their circulation. We do not propose that there should be any certain amount of deposit as a security. As it is necessary, however, that we should have some security against fallacious returns, we propose that there shall be a return made to the Government of the amount of gold held by each bank, and that the Government shall have a power of instituting inquiries similar to that which was given to it in the case of English banks, in case there should be any suspicion as to the making of false returns. I believe it has not been necessary to exercise that power in the case of the joint-stock banks and the private banks of this country; and I do not think it will be necessary to exercise it in Ireland and Scotland. Now, we shall require from each bank a return of its weekly issues; we shall require a return of the amount of each description of issues; we shall require a distinction to be made between notes below and notes above 5*l.*; and further, we shall require a return of the amount of gold held by each bank, that return to be confidential. These are matters of great statistical interest, and we have a perfect right to require, from those who are intrusted with the privilege of issue, a full return on all these points. We shall require also a full specification of the names of all the partners, all those who are liable to the public for the solvency of their banks. We shall, I say, require a particular publication of the names of all the partners in banks. Each bank which does not exceed its permitted amount will return its amount of specie to the Government; but no use whatever will be made of that information. In the case of each bank which issues beyond the permitted amount, it will be necessary to certify to the public that that bank holds specie in satisfaction of the increased issue. We merely propose to publish that such a bank has so far exceeded its issue, but that it holds, in deposit, as required by law, an amount of gold sufficient to meet that excess of issue. There will thus be a weekly return of the gold held by the bank; and, in case of excess of issue, a certificate that that excess of issue is met. The return will be made to the Government weekly, and the publication by the Stamp Office will be monthly. The question may be put, in the event of an issue beyond the permitted amount, upon what that issue shall be made? Shall it be made exclusively upon gold coin; or shall silver be permitted to form part of the foundation of this issue? I think it will be of great advantage to permit silver coin to constitute part of that foundation. In the first place, silver coin will be a legal tender in discharge of any note below 2*l.*; and, although silver coin is here a token, it will be impossible for the bank to get silver, except by paying for it at its full value in circulation. Now, I think it will be evident that there will be great advantages in inducing the banks to hold a considerable amount of silver coin, particularly in Ireland, as it greatly facilitates circulation in that country. The Bank of Ireland will be subject to the same regulations; it will be permitted to issue to a certain amount, as at present, and there will remain the debt from the Government as the security. In short, we shall place the Bank of Ireland on exactly the same footing as any other bank, that is to say, we shall permit the Bank of Ireland to issue notes according to the present amount of its circulation; and beyond its present amount, provided it holds specie to the extent of its excess of circulation. Suppose the Bank of Ireland now circulates 1,200,000*l.*, and suppose that it raises its circulation to 3,500,000*l.*, and that its circulation should so continue; then we say that its excess of circulation must be founded on specie in the Bank. I conceive that the adoption of this principle will impose no unwarrantable restriction on any bank; that it will give increased security and additional stability to all banking concerns; and that it will do this without deranging the habits of business, either in Scotland or Ireland; whilst it enables the banks to give the same amount of accommodation they have been accustomed to afford to their customers. I know that at present some of the banks in Scotland feel it right to keep a considerable amount of specie by them. I believe that some banks in Scotland keep an amount of specie equal to not less than one-fourth or one-fifth of their circulation by them. Let us now see how the new regulations will operate in Scotland and in Ireland. I hold in my hand a Return of the aggregate amount of the circulation of the Scotch banks for thirteen lunar months, ending in March, 1845. According to that, in April, 1844, the amount in circulation was 2,714,000*l.*, that was for the week ending April 27th. In the week ending May 25th, it was 3,041,000*l.*; and in the week ending June 23rd, it was 3,117,000*l.* That is one of the highest periods of circulation; whilst the highest amount of circulation for the year, is the week ending the 7th December. The circulation for the week ending the 12th October, 1844, was 2,987,000*l.*; and in the week ending the 7th December, in the same year, the circulation was 3,486,000*l.* There was thus an excess of issues at one time, as compared to another, of 500,000*l.*, or one-sixth. At one period of the year, we find the issues of the Scotch banks large, as compared to another period; and no doubt it is necessary for the conduct of business that the issues in the month of December should be greater, perhaps by half a million, than four months earlier. The total average of circulation of the Scotch banks, taking the thirteen months circulation to determine the average amount, is 3,041,000*l.* That, therefore, will be the amount which the Scotch banks will be permitted to issue. Suppose, then, that in the month of November, there should be 500,000*l.* in excess of that amount of circulation, then all which is required of them is merely that they should hold one-sixth of their circulation in specie. If they hold, or are permitted to hold, a circulation of 3,000,000*l.*—if the whole of the banks of Scotland amongst them require an excess of issues beyond that to the amount of 500,000*l.*, then what they are required to do is, to have amongst them that additional sum in specie. Exactly the same power will be retained with respect to them, which is required in this country when there is an issue beyond the limited amount of circulation. Is this too much to ask from them, when they are secured against competition; and when they have the power also of issuing small notes? Is it too much to require that they should retain in their coffers such an amount of specie as that? Suppose the wants of the country increased. Suppose the circulation should rise to 4,000,000*l.* Why should not the Scotch banks be at the charge of supplying themselves with the necessary quantity of specie? and why should any bank deem it a hardship to retain such a sum as would secure stability in the currency, and prevent its being affected by any panic? I will give you a specimen of a bank conducted with a due regard to stability—a bank of the highest respectability—and whose proprietors were under no obligation to retain a deposit, which has attracted to it the general confidence—I allude to the Provincial Bank of Ireland. The Provincial Bank of Ireland, as I said before, is a most prosperous concern, and has attracted to it the general confidence. I do not mean to say that it is singular in this respect, nor that there are not other banks in Ireland equally stable, and alike prosperous; but I do not happen to have the amount of issues of any other bank but the Provincial Bank. Taking the first Saturday in May for several successive years, and comparing the amount of circulation with the amount of gold or specie of the bank, and when it was under no obligation beyond that which it had entered into with the Bank of Ireland, of retaining one fifth of its circulation in specie, and conducting its affairs in such a manner as to make the bank a profitable concern, I find its circulation and its specie to be this:—On the first Saturday in May, 1839, the Provincial Bank had 950,000*l.* in notes. On the same day it had in gold 305,000*l.*, and in silver 42,000*l.* It had thus 347,000*l.* in specie. In 1840, on the same day, the amount of its notes was 860,000*l.*; it had in gold 330,000*l.*; and in silver 62,000*l.* In 1841, and on the same day, it had 832,000*l.* of notes in circulation; its gold was 321,000*l.*; and the amount in silver 70,000*l.*; being a deposit in specie of 391,000*l.*, for the purpose of supporting a circulation of 832,000*l.*; or the specie was very nearly the half of the circulation. That was done voluntarily. They considered it right to have that foundation for their issues, and a fund in reserve to meet any demand that might be made upon them. Looking to the last Return, namely, for the first Saturday in March, in the present year, the amount of its notes in circulation I find was 1,046,000*l.*; it then had in gold 397,000*l.*; and in silver 29,000*l.*; that is, 426,000*l.* voluntarily held—except one-fifth, which it was bound to keep according to its agreement with the Bank of Ireland—as the foundation of its issues. Now, I ask from the Irish banks, and I ask from the Scotch banks, that they should hold no such corresponding amount of specie in proportion to their issue; but I ask them to give, in case of their exceeding the amount, a guarantee to the public that there should be a certain amount of specie, to meet demands, kept on hand. But, in order to avoid inconvenience of any kind, I propose that this plan shall not take effect till the 1st of January; and I am perfectly certain that each bank in Scotland and in Ireland, will be able, by that time, without the least disarrangement of their business, to make provisions for conducting their affairs under the new regulations. I have not stated yet what the bearing of those regulations will be on the banks in Ireland. In the case of all the banks of Ireland there has been a rapid increase of circulation since April last year. The Bank of Ireland has increased its circulation from 3,600,000*l.* last year, to 3,900,000*l.*, at which it stands at present. The aggregate circulation of the other banks of Ireland had increased from 2,357,000*l.*, in April last year, to 3,105,000*l.*, at which it stands at present. If I compare the circulation of the banks in last year to their circulation at present, and, not including the Bank of Ireland, they have increased from 1,974,000*l.* to 3,105,000*l.* I should object, then, to take the last three months as the foundation by which I was to determine the future amount of issues. In Scotland it is of comparative unimportance at what time the average may be taken, because there has been no sudden increase of circulation; but seeing the rapid increase of circulation in Ireland of late, I think it right to extend the average circulation over the whole year. But, Sir, I am not prepared to say, that this great increase in the amount of the issues in Ireland has taken place unfairly, or with the view of giving to any party an undue advantage. Though undoubtedly this increase in the circulation in Ireland is great, I believe it may be to a considerable extent accounted for—I believe it arises partly from this circumstance, that the Returns have of late been made with greater accuracy than formerly. The actual amount of the circulation was formerly, I think, much larger than it appeared from the Returns; and the recent increase, I believe, arises partly from this circumstance, and partly from the more gratifying fact that we had last year a very good harvest in Ireland; and consequently, there has been an increased demand for capital in Ireland, and a requirement for increased circulation, all causing in some degree an increase in the issues of promissory notes. But if you take the case of the Provincial Bank of Ireland, the proposed regulations will have no effect in restricting its issues; so far from it, the Bank has very wisely a reserve of 400,000*l*., so that it may, in fact, under those regulations, increase its present circulation by that amount of 400,000*l*., provided that increase takes place on the basis of specie. And with regard to the other banks—as the Belfast Bank, the National Bank, and the various other banks of Ireland—I believe they have now an amount of specie in hand sufficient to enable them to work the measure without any inconvenience or disarrangement of their affairs. The total amount which under this Bill the Bank of Ireland will be permitted to issue without restriction will be, taking the average circulation of the last thirteen lunar months, 3,706,000*l*.; and the amount which the various other banks will be permitted to issue, under the same average, will be 2,565,000*l*., making a total amount of issues for Ireland of 6,271,000*l*. It is possible that this amount may be restricted by accidental circumstances, as failure and withdrawal; and in England, in the case of a bankruptcy, or the withdrawal of the circulation of any bank, you permitted the Bank of England to supply the void. Let us take the case of Scotland. The permitted amount of the circulation of Scotland will be 3,431,000*l*.; in the case of England, when a bank becomes bankrupt, the Bank of England is now entitled to step in and supply the void, and make fresh issues of notes, two-thirds of the amount being issued on security; and I may very fairly be asked the question, Suppose, from any similar circumstance, a void should occur in the circulation of Scotland, how would you supply it? It may be said, Suppose a bank should fail, and in consequence 200,000*l*. be withdrawn from the circulation, you will have restricted the circulation for Scotland to that extent; or you will impose on it the necessity of getting an additional supply of gold. I propose, in this respect, a rule for Scotland which is not adopted in England. I propose, in Scotland—as we have there no other establishments to deal with but joint-stock banks; and in Ireland also, I propose—to permit the union and incorporation of two joint-stock banks, and permit the banks so united to issue an amount of circulation equal to the amount of the circulation of the two separate banks. You do not permit that in England: here you do not permit a private bank to incorporate itself with a joint-stock bank, to prevent any sudden decrease in the circulation; but in the case of Scotland and Ireland, I propose to meet the void by permitting the bank, which is carrying on a good and flourishing business, to dispense the privilege to which it is entitled, to some other bank, and that the two shall be united and incorporated, and that the Returns of the future issues of those two banks shall be the average of the amount of the issues of both banks. It may be said, that a bankruptcy may happen so suddenly, that union and incorporation in the way I propose will be hardly possible; but I think it better not to anticipate such a difficulty. By so permitting the union of two banks, and permitting the issues of the united banks to be equal to the issues of the two banks, if separate, I think you will take ample security against such a possible diminution of the circulation as I have adverted to. If any sensible diminution were to occur—if the total circulation of Scotland were suddenly to fall below the 3,000,000*l*., to such an amount as to require the intervention of Parliament, there would be then no objection on the part of the Government to devise, or of Parliament to adopt some other remedy. I believe, however, that for such a remedy there will be no necessity; for I think the permission which we propose to give to unite and incorporate two banks will meet the difficulty. Sir, I do not know if there is any point requiring explanation which I have omitted to advert to. It will be seen that I have strictly applied to Ireland and to Scotland the principles which we have applied to the joint-stock banks in this country, imposing no obligation upon them, requiring no interference with their concerns, as is now the case in England, provided they do not exceed their limits. If they do exceed their limits, I apply to them the same principles as to the English banks, and require that the excess of their circulation should be based on specie. But there will be ample time, as much as the most sensitive can desire, for applying the new regulation. I impose no limitation in the amount of the issues. I permit to Ireland and to Scotland an unrestricted amount of issue, provided only it take place on the deposit of that which it professes to represent and excludes from the circulation—the coin of the realm. But I leave to the banks of Ireland and of Scotland that privilege which they have long enjoyed, and to which I find they attach so much importance—the privilege of continuing the issue of 1*l.* and 2*l.* notes. If the House sanction the measure I propose to ask leave to bring in, I shall have the satisfaction of believing that it will add to the stability of the circulation of the United Kingdom; and by empowering the Bank of England to judge what is the amount of the circulation in every part of the United Kingdom, and giving a guarantee to the Bank of England, that under no circumstance shall that amount be exceeded unless the excess be based upon specie, we are adding an additional security to that circulation, in the maintenance of the confidence in which I believe the prosperity of the country mainly depends. And, Sir, do not let it be said that this interference is not necessary for the purpose, that the issues in Ireland and Scotland have never exercised a prejudicial effect on the issues of the Bank of England. I do not wish now to go into the consideration of that question; but I think I could show, were it necessary, that precisely at the period when the Bank of England was making great exertions to insure the convertibility of paper into coin—at that very time came the pressure both from Ireland and from Scotland which materially impeded the exertions made by the Bank to support commercial credit. I speak of the year 1836 and the year 1839; and, if it be necessary, I think I shall be able to show that it is but just to impose on Ireland, and to impose on Scotland, some part of the burden—for a burden I must admit it to be—borne by them in very unequal proportions—of being prepared to meet the demands which any sudden political panic or commercial difficulty may create. This may be done, as I think, to a great extent, without interfering with any vested interest or privilege which the banks of Ireland and Scotland now possess, or diminishing to any extent that legitimate accommodation which had been before granted to or could be expected by the agricultural or any other interest either in Scotland or in Ireland. I do hope on reflection—I deprecate premature discussion—I hope you will permit the Bill to be first laid before you, and see what are its enactments; and when you next come to consider it, I confidently expect that you, Gentlemen of Scotland, and you Gentlemen of Ireland, will admit that the Bill gives additional security to the circulation of the country, without at the same time fettering any of those interests you naturally and justly cherish. The right hon. Baronet concluded by moving the following Resolutions:—

Resolved.—" 1. That the Chairman be directed to move the House, that leave be given to bring in a Bill to regulate the issue of Bank Notes in Scotland.

" 2. That the Chairman be directed to move the House, that leave be given to bring in a Bill to regulate the Issue of Bank Notes in Ireland, and to regulate the repayment of certain sums advanced by the Governor and Company of the Bank of Ireland for the Public Service."

Mr. *C. Wood* wished to ask a question or two. The right hon. Baronet was probably aware that at present small notes for fractional parts of a pound circulated in Ireland; was it intended by the right hon. Baronet's measure to interfere with them, and prohibit the future issue of those 25*s.* and 30*s.* notes?

Sir *R. Peel* was induced to think it might be a great improvement, considering the ample supply of silver coin in Ireland, to discontinue the issue of the notes to which the hon. Member had alluded; but he would not undertake to prohibit their issue, if it should appear that there was any great or general opinion in favour of their continued circulation. All his experience in such matters was favourable to making concessions to feelings, and even to prejudices, so far as it could be done consistently; and upon this point, therefore, though he thought it would be an improvement not to have these fractional notes in circulation, he was anxious to have an opportunity of considering the matter further, and hearing any objections that might be urged in their favour before he decided.

Mr. *C. Wood* said, his object was rather to direct the right hon. Baronet's attention to the point, than to ask him at once to pronounce an opinion upon it one way or the other; but there was another question of more importance he wished to put. He understood the right hon. Baronet proposed that the returns of the issues of the Scotch banks should be made as at present—weekly; and the right hon. Baronet then, as he understood, proposed to compound from those weekly returns a monthly return of the average circulation, which he compares, with the view of arriving at the limit of circulation to be imposed under the Bill. The right hon. Baronet compares the monthly average with the limit derived from the yearly average, and all notes beyond that limit were to be issued on the basis of specie—not specie deposited anywhere, but specie in the hands of the bank that made the issues. And to enable the Government to ascertain the specie in hand, all the banks were to be called upon to make a confidential return to the Government, at all times and under all circumstances, of the amount of specie in their coffers. And then, if the first monthly average of notes issued did not exceed the limit so laid down, no more of course was to be said; but if the amount of the monthly average were found to be beyond and in excess of the yearly limit, it would be sufficient for the Government if the amount of the excess did not exceed the amount of specie (which they would see by the Returns) held by the bank. If the monthly average did not exceed the yearly limit all would be right; and if it did, the Government would have in their hands a return which would enable them to see that the excess was provided for by an amount of specie which should be beyond, or equal, to that excess. [Sir *R. Peel:* Hear, hear.] Now, he apprehended, it would be found that the banks of Scotland generally held at all times a large quantity of specie equal to one-fourth or one-sixth, say an average of one-fifth, of all their issues, which was the amount the Provincial Bank of Ireland held, he believed, by agreement; and supposing the banks of Scotland to hold one-fifth of their circulation in specie, he apprehended that they might, under the Government measure, without any increase whatever in the amount of their specie, and without anything being done, increase by one-fifth their issues of notes. Was he correct in that idea?

Sir *R. Peel* observed, that the hon. Gentleman had most accurately described the principles he (Sir R. Peel) had laid down as those on which the Bill proceeded. In the case of England, they permitted the Bank of England to issue a certain amount of paper, viz., 8,000,000*l.*, without requiring that it should hold 1*s.* in specie, or a note or a single security of any kind; but if they issued 500,000*l.* beyond that 8,000,000*l.*, in that case they provided that the issues should be by Bank of England paper. They did not diminish their obligation to pay their notes in specie, nor did they inquire what was the amount of gold in circulation. With regard to the Scotch banks, he believed the hon. Member would find that they did not all hold specie to the amount of one-fifth of the circulation. All he required, however, was security for having their notes converted into coin. He proposed to act in regard to the Scotch banks as he had acted in regard to the English banks, by requiring that any excess of issues should be based on at least an equal amount of specie in hand.

Mr. *C. Wood:* Was he to understand that there was to be no publication of returns beyond that they had already—the average of each lunar month?

Sir *R. Peel* was not now entering into any contract with any Scotch bank. He was under no engagement with them, and he reserved to himself the power hereafter of requiring any returns he might think necessary.

Mr. *C. Wood:* But what is the return you intend to publish?

Sir *R. Peel:* I intend to publish the same returns in the case of the Scotch banks as are now required in the case of the English banks—the return of the issues taken on the average returns of the four weeks, and I shall require also the publication of the names of all the parties, and of all who are subject to any liability on account of the bank. In short, I shall require from the Scotch banks the same returns as I do now from the English banks.

Mr. *F. Baring;* If I understand correctly, these banks are to be allowed to issue notes up to the amount of the limit in each case, and beyond that an excess in notes equal to the amount of specie in their possession?

Sir *R. Peel;* Yes.

Mr. *Fox Maule* rose to do that which he felt bound to do on the present occasion, to give his best thanks to the right hon. Baronet for the clear and distinct explanation he had given of his measure, and to acknowledge that he had most fully redeemed every pledge he had given to the deputation (of which he was a member) that waited upon him a few days ago, notwithstanding the extreme pressure of public business which might well have been urged by the right hon. Baronet as an excuse for not doing so. Under the circumstances in which the measure was brought forward, it would not be proper to discuss it or pronounce any opinion upon it; but he must be permitted to say one thing. Without saying whether the measure was a good or bad one, he must admit that it was by no means so dangerous as he had expected. He made that admission freely, and in the same spirit in which the right hon. Baronet had given his explanation, without reference to any party feeling or any such low and unworthy motive; and he hoped in the same spirit the right hon. Baronet's explanation would be weighed by the approaching meetings in the various counties in Scotland. If they were to have interference with the banks of Scotland—and he could wish they were allowed to remain as they were—still it was gratifying that that interference would proceed on fair and reasonable terms, and without interrupting the confidence Scotland had in her present long-continued and hitherto unfettered system. He thought the right hon. Baronet had opened some grounds of argument which might be adverted to at a future stage of the Bill. He at one time considered that it might be more beneficial to the parties interested, that the explanation of the right hon. Baronet should go down to Scotland without any ulterior step being taken; but his opinion was now altered; he thought there was no ground for objecting to the introduction of the Bill; in its printed form they would be better able to judge of its details. All he would say on this occasion was, that in assenting to the introduction of the Bill, he must not be understood as bound to any of its details.

Mr. *P. M. Stewart* had no intention to oppose the introduction of the Bill, but rather to express his surprise that the right hon. Baronet had thought it necessary in any degree, however slightly, to interfere with a system so perfect and unobjectionable as experience had proved the banking system of Scotland to be. But the slight manner in which the right hon. Baronet had redeemed his pledge—a pledge put forth first in the Speech from the Throne, and afterwards by the right hon. Baronet himself—the very slight and almost imperceptible manner in which he had touched upon it, convinced him that the right hon. Baronet was imbued with the opinion that the Scotch banking system was as perfect and unobjectionable as any system could be. He would not then enter into any of the details of the plan proposed. He believed it would not effect the great objects stated—he did not think it would add to the security of the currency of Scotland. It would not compel the banks of Scotland to keep one sovereign more in their coffers, or add to the respectability or responsibility of those establishments. And so far, it would not add to the security of the public or the character of their banks. But there was one thing he remarked in the plan—that it was carrying out the right hon. Baronet's favourite system of banking for the nation at large; for it would, as the right hon. Baronet said, bring under the revision of the Bank the precise and certain state of the general currency of the country. He could not separate from his mind the impression it took on the first statement made by the right hon. Baronet on the subject of banking last year: that it was the deliberate and determined ulterior object of the right hon. Baronet to establish but one bank of issue for the United Kingdom of England and Scotland. If the right hon. Baronet did harbour such an intention, he would refer him to a clear and able writer on the subject of the currency, the right hon. Gentleman who sat next to him, the Secretary for the Home Department, who in page 99 of the fourth edition of his book, called *Corn and Currency*, published in 1827, expresses his opinion of the dangerous tendency, in a national and political point of view of any such establishment. ["Oh, oh!"] The right hon. Gentlemen seemed to doubt the authority; he would read the passage if they wished. He wished merely to say, that what was now proposed in meddling with the Scotch banking system, amounted scarcely to any alteration at all, certainly to no addition to its security. But he would ask the right hon. Gentleman, whether the very limited circulation of Scotland, amounting to only about 3,000,000*l.*, he believed—whether that aggregate amount, which was issued on a paid-up capital of more than 10,000,000*l.*, by bankers who enjoyed so much the confidence of the country, that they had deposits of upwards of 30,000,000*l.*—whether a circulation so limited, yet sufficient for the trade of Scotland, would be always kept up under the working of the averages proposed? The right hon. Baronet had not alluded to, or hinted at, the weakness or insecurity of any Scotch bank; and what he meant to ask was, that should one bank fall short in the required weekly and monthly averages, and another bank should not, but be in excess, whether the total circulation would, under these circumstances, be maintained; and that if the aggregate circulation should not exceed the 3,000,000*l.*, whether that should not be taken as proof sufficient that there had been no excess of issue? That was the only particular point requiring explanation that struck him in the right hon. Baronet's statement; and, reserving to himself the right to discuss the details of the measure when brought fairly before them, and expressing his surprise that the right hon. Baronet should have pledged himself to meddle with a system so perfectly unobjectionable—a pledge which he had redeemed with more sound than substance—he should not oppose the Motion.

Mr. *Colquhoun* thanked the Government that, as there was to be interference in the system of banking in Scotland, it was of that limited nature that had called forth the qualified approbation of the right hon. Member for Perth. The Government had exercised a sound discretion on this subject, as well as on the Poor Law question, in not assimilating the institutions of Scotland to those of England. In agricultural districts he feared that the plan of the right hon. Baronet might act prejudicially. So far as he was informed (though in towns he believed the average of the thirteen lunar months would be fair enough) — in the agricultural districts, where there was a very large circulation during two months, as compared with the rest of the year, he feared the limitation during those two months would be by the proposed averages limited, and that limitation would press severely on the agricultural and commercial population. Under those circumstances he thought, in those parts of the country where it should be the object to extend the accommodation liberally, they would contract the circulation unfairly and injuriously.

Mr. *Hume* had come down to the House entertaining some apprehensions that the right hon. Baronet intended to do more, and so to do mischief; but there was not one of the arrangements he had proposed, as regarded Scotland, that he thought the bankers of Scotland would object to carry out, except, perhaps, that one which had been hinted at by the hon. Member. It appeared from the evidence of intelligent men, both in Scotland and Ireland—but he spoke more especially as regarded Scotland—that during two months in the year parties went round the Highlands to collect cattle, and purchase many articles, to pay for which money was taken out of the banks, which money was spread round the country, and returned to the bank in about two or two and a half months from the time it was taken out. Now it was most important that they should not do anything that should check that circulation, which was more necessary to the industry of Scotland than any thing else. The notes issued by the Scotch banks ran upon the average not more than nine or ten days, but in these two particular months they did not find their way back to the bank in less than two or two and a half months, perhaps, and nothing could be more prejudicial to the industry of Scotland than any system of averages which would limit that circulation. That was the only objection he had to make, and that was a matter of detail with regard to the measure generally. So far as Scotland was concerned, the people would be relieved from the apprehensions they had formed; while for Ireland the advantage would be great, and he was perfectly satisfied that every Irishman would be gratified by the alteration proposed.

Mr. *Baring* would not enter into the merits of the proposal, as he apprehended that it was understood that it was the best course at present merely to hear the explanation of the right hon. Gentleman, reserving any opinion which they might have to offer upon the subject for another opportunity. He should not, indeed, have thought it necessary to say a word, were it not that hon. Gentlemen on either side of him had not scrupled to express their opinion upon different points. He would merely say, however, that he reserved to himself perfect freedom of expression for a future occasion; and he assured the hon. Gentleman who sat near him that he could not consider anything which affected the circulation of Ireland and Scotland as foreign in interest to an English Member. If any serious objections were raised to the measure which they had just heard laid before them, the people of Scotland and Ireland would prove themselves more sensitive and less sensible than he had always imagined them to be.

Mr. *Sheil* could not but express his strong approbation of the system proposed to be adopted towards provincial banking in Ireland, the state of which had for many years been made the subject of much and merited complaint. There was, for example, the town of Drogheda, the commerce and manufactures of which were rapidly extending, and which was connected with Dublin by, he might say, an hour's distance; there was Dundalk, within sixty-four miles of Dublin; and Carlow, still nearer the capital, All these towns must be essentially benefited by the measure now proposed. And it was to him matter of great gratification that the privileges now to be abolished had not been rudely torn from the Bank of Ireland, but on the contrary, voluntarily surrendered, so that there could arise no complaint from any quarter whatever upon the subject. A safeguard against excessive issue was most desirable, and he thought the proposition for taking thirteen lunar months as the time the average issues within which should be fixed as the maximum for future issues—any surplus issue over that amount requiring a like amount of specie to represent it—he repeated that that proposition seemed fair and reasonable.

Mr. *Warburton* wished to have some explanation upon one point. The right hon. Baronet had stated that the deposit in specie—equivalent to the amount of excess of issue over the thirteen months averages—might be in gold or in silver. He presumed that in stating that he would thus give the option to banks of having their specie either in gold or silver, the right hon. Gentleman did not mean to exempt them from the obligation of paying in gold any notes that might be presented representing an amount above 40*s*. He wished for some positive assurance upon this point.

Sir *Robert Peel* did not intend to lessen the responsibility at present weighing upon banks of paying their notes in gold coin. Every bank must provide itself with gold sufficient to meet the demand of holders of its notes; and although, as regarded the specie to be held equivalent to their issues, the option of holding gold or silver was given, that did not at all diminish the responsibility and liability of banks to pay, when demanded, gold for their notes. Looking into the present state of banking in Scotland, he found, he was bound to say, that, notwithstanding the increasing prosperity and extending commerce of that country, no increase of bank issues had taken place of late years. He must also say, that he did think that the banking business of Scotland, speaking generally, was conducted on good principles. ["Hear, hear."] He said speaking generally. Whether or not the Scotch banks had not taken lower interest at the time that the Bank of England was increasing its rates of interest, he would not say; but certainly Scotland had not abused the system so long in force there. All that was now intended was an extension to Scotland of the principle of the measure in force in England. The hon. Member for Halifax had talked of a particular case, and put a question founded upon it. The hon. Gentleman had asked, supposing a bank to return its issues at a less amount than that fixed as the maximum for any excess over which specie would be required to be held—whether he would in such a case allow another bank, without holding equivalent specie, to overrun the maximum to the same extent as the first bank had failed in coming up to it. But how was the former bank to be aware of what was to be the amount of the issues of the latter, and how was the amount to be divided? He did not see how the case could occur at all. He did not see how the principle mentioned could be practically applied. However, he might say, that supposing it practicable, he did not mean to grant any such privilege. He proposed to limit the circulation of each bank to a certain amount, and if any bank issued less than that amount, he did not mean to give to another establishment the privilege of issuing more. Then, as to extending the period within which to strike the averages. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Montrose had stated that there were certain periods during which a great excess of issue, as compared with other periods, generally took place. Well, he did not propose to interfere with this increased issue. He did not wish to prevent it. He only wanted to have gold on which to found the excess of issue. In Ireland—and the case differed from that of Scotland—the amount of circulation had recently risen high above the average. Taking the average at 12,160,000*l.*, and the late circulation at 8,105,000*l.*, a difference was shown of 945,000*l.* of excess in issues; for which, of course, a corresponding amount of specie, according to the system laid down, would be required.

Mr. *Hume* wished to make one observation. The right hon. Baronet had stated that the Scotch banks took a smaller, when the Bank of England charged a higher rate of interest. Now the evidence upon the subject proved that the reverse was the case. While the Scotch banks were charging 4 and 5 per cent. the Bank of England was lending money at 3½ per cent.

Resolutions agreed to.

House resumed. Resolutions reported. Bills ordered to be brought in.

MAYNOOTH COLLEGE COMMITTEE.] On the Motion that the Speaker do now leave the Chair, for the House to go into Committee for voting the grant to Maynooth College,

Sir *R. Peel* put it to the House whether, considering the very long continuance of the debate, it would not be most convenient for all parties—and to his hon. and learned Friend the Member for the University of Cambridge, whether he would not secure a greater amount of attention for his Amendment and his speech—were he to introduce the proposition in Committee upon the Bill. If the discussion to come on upon his hon. and learned Friend's Motion could be postponed to another day, he could not help thinking that such a course would be one in conformity with the general wishes of the House. The debate might be advantageously taken upon another and more advanced stage of the Bill.

Mr. *Law* would at once comply with the suggestion. Allowing the House now to go into Committee, he would give notice that upon the bringing up of the Report he should move that it be received that day six months. He supposed that the Report would be brought up on Monday.

House in Committee.

Resolution as follows agreed to:—

"That a sum of not exceeding 30,000*l.* be issued out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to defray the expense of purchasing such land, and of purchasing, and erecting such buildings, as may be required for the College of Maynooth; and of repairing, fitting up, and furnishing the said College and buildings; and that provision be also made, out of the said Consolidated Fund, for the payment of such annual salaries, stipends, and other expenses at the said College, as may be authorised by any Act to be passed in the present Session of Parliament."

PHYSIC AND SURGERY BILL.] Sir *James Graham* moved the Second Reading this Bill.

Mr. *Wakley* having presented a petition, signed by upwards of 200 of the students of the London University, generally approving of the measure, but objecting to certain portions of it, the hon. Gentleman went on to observe that it was understood that the discussion upon the measure should be taken at an after stage, and therefore it was not his intention to go into the question now. He wished, however, to call the attention of the right hon. Baronet to that passage in the petition which he had just presented, which prayed that the Bill might not be made retrospective in its effects, but that students registered as such at the present time should be allowed to qualify under the present existing rules. He hoped that Government would take the case of the petitioners under its favourable consideration. He wished also to put a question to the right hon. Gentleman, which, if it should prove inconvenient to answer at once, his having put it would, he hoped, be considered as a notice that he should ask it again on Monday. It had been stated in print that the right hon. Gentleman had declared that he considered it impossible that the general practitioners should be enfranchised in the College of Surgeons in London. He understood that the right hon. Gentleman had stated the door to be absolutely closed in that institution to any arrangement between the Council and the Members of the College—by whom he meant the general practitioners of England and Wales. He wished to know whether these statements had really been made as reported.

Sir *James Graham* was much obliged to the hon. Gentleman for not insisting on the right he possessed of opposing the second reading of the Bill. He thought, on the whole, that the course which he had taken would be found to be the most convenient. He proposed to read the Bill a second time this evening, and to fix the Committee for the last day before the Whitsuntide holidays — Wednesday, the 7th of next month. He allowed this long interval to elapse, with the view of being enabled to complete certain arrangements which he hoped would enable him to introduce the Bill after the Whitsuntide holidays in a shape which would prove generally satisfactory. He would next advert to the matter alluded to, as being contained in the petition just presented. He was quite aware that, in a measure of this kind, materially affecting the interests of parties taken, as it were, by surprise, the most indulgent consideration should be shown towards them. But, at the same time, he must tell the hon. Gentleman that there were important interests at stake which it was impossible to disregard. With reference to the time at which students now registered could, under the proposed system, pass, there was a length of time particularly prescribed by the Bill. On that point, however, he was not indisposed to make any reasonable allowance for the circumstances in which individuals might be placed. As to the standard of qualification, however, he felt less disposed to make any concession. Under the present system the petitioners would be entitled to become general practitioners in the United Kingdom, provided the test of qualification were sustained. It was most essential for the general welfare of the community that these practitioners should be duly qualified, and the test of qualification was examination. Having said so much, the hon. Gentleman would feel that it became his duty to reserve to himself full power of considering the matter with reference to the interests of the community, in connexion always with those of individuals. As to the last question, whether he considered the door of negotiation closed between the Council of the College of Surgeons and the body of general practitioners, the hon. Gentleman who had asked it, and all other hon. Members who had paid any attention to the subject, had had opportunities of seeing the correspondence which had passed upon the matter. Previous to that correspondence, he (Sir J. Graham) had thought that some adjustment was possible. Since, however, it had taken place, he could only say, while he would not go so far as to state that the door was absolutely closed—that his fears against, greatly exceeded his hopes in favour of, any adjustment being at all possible. He trusted, however, before the Bill went into Committee, that he should be able to make arrangements which would be generally satisfactory to the body of practitioners.

Bill read a second time.

On the Question that it be committed, Mr. *Wakley* observed, that the students signing the petition which he had presented, had no objection to the strictest examination. They were prepared to submit to any test; but what they prayed was, that the Legislature would not prevent them from being examined at the time they hoped that they should be in conformity with the regulation of the medical schools in which they were entered. He begged to ask the right hon. Baronet whether he had any objection to his moving for a Return of the Answer which the Council of the College of Surgeons had addressed to the general Association of Medical Practitioners.

Sir *James Graham* had no objection, as a Member of the Government, to the hon. Member's moving for the Return alluded to; but as a Member of Parliament he did entertain objections to a document being moved for, the production of which the House had no power to compel.

Mr. *Warburton* remembered a remarkable observation of the right hon. the First Lord of the Treasury, which bore on this point. It was this—that where powers were given to a public body for the discharge of public functions, it was amenable to Parliament for the manner in which it performed them. This correspondence came strictly under that character.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* observed, that if all public bodies were liable to be called on for the production of their correspondence, people must be careful as to the private letters addressed to them.

Sir *R. Inglis* thought the House should not interfere, except in a case of the greatest emergency.

Sir *James Graham* said, that if the hon. Member would have the goodness to repeat his Motion on some future day, he had no doubt he could lay the correspondence on the Table by command.

Mr. *Wakley* gave notice that he should do so on Monday.

Bill to be committed.

House adjourned at nine o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Monday, April 28, 1845.

MINUTES.] BILLS. *Public.*—$1^{a.}$ Privy Council Appellate Jurisdiction Act Amendment; Colonial Passengers; Heritable Securities (Scotland); Infeftment (Scotland).

Private.—$1^{a.}$ Paisley Gas; Foulmire Inclosure; Clerkenwell Improvement.

$2^{a.}$ Shelsley Road; London Orphan Asylum.

Reported.—Wallasey Improvement.

$3^{a.}$ and passsed:—Kingston-upon-Hull Docks; Fisher Land (Greenwich) Improvement.

PETITIONS PRESENTED. From Mayor and others of Rye, for the Adoption of Measures for prohibiting Owners of

Railways from continuing or becoming Proprietors of Harbours.—By the Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop of Exeter, Duke of Cleveland, Earls of Falmouth, Winchilsea, and Marquess of Breadalbane, from Dunfermline, and a great number of other places, against Increase of Grant to Maynooth College.—By Earl of Powis, from Baglan, and several other places, against Union of Saint Asaph and Bangor, but in favour of the Appointment of a Bishop to the See of Manchester.—By Bishop of Winchester, from Clergy and others, of Llangynien, and numerous other places, against the Union of St. Asaph and Bangor.—From Clergy and others, of Parishes of Weston, and several other places, for the better Regulation of Beer Houses.—From St. George the Martyr, Southwark, for the Suppression of Sunday Trading.—By Duke of Cleveland, and Lord Brougham, from Bangor, and 2 other places, in favour of Increase of Grant to Maynooth.—By Duke of Richmond and Lord Brougham, from Tradesmen of Tavistock, and several other places, for Repeal of 57th Clause, and from Commissioners of Court of Requests of Southwark, and other places, and from Bristol, for Alteration of Insolvent Debtors Act Amendment.—From Society for Mutual Protection of Trade, for Alteration of Law relating to Insolvents, in order to prevent their making unjust Returns.—From Long Bennington, and Foston, for the Suppression of Intemperance, especially on the Sabbath.—By Earl of Enniskillen, from Killesher, and numerous other places, for Encourgement of Schools in connexion with Church Education Society (Ireland).—From Presbytery of Dunbar, for Improving the Condition of Schoolmasters (Scotland).—From Clergy of the Parishes of Weston, and several other places, against the running of Railway Trains on the Sabbath.

THE " CONDEMNED SERMON "—TREATMENT OF CRIMINALS.] The Marquess of *Clanricarde* said, he intended to depart to a certain extent from the usual course of proceeding adopted by their Lordships. He was desirous of making a Motion of which he had given no notice; but when he stated the nature of that Motion, he was sure that but one feeling could exist in the House with respect to the subject, and he, therefore, could not anticipate the slightest opposition to it, although he had not given the usual notice preparatory to bringing it forward. It would be in the recollection of their Lordships that about three years ago, in the case of an unhappy man who was sentenced to suffer death for murder, public attention was directed to a scene which took place in Newgate, which he believed, and which he was convinced their Lordships would agree with him in believing, was irreligious, disgraceful, and unbecoming. Notice was taken, both in that and the other House of Parliament, of the scene to which he alluded; and it was thought that that notice would have had such an effect on the country and the public mind as to prevent a recurrence of such scenes; but it would appear that such was not the case, and that yesterday, as he found in the papers of that day, there had been a recurrence of this exhibition—a proceeding which their Lordships and all right-thinking people in the country would agree with him in reprobating. On a late occasion, when a criminal, to whose case much public attention had been directed, suffered the punishment of death at Aylesbury, the authorities had the firmness, and discretion, and proper feeling, to refuse to lend themselves to anything which was not in accordance with the strict letter of the law and the usages which it authorized; but the conduct of the authorities of the prison of Newgate, in the city of London, had not conducted themselves in a like manner, or taken a course which he could describe as characterized by similar propriety. The proceedings to which he wished to draw the attention of their Lorships on this occasion were described in the newspapers of that day, from one of which he would read an extract for their Lordships, descriptive of what was called the " Condemned Sermon," which had been preached on the day before in Newgate, in the hearing of a large audience, attracted by curiosity to witness the spectacle, which was correctly described as a theatrical sort of exhibition. The account in the paper, which he held in his hand, was as follows:—

" The Sheriffs having issued tickets for as many persons as the chapel could, without being crowded to the inconvenience of all, contain, the seats were soon after the admission of the visitors completely occupied. Notwithstanding the general censure to which female visitors upon occasions of the kind have been subjected, there were some of the sex whose curiosity prevailed over the feelings by which the majority are influenced. Mr. Cope, the governor, made very judicious arrangements, by which confusion and inconvenience were obviated, and the reporters for the newspapers were admitted, according to a previous regulation, at a quarter past ten o'clock, exactly fifteen minutes before the service commenced. After a delay of a few seconds, Hocker entered, accompanied by the deputy governor of the prison and an assistant turnkey. It might be called a theatrical movement. The ease and self-possession which the convict exhibited as he advanced to his seat evidently surprised those of the congregation who had never before seen him, and he seated himself on a chair facing the altar, and at the end of the chapel opposite to that which Connor occupied. He was very particular in fixing his chair, and the hassock which had been placed for his use so as to enable him to make a display. He exhibited, in fact, a perfect consciousness that he was " the observed of all observers," and had to all appearance made up his mind to represent in this the last scene but one of his existence the character which he has been performing since his apprehension."

The passages which he had read for their Lordships would show that he (the Marquess of Clanricarde) was perfectly justified in bringing the subject before their Lordships. Let it not be supposed from what he was saying, that he had any sympathy with a criminal who was sentenced to death, or any objection to the publicity of the execution of the sentence which the law awarded. When a criminal was sentenced to death, the punishment, to be effective, ought to be public; but it was not right to desecrate the house of God by admitting to such scenes persons who were possessed of such morbid feelings as to find pleasure in witnessing them. There was no right to desecrate the Liturgy of the Church by placing a man in that position before an assemblage of spectators watching to see what effect the solemnities of the Church might produce on him—to see what might be wrung from him by those solemn observances. He knew their Lordships would agree with him in opinion, that such a scene was a disgrace, not only to the particular locality in which it occurred, but to the whole community—for these reports went abroad and affected the national character; and although the Ministers of the Crown might have no direct authority over the gaol of Newgate, yet it was quite clear that they could adopt measures for the purpose of preventing the recurrence of such proceedings. The proceeding by which the Liturgy of the Church had been desecrated did not end with the portion of the description which he had read for their Lordships; and he regretted to say that what further took place on that occasion was contrary to every principle of law and justice which was recognised in this country. Not only was the convicted man brought forward in that public manner before so many spectators, but a man who was charged with a crime—who had not as yet been tried—who was presumed by the law to be innocent—was placed in a prominent position, where his demeanour could be watched and observed by all those around him, during a part so impressive, under all the circumstances, that it must have been very trying, he would not say to any woman's, but even to any man's nerves, and particularly to the nerves of a man who was going to be tried himself in a short time for a similar offence. That was the ordeal to which a man who was yet to be tried had been exposed; all his demeanour observed, and the play of his features reported in this mockery of justice. The demeanour of the man yet to be tried was thus described in the paper which he held in his hand:—

> "The gaol bell having summoned the prisoners in the various wards of the gaol to Divine service, the divisions of the chapel assigned to them were speedily filled. As soon as they were seated, Connor, the young fellow who was committed for trial upon the charge of the wilful murder of Mary Brothers, in George-street, St. Giles's, was brought in by the turnkey in whose charge he has been placed since his removal to the prison upon the magistrate's warrant. Connor appeared to be improved in health, and was decently attired in black. He was conducted to a chair prepared for him in the body of the chapel, directly opposite to the pulpit, and close to the pew appropriated to the use of the family of the Rev. Mr. Davis, and he seemed to be affected frequently during the service. The turnkey sat on a form next to him. At length the service commenced. The Rev. Robert S. Bower, the chaplain of the gaol of the county of Somerset, ascended the reading-desk, and the reverend Ordinary took his place at the altar. The beautiful Liturgy of the Church of England was then read by the former clergyman in an extremely impressive manner. Throughout the service, Connor paid the most deep attention to every word that fell from the lips of those engaged in performing it, and manifested extreme thoughtfulness and dejection."

There was then an account given of the sermon, from which it appeared that the clergyman, in an affecting discourse, not unnaturally alluded to the condition of that man (Connor) who was placed opposite to him to be preached at; and there was an account given of how it affected him, and the impression which had been made upon him. The clergyman alluded to the subject of executions for the crime of murder in some observations, with respect to which, he (the Marquess of Clanricarde) did not agree with him, constituted as society was. The clergyman said—

> "It appeared that another offence of a similar atrocity was perpetrated, for which there was now present another young man, of whose guilt or otherwise it was not his province to speak, though he stood committed for trial on the oaths of several witnesses."

It was added, that the sermon made a "deep impression" on Connor. No wonder that it made a deep impression on him after all he had heard, when he was reminded that he had been committed on the oaths of several respectable witnesses. He did not think it fair to expose that man to such an ordeal; he did not know whether he was innocent or guilty, but he ought not to be treated as if guilty until he was fairly tried. After the statement which he had made, he was sure their Lordships would have no objection to allow him to make a Motion on the subject without notice. The Motion was one which he made with a view to enabling further steps to be taken by the House if it were found necessary. The noble Lord concluded by moving—

> "That there be laid before this House a Copy of the Regulations relating to the Attendance on Divine Worship by Criminals convicted of, or Persons awaiting their Trial for, Capital Offences in the Gaol of Newgate."

Lord *Brougham* said that, as the highest Court of Judicature, nothing which affected criminal justice could fail to meet the attentive consideration of their Lordships' House. He read, with the same disgust which must have affected their Lordships, that account, which, if true, and he had no reason to suspect that it was not true, of a malversation of management of the religious solemnities by the authorities of the prison at Newgate. He respected those authorities, particularly when they performed their functions without blameable intermeddling, as guardians of the police of the city of London, and when they were not concerned in the base traffic of pandering to the prurient curiosity of the more foolish and idle part of the public. From the "condemned sermon" he held it perfectly clear that the public ought to be excluded, whilst he was of opinion that every publicity ought to be given to the punishment, to the trial, and the sentence, of which the punishment was the execution; but there was no part of the sentence which directed—there was no part of the punishment of the law which awarded or acquiesced in—the torment of having the public eye directed to the condemned criminal during those solemn acts of devotion by which he endeavoured to make his peace with offended Heaven —at a moment when he is on the eve of being compelled to quit the scene of his crime in consequence of his having so offended. It was worthy of recollection that there was one class of offenders with respect to whom this publicity would operate as a punishment, and another with respect to whom it would operate rather as a reward, by gratifying a morbid taste for notoriety. This matter would not be now for the first time brought under the attention of the civic authorities, for it appeared that there were present on the occasion referred to, some of the magistrates of the city, some of the aldermen. It might be very fit that they should have been so present; but from their being so present, they must have seen with their own eyes all these "arrangements for the accommodation of the public, without inconvenient crowding;" as if a theatre were in question, and not the Church of God—all those careful "accommodations for the public press," as if it were a question of a public meeting, a wrangling, political meeting, and not of a solemn religious service, on a peculiarly solemn and awful occasion—when the minister of religion was making, and most fervently was it to be prayed not in vain, an attempt to inculcate upon the mind of the wretched criminal the feelings which ought to accompany his exit from this world, and recommended him to the merciful consideration of a deeply-offended God. He had felt it to be his duty, engaged as he was here, in common with the rest of their Lordships, in the administration of justice elsewhere as well as in that House, to express his strong feeling of indignation and reproof on this occasion; and, as a member of the Corporation of the city of London, he would take leave to give a warning to that corporation of the risks they ran, if they, in whose hands the remedy for this enormous evil was placed, did not speedily and effectually apply that remedy. He expected of the city that the House should never more hear of the public being admitted to the condemned sermon.

Lord *Stanley* said that, assuming the statements read by the noble Marquess from one of the newspapers of that morning to be correct, there could be but one feeling as to the extreme impropriety, the extreme indecency, of the proceeding described; and there could be no objection on the part of the Government to comply with the noble Marquess's Motion, if he desired to press it; but he would beg to intimate to the noble Marquess, that the statements he had made were not founded on authority which, unsupported, the House was accustomed to proceed upon. Nothing could, clearly, be more indecent, than that a religious, a solemn, celebration should be made a matter of vulgar display; and he quite agreed, moreover, that such displays, while they operated as an aggravation of punishment upon one class of convicts, upon another class they acted as a temptation to put on, even in the last trying scene referred to, an air of bravado. Upon a similar occasion, two years ago, his right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department, upon representation made by him to the authorities of the city of London, received an assurance that such scenes should in future be put an end to. If the noble Marquess would for the present withdraw his Motion, he (Lord Stanley) would undertake to say, that his right hon. Friend the Home Secretary would make precise and accurate inquiries into the actual facts of the case as they really occurred, ascertain what actually passed, and obtain from the city authorities such an explanation of the course they had taken as they might have to tender; and, meantime, he would venture to say, on the part of the Government, that whatever authority it could exercise towards putting an end to such scandalous scenes, should be carried into effect. He might observe, that the noble Marquess's Motion did not seem to embrace one point on which it would be necessary, as fully as much as on any other, to have information. He thought it important that they should have information of the regulations of the prison, relating not merely to the admission of the prisoners to hear the condemned sermons, but also to the admission of the public and reporters on such occasions, which were thereby converted into matters of display. If the noble Marquess should think it right again to call the attention of the House to the subject, he might amend his Motion by wording it so as to bring all this information distinctly before the House. For the present, perhaps, the noble Marquess would not object to withdraw his Motion, and in the meantime inquiries on the subject should be instituted.

The Duke of *Richmond* was understood to say, that the Sheriffs had the custody of condemned criminals, and that this was not the first time that such a complaint as the present had been made in their Lordships' House. He suggested that the best mode of proceeding would be to pass an Act of Parliament, enacting that no person should attend the chapel in Newgate except the prisoners and the officers. Unless this was done, though the same scene might not occur again in the time of the present Sheriffs, it might be repeated next year. If such an act were passed, the Sheriffs would have a very good answer to give to those who applied for admission, for they could say they were prevented by law from giving any. He concurred in the observations which had been made respecting the impropriety of the scene which had so recently passed in Newgate.

Lord *Denman* considered it of great importance that this subject should not be lost sight of. One feature of the proceedings stated was in the very highest degree objectionable, as interfering with the due administration of justice, namely, the introduction, in the manner described, of persons under suspicion merely, and not under sentence. Their every gesture, their expression, their manner, their deportment being watched in this way, was calculated to produce the most deplorable consequences. A man might be imprisoned upon a charge of which he was in reality guiltless. Yet an impressive discourse of the kind referred to, upon a person so situated, might produce in him manifestations of feeling, of nervous excitement, which to the watching eye of those around might seem the result of remorse, of guilty consciousness; and it was impossible to say what effect these manifestations, represented and commented upon as they would be by the public, might not have upon the jury—nay, upon the Judge—before whom the unhappy man should afterwards take his trial. Anything approaching to a theatrical exhibition on such occasions was strongly to be condemned; and he hoped that something of the nature suggested by the noble Duke would be enacted, namely, that no prisoners should be present on these occasions except those for whose immediate hope and welfare the service was intended.

Lord *Campbell* said, that the manner in which the individual committed for trial had been treated in the scene described, was a violation of law; and there was no doubt that the persons who brought that individual in might be indicted, convicted, and punished. They had all heard of a play acted for the discovery of a murderer. He knew not whether the scene which had been described was in imitation of that. Was a person committed for trial to be brought forward, and to have his looks and gestures watched? and was a description of his emotions to be afterwards given in evidence? He did hope, that by some regulation of the Executive Government, or by an Act of Parliament, if necessary, this practice of making the condemned sermon a theatrical exhibition would never be permitted.

Lord *Redesdale* hoped, that if any Motion were brought forward in reference to the attendance in the chapel of Newgate at the time of the condemned sermon, something would also be done to regulate the proceedings on the morning of the execution. It appeared from a newspaper account that that morning the prisoner was informed that reporters were present if he wished to say anything for the information of the public; whereupon the criminal observed—"I cannot say anything now—I am not sufficiently composed. If I had known that they had been coming here, I might perhaps." He thought that such things should not be reported, because the prisoner seemed to imply that if he had known the reporters were to be present, he should have come prepared, and have exhibited a different spirit from that which ought to influence a criminal on his exit from the world. As it was, the prisoner seemed completely worn out, and fainted on the scaffold. How much better would it have been if all that was known during the culprit's career was his condemnation and execution! He hoped that some provision would be made to prevent the recurrence of such scenes.

The Marquess of *Clanricarde* said, his object was to bring the subject under the consideration of their Lordships, and in moving for the regulations of the gaol of Newgate relating to the attendance of convicted criminals and persons committed for trial, on divine service in the chapel of the prison, he was anxious to know how far the authorities had any right to admit strangers upon such occasions. He had no doubt that Her Majesty's Government would take up the matter; and it would be much more properly left in their hands than in the hands of a humble individual like himself. Still he agreed in the suggestion made by the noble Duke on the cross benches (the Duke of Richmond), that should an act be passed on the subject, it should give the Secretary of State power to interfere with respect to the attendance of criminals and others, to give orders respecting the preparations for the execution, and, in fact, to direct all the minutiæ of the proceedings.

Lord *Stanley* thought the noble Marquess would go further than either necessity or expediency required, if he intended that none of the prisoners should be present.

Lord *Brougham* said, he meant only that strangers should be excluded. The prison chapel was not a parish church, nor was the service intended for the use of the public. It might so happen that some of the jury who would have to try the very man might be present upon such an occasion; so that when the trial came on, and the prisoner made his defence, the juryman who had watched him at the chapel might say—"Ay, it is all very well to tell such a story as that; but I recollect your conduct at the chapel. I don't forget how you looked when the parson said 'Thou shalt do no murder.'"

The Marquess of *Clanricarde* remarked, that the last time he had occasion to notice anything of a similar kind, he moved for certain prison regulations, which were on the Table of their Lordships' House. That affair was bad enough; but in this case the man was put in a chair immediately opposite the pulpit; thus putting him out for public scrutiny, according to the principle laid down in *Hamlet*—

> ——"The play, the play's the thing
> Wherewith to try the conscience of the king."

Motion withdrawn.

RAILWAYS AND THE BOARD OF TRADE.] The Marquess of *Clanricarde* then moved for—

> "A Return of all the Railway Projects submitted to the consideration of the Board of Trade; showing the Date at which each such Project was received; and specifying those upon which the Board of Trade have reported to Parliament."

He observed, that he had no intention of making any remarks as to the Motion, which he presumed the Government would at once agree to; but he wished to ask the noble Earl a question, respecting a railway which received the sanction of the Legislature last year—the Dublin and Cashel. The Act authorizing that railway was passed almost by acclamation by both Houses; but in their hurry—of which, so far, he did not at all complain, as he thought highly of the railway — both Houses omitted to take steps for preventing the directors from passing the line injuriously over the Curragh of Kildare. A parole assurance, however, was given by the directors to the Board of Woods and

Forests, and to the parties concerned in the course, that the Curragh should be respected by the directors, and no injury be done to the buildings or to the course. Within the last few days, however, he had received information that the directors had manifested signs of departing from the assurance then given, and of running their line so as to injure the course and interfere with the sports. He wished to know whether the Government had heard anything of the matter, and if so, whether they had taken steps for keeping the directors of the railway to their word?

The Earl of *Dalhousie*, in answer, stated that the ranger of the course had obtained a written engagement within the last few days from Sir John M'Neill, the engineer to the company, with reference to the course to be taken by the line, which he (the Earl of Dalhousie) believed would be satisfactory to the noble Marquess and all concerned and interested in the preservation of the Curragh; and the Commissioners of Woods and Forests would keep their attention directed to the subject, and take care that the engagement was acted upon. As to the noble Marquess's Motion, he had no objection to it.

Returns ordered. House adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Monday, April 28, 1845.

MINUTES.] NEW MEMBER SWORN. Thomas Austen, Esq. for Kent (Western Division).

BILLS. *Public.*—1ª· Banking (Scotland).

Reported.—Sheriffs (Wales); Calico Print Works.

3º· and passed:—Museums of Art.

Private 1º· London, Chatham, and North Kent Railway; South-Eastern Railway (Ashford to Hastings); South-Eastern Railway (Tunbridge to Tunbridge Wells); South-Eastern Railway (Widening and Extension of the London and Greenwich Railway); London and Norwich Direct Railway; North Wales Mineral Railway.

2º· Totnes Markets and Waterworks (No. 2); Grand Junction Railway; Sheffield and Rotherham Railway; Runcorn and Preston Brook Railway and Docks; North Wales Railway.

Reported.—Stoke-upon-Trent Market; Barnsley Junction Railway; Huddersfield and Sheffield Junction Railway; Edinburgh Life Assurance Company; Clifton Bridge; Leicester Freemen's Allotments; Hungerford and Lambeth Suspension Foot Bridge; Royal Naval School; Middlesex County Rate; Crediton Small Debts; Lynn and Ely Railway.

3º· and passed:—Clerkenwell Improvement.

PETITIONS PRESENTED. By Colonel Acton, Visct. Bernard, Mr. Boyd, Mr. Cole, and Col. Conolly, from several places, for Encouragement to Schools in connexion with Church Education Society (Ireland).—By several hon. Members, from a great number of places, for better Observance of the Lord's Day.—By several hon. Members from an immense number of places (388 Petitions), against the Grant to Maynooth College.—By Viscount Castlereagh, Sir Robert Peel, and Mr. Rutherford, from several places, in favour of the Grant to Maynooth College.—By Mr. Cavendish, Mr. Fuller, Mr. Morgan, and Col. Paget, from several places, against Union of St. Asaph and Bangor.—By Mr. Eaton, from a great number of places, for Relief from Agricultural Taxation.—By Mr. Newdegate, from a great number of places, for Repeal of the Malt Duty.—By Mr. Cavendish, Sir J. Lowther, and Visct. Mahon, from several places, for Alteration of Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons Bill.—By Alderman Copeland, Sir E. Filmer, Mr. Hinde, and Mr. Strutt, from several places, for Repeal or Alteration of Insolvent Debtors Act.—By Lord Ashley, Mr. Eaton, Sir E. Filmer, Mr. Hinde, Mr. Patten, and Lord H. Vane, from several places, against Justices' Clerks and Clerks of the Peace Bill.—By Alderman Copeland Sir E. Filmer, Sir P. Egerton, Mr. Henley, Sir C. Lemon, and Mr. Wall, from several places, against Parochial Settlement Bill—By Mr. Aldam, Lord Ashley, and Col. Paget, from several places, for Diminishing the Number of Public Houses.

MEDICAL REFORM.] Mr. *Wakley* asked the right hon. the Secretary for the Home Department if he would consent to a Motion for Copies of the Correspondence which had passed between the Committee of the National Association of General Practitioners and the Council of the Royal College of Surgeons?

Sir *J. Graham* said, that in a day or two he would lay on the Table of the House the Correspondence to which the hon. Member referred.

ENGLISH RESIDENTS IN BRAZIL.] Mr. *Grimsditch* had a question of some importance to put to the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government. It appeared that some time before our late Treaty with Brazil had expired, the Government of that country published a regulation, making the property of British subjects who should die in that country (intestate as we understood) revertible to the Crown. That regulation had caused great alarm at the time of its promulgation, which alarm had been much increased by a recent act of the Brazilian authorities. It appeared by accounts which he had received, that on the 21st of January last, the Judge of Orphans and Absentees went to the house of Astleys and Co., highly respectable merchants, and demanded the goods of Mr. Cairnes, deceased, one of the partners. Messrs. Astleys refused to give them up, and the following day the Judge came again, accompanied by an armed force, and demanded possession. He believed that no official account of the transaction had been received by the Government; but the statement he had made was quite true, and the circumstances related had created the greatest uneasiness among the merchants connected with Brazil. The question he wished to ask was, whether our Government had taken any steps to prevent the recurrence of such scenes; and whether the packet which was to sail on the first Wednesday in next month would carry out instructions to our Minister on the subject?

Sir *R. Peel* said, that official information had been received by Her Majesty's Government, and had been handed to the Queen's Advocate to report upon; that Report had been received, and the hon. Member might rely upon it that on the first opportunity our Minister would be instructed to remonstrate with the Brazilian Authorities on the subject.

Mr. *M. Gibson* had had many communications upon the subject just referred to by the right hon. Baronet, in consequence of which he had placed a Motion upon the Paper, to the effect that he would move for copies of Correspondence that had passed between the Authorities at Rio de Janeiro and the Government of this country on this question; but if there was any objection to the production of the Correspondence, he would not press his Motion. However, this he would say, that great alarm had been felt as to the position of our commercial relations with Brazil; and it was felt that the great difficulty of their recent relations had been owing to the unfortunate policy of this country towards Brazil upon the Brazilian sugar question. In fact, until the Government should retrace their steps on that question, nothing else that they could do would have the effect of reassuring the British subjects in that country that they were placed in the full enjoyment of those privileges which they had a right to enjoy. However, as he had stated, he would not press for the Correspondence if there was any objection to it.

Sir *R. Peel* said that representations had been made in 1843, and our Minister had remonstrated on the subject. It was but justice, however, to the Brazilian Government to state that they had issued a command to the governors of provinces to the effect that, although the Treaty had expired, foreigners should enjoy all security in person and property, and have every facility in the prosecution of these industrial pursuits.

Mr. *Hume* thought those evils had resulted from the Government of this country interfering in the internal regulations of other countries. He felt satisfied that the Government would act wisely by rescinding its Acts in reference to Brazil, and in leaving every country to carry on its institutions as it deemed fit. If any other country attempted to dictate to this what its institutions ought to be, he was sure that this country would reject such interference immediately.

Mr. *Bright* had a letter in his hand which he had received that moment, an extract from which he would read to the House. This letter was directed to a firm in the city, and it stated that a gentleman, named Harvey, who died on the 10th of February, left a will, under which a person named Castell, was appointed to act as executor. At the time of this gentleman's death he was loading a vessel, and had put into it about 1,500*l.* worth of goods, for the purpose of liquidating a debt due to them; but a judge claimed to have the property, which was actually sold, and the proceeds placed as a deposit in his court. A great inconvenience and loss was occasioned by the power now assumed by the Brazilian authorities, and in this instance the property, which was valued at 1,500*l.*, had been sold by the judge for 900*l.* He agreed in the observations which had fallen from the hon. Gentleman the Member for Montrose, but he would submit that this was an evil which was occasioned by that combination of monopolists under whom the right hon. Baronet had to some extent submitted his Government. This was characterized as an unfriendly act of the Brazilian Government; but how could it be expected that that Government should entertain any friendly feelings towards us, while under a pretence, which they all believed to be of a hypocritical character, this country was prevented from trading fairly with the Brazils? In the district from which he came, there was the greatest possible dread that their trade with the Brazils, which amounted to a million and a half, was jeopardised and endangered from the course which our Government had taken. He thought the right hon. Gentleman would do well to turn his attention to the Brazil trade, and endeavour to make some wise and salutary regulations with regard to it.

Mr. *Brotherton* had received several representations from the place which he represented, on the subject of the oppressions to which the merchants were subjected in Brazil, and great alarm and apprehension were entertained as to the security of their property and interest in Brazil. He was glad that Her Majesty's Government paid attention to the subject, and he trusted that something would be done to remedy the evil.

Sir *R. Inglis* trusted that Her Majesty's Ministers would not follow the advice of the hon. Member for Montrose. There was not a sacrifice that the people of this country were not prepared to make—there was no increase in the price of sugar, or any other article, that they were not prepared to bear—if there were a reasonable certainty of stopping such a crime as traffic in slaves.

Mr. *Warburton* could not believe that the people of this country were so insensate as not to have their opinion changed by the Returns which had been made to that House with respect to the Slave Trade. From those Returns it appeared that the number of slaves which the British cruisers had arrested in their progress from Africa to the Spanish Colonies or the Brazils, did not amount to more than 3 per cent. of the whole number carried from Africa to the opposite coasts of the Atlantic. When the British public looked at those Reports, they could not but see that the measures which had been taken by the Government for the suppression of the Slave Trade were totally inefficient.

Lord *J. Russell* said, that in the former Treaty entered into by the present Government with Portugal, a Treaty of Trade and Navigation had been entered into, giving protection to the lives and property of British subjects. He wished to know if, in the Treaty with Brazil, the Government had acted in a similar way?

Sir *R. Peel* said, that attempts had been made to complete the Treaty in a similar way, and he had every reason to believe that, by that time, the signatures of the Plenipotentiaries had been affixed to the Treaties.

Mr. *Labouchere* said, that that was not an answer to the question of his noble Friend. The question was, whether the separate Treaty would be signed before the other had expired on the 18th of November?

Sir *R. Peel* did not anticipate any difficulties in the way of signing the Treaties.

Mr. *Sheil* thought such a desultory conversation tended to no certain purpose. He was of opinion, therefore, that a Resolution should be moved expressive of the opinion of the House with regard to the impolitic course pursued by the Government in its negotiations with Brazil; and, if no other hon. Member would propose such, he (Mr. Sheil) should take an early opportunity of doing so.

MAYNOOTH COLLEGE.] The Resolution of the Committee on the Grant from the Consolidated Fund for Maynooth was reported. On the Question that it be read a second time,

Mr. *Law* rose to offer to the attention of the House the Motion of which he had given notice—to move as an Amendment —"That the Report be taken into further consideration on this day six months." His object was, if possible, to negative the proposition of the Government, that the charges, expenses, and burdens of the measure, affecting the question of Maynooth College, should be derived from the Consolidated Fund—and that the permanent State Endowment of that institution should be drawn from the taxes of this country. Repudiating both these propositions, he threw himself upon the indulgence of the House to be permitted to state such reasons as he was enabled to address]to them, why the consideration of this Resolution ought to be indefinitely postponed. It was desirable that the attention of the House should be recalled to the principles involved in the leading provisions of this Bill. Those principles were twofold: first, it was assumed to be desirable to make a permanent provision for the education of the Roman Catholic priesthood, and that the source from which that should be derived should be according to the measure of 1795—that is, from the subscriptions and donations of those who wished to continue it; and, secondly, it was suggested that the taxes of this country should be devoted to defraying the permanent charge of this establishment. That was the great feature of this measure—the permanent establishment of a College for the education of the Catholic priesthood at the expense of the State. The concluding prayer of all the petitions which lay on the Table was against this alliance of the State with the Roman Catholic religion, and the permanent endowment of Maynooth out of the taxes of Great Britain. He could not help remarking that both on the first and second reading of the Bill a large proportion—he might say a majority—of the right hon. Baronet's (Sir R. Peel's) own party had deserted him, and he was only enabled to proceed by acquiring the support and resting on the aid of those who were generally opposed to him. The right hon. Baronet had not accompanied the introduction of this measure with any explanation of his ulterior views and intentions with regard to academical education. On that subject they were left totally in the dark. They knew not how many colleges were to be established, what was the nature of the academical education to be given, or what was the sum proposed to be drawn from the pockets of the people to erect and maintain any further establishment. The silence which the right hon. Baronet had observed on introducing the measure, he had maintained up to that moment: what possible reason could he assign for postponing information as to his future plans? Considering the measure as one merely of finance, they were utterly at a loss to discover to what extent it was intended to proceed. They knew not whether the academical institutions were to include religious education in separate colleges; whether or not they were to be simple lay foundations; or whether they were to have the usual adjuncts of fellowships and scholarships. They were utterly ignorant, in short, as to that comprehensive scheme of which so much had been thought and so little said. The labours of the recess, the conferences of the Cabinet, the retirement of two of its Members—connected as they appeared to be with great promise of measures of conciliation and policy about to be propounded—remained to this hour a mystery to be solved—a State secret not yet imparted to the House. When history faithfully represented the transactions of that House, it would be seen that, in producing a measure, the right hon. Baronet had not communicated to his political friends and supporters; the right hon. Baronet had looked for support to his opponents; and that not he—but they—had achieved the triumph—if triumph it could be called, on the two former occasions, when the right hon. Baronet followed but did not lead, the noble Lord opposite into one of the division lobbies of that House. He contended that those who supported the first and second readings of the Bill were in no degree pledged to this Resolution, which did not propose an annual but a permanent and irrevocable grant. He did not hesitate to declare that if this measure passed into a law, it would be impossible on any principle of public faith to retrace their steps, or review their decision. Thenceforth it would be regarded as a debt due from time to time to the Roman Catholic trustees of the Roman Catholic College of Maynooth. The object of the original establishment of that institution could not too often be referred to. It was rather to enable its trustees to receive donations and subscriptions for its endowment, than for any other purpose. He was influenced by no unkindly feeling towards his Roman Catholic fellow subjects, when he proposed that the State should withdraw from the endowment of the Roman Catholic Church—not from regard to the pecuniary charge, but from regard to the principle which it involved: on that ground alone he should resist to the utmost of his power the application of one shilling of the public money to the permanent establishment of the College. He entertained the most sincere and perfect respect for his Roman Catholic fellow subjects, and admired those self-imposed obligations of honour which so long excluded them from the enjoyment of equal rights and privileges, and the highest civil employments in the State; but he drew a broad distinction between the grant of equal civil rights to those who had been so long unhappily excluded from them, and a departure from that principle of a Protestant Constitution which was founded at the Reformation, established at the Revolution, and finally sanctioned by the most solemn engagements of the Union between Great Britain and Ireland. If the right hon. Baronet had communicated to the House his scheme of academical education, they might have been enabled to judge how far such a scheme would serve every purpose contemplated by this measure, without any violation of principle—the necessary consequence involved in a grant of the public money to an exclusively Roman Catholic institution. He did not think the right hon. Baronet had dealt kindly with his usual supporters, with respect to this measure—which unsettled everything and settled nothing—which involved a principle mischievous to the last degree, while it conferred a benefit exceedingly small. If the College had been left long ago to the voluntary contributions of the Roman Catholics, who were conspicuous for ardent and liberal charity, it would now have been a flourishing establishment, commanding the respect alike of Roman Catholics and Protestants. Then, let them (the Roman Catholics) take it, he would say, into their own hands, and exhibit to the country the sincerity of their zeal, and the depth and breadth of their charity. In recommending the withdrawal of this grant, he was far from being indisposed to vote ample compensation to individual interests that might be compromised: indeed for every shilling he took away, he would dedicate fourfold to the purposes of general education. Whilst he conscientiously and strongly opposed the present unhappy scheme, it was his desire to support every liberal proposition that did not trench on religious principle, and threaten the stability of the Protestant Establishment. The right hon. Baronet urged the adoption of this Bill as a measure of conciliation; but it would indisputably lead to fresh importunities and renewed attacks on the Irish Protestant Church Establishment; while the right hon. Baronet would, from the avowals he had made in introducing this measure, find himself less able to resist them. This endowment of the College of Maynooth deprived the supporters of it of any just principle of argument on which they could resist the endowment of the Roman Catholic Church. It was the last battle-field of the British Protestant Constitution; and he was satisfied, that though the Motion of the hon. Member for Sheffield failed the other night, on the first convenient opportunity it would be adopted by the Government. In a political sense, even the lofty mind of the right hon. Baronet might be said to be degraded by the course he had adopted: to have denied the principles of his early life, and to have led into a difficult position those who had rallied round him for ten years—under every vicissitude of political fortune and posture of affairs—was a course calculated to degrade even the right hon. Baronet from his exalted position. In a political sense, the right hon. Baronet had held out a most painful example, that public men were not to be trusted when expediency came in opposition to what they had heretofore maintained to be right. The proper course for the Government, when they found that this institution was not flourishing after so long a trial, would have been this—to compensate fully all existing interests: they would have encountered no difficulties in that course—and then to have said to the authorities of the College—"This institution is an anomaly; it has not flourished; every other Roman Catholic establishment is flourishing; and every other such establishment is supported by voluntary contributions. The time is come when you must cease to derive funds from the State to which in a religious sense you are hostile, to which on religious grounds you are opposed as a rival establishment. We will propose lay foundations of colleges—with scholarships and fellowships properly endowed—and we will educate Christians of every denomination in those colleges, where they shall be freely allowed to obtain the prizes and reap the rewards of merit, literature, and science." He asked whether such a proposition, coming from the right hon. Gentleman, would not have been calculated to allay the tempest which had been raised, and have saved all parties the painful and perilous discussion of a second Catholic question? He would leave to the Roman Catholics, by voluntary contributions, to endow and support colleges for themselves exclusively; but he believed there had been no suggestion that the people of England deprecated even the largest concession of general education. There was not a petition on the Table, he believed, that did that—general education he valued because it promoted inquiry, and inquiry led to truth—and the real character of the Christian Gospel. But above all, let the Irish language be taught to every one who entered into an academical institution; that the Scriptures being faithfully translated in the native tongue—and an Irish version impressed with the authority of an Irish University—might be accessible to every tenant of every cabin throughout the realm of Ireland. He entreated the House to reject so much of the measure as endowed Maynooth out of the Consolidated Fund. The proposition was in effect to grant a perpetual annuity out of the taxes of this country to the College—an irrevocable grant, secured on the perpetual income of this country — secured by the State, the faith of Parliament pledged to its continuance. He said irrevocable, because without a breach of public faith it would be impossible to review for the purpose of revoking the grant once made. Of so permanent a character was the grant, that he believed the interest of the College would be that of property—saleable, or on which money could be raised, unless there was some provision inserted in the Bill to prevent it. He concluded by moving, that the Resolution be read a second time that day six months.

Mr. *Vernon Smith* had looked to find the hon. and learned Gentleman give an answer to the question of where the money to support the College was to come from, if his proposition was adopted; but the only source in which the hon. and learned Gentleman seemed to trust was the voluntary contributions of the Roman Catholics, who had declined for fifty years to support the College in that way, though the hon. and learned Gentleman now said they would be glad to do so. With respect to what the hon. and learned Gentleman had said of the interest of the College in the permanent grant the House was about to make, that it would be saleable, he had heard the statement with surprise, and he did not wonder that the hon. and learned Gentleman's right hon. Colleague the Chancellor of the Exchequer had whispered "Oh no," when the hon. and learned Gentleman said so. With respect to the proposition of the Government, he differed somewhat from those around him. He thought the course which Gentlemen on the Opposition side of the House should have pursued was to delay engaging in the earnest advocacy of this question till they saw how it would affect more permanently useful measures of which they themselves were the consistent advocates. In the ecclesiastical state of Ireland there were two enormous evils, the Protestant Church as it at present existed, and the Roman Catholic religion as it at present existed; and it was difficult to say which evil was the greater—the overpay of the Established Church, or the underpay of the Roman Catholic priests. To one of these great evils he thought they ought to have applied a remedy, and he thought the Liberal party ought to have determined what course to pursue on one of them before they gave their adhesion to the right hon. Baronet. Although he saw great advantage in the proposition of the hon. Member for Sheffield, and great advantage in the endowment of the Roman Catholic Church, he saw no "great" advantage in the proposition of the right hon. Baronet. The Established Church ought to be reduced, so as no longer to be offensive to the nation. That would be a political advantage, but he believed they would obtain a religious advantage by curtailing the Established Church. That Church stood as an example to Europe of the evils which arose from an Established Church which did not represent the opinions of the majority of the people. Whenever any one was under the necessity of defending the Church of England among foreigners, he was continually answered by the instance of that part of it which was established in Ireland, and asked if he could defend that? He believed that there was not a statesman on the Continent who could believe that the right hon. Baronet would keep up the Established Church in Ireland. As a legislator, he did not understand the opposition to this measure upon religious grounds; for it appeared to him that those who opposed it seemed to think, that although they committed this sin in the Colonies, they could not do the same thing in Ireland. It was like that very virtuous lady who, being charged with having committed some infidelity, said, "No, it's very false; at least on this side of the Cape." These disputants appeared to have a Cape conscience, and an Irish conscience. As to the endowment of the Roman Catholic Church, he thought it would be a great advantage, and he was prepared to risk everything to obtain it; for the voluntary principle could not, in his opinion, be safely applied to that Church. It might be a matter of dispute in the Protestant Church; but in the Catholic religion, considering that the priest had the power of absolution and of the confessional, it was putting into his hands an engine of the most formidable and dangerous kind. His reason for endowing the Catholic Church in Ireland was to give them an interest in the welfare of the Empire. At the same time, he should wish them to receive such voluntary contributions from their own flocks, that if anything improper were required of them they might say, "We will not do it, but will throw ourselves upon our congregations." That step too was as easily taken as the present. At the same time that he admitted that the grace of this grant consisted very much in the unshackled manner in which it was made, it was, he believed, the first ever given to education without inquiring what the education was; and he remembered what discussions had taken place in that House, not as to who was to be educated, but how. That principle, however, was now thrown aside, and he approved of the wise policy of the Government in adopting that course. He begged not to be supposed to use such rubbish of argument as had been raised by some supporters of the Bill to throw in the eyes of their constituents. He denied that this grant was for educational purposes—it was not merely an increased grant to Maynooth, but a great principle was involved in it, although, perhaps, not a new one. If there were not, why was it ushered in with such form? But he should like to ask whether there was anything in the grant to conciliate the Roman Catholics. For it was idle to rely upon the expressions of their leaders, however able. By one post they heard that even the presence of Majesty could not protect her Ministers if they were in Dublin. By the next they were told that the walls of Conciliation Hall were resounding with huzzas for Sir James Graham. He did not, therefore, rest his vote upon what passed in Ireland. But, what did they propose by this grant? At a certain time they would send away the students from Maynooth with better habits, perhaps, but with a certain share of discontent, at the work at which they were to be employed; and that would rankle into an ambitious desire to raise themselves by what the Irish seemed now to think were the only means—the Repeal of the Union. It astonished him to hear that the proposition was received in Ireland with such raptures. If anything were granted it should have been upon a larger scale, and supplied from the exuberance of the Protestant Church. But, if it were true that they could by 20,000*l.* a year conciliate the Irish people, then, having delayed it so long, they ought to be the mockery of the whole world. But, it might be asked, why, if he objected so much to it, he should vote in favour of it. His reason was, that though he considered this was a small measure, and one for which it was reprehensible to have excited so much animosity, but which he hoped would lead to other more important measures, or it would be of little value, yet it had achieved these two great ends; as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newark said, it had put an end to the religious question on this matter. And here let him say that he could not agree with those who twitted and taunted the right hon. Gentleman with inconsistency; he might very well say he could not be a party to bringing forward the measure, but when it was brought forward give it his support. And he (Mr. Smith) thought that, if the right hon. Baronet himself had taken a similar course in 1829, his character would have been less sullied with inconsistencies than it was at present. [Sir *R. Peel:* But would you have carried Catholic Emancipation at that period?] The right hon. Gentleman might satisfy his own conscience, but he spoke with reference to his public character. That question he had no right to ask himself, and decide himself. But the other question this measure put an end to was the question of the acceptance of payment by the Roman Catholics. They had by this vote determined that they could not consider it a religious question, and that they were prepared, if expedient, to vote money to the Roman Catholics; and the Roman Catholics by this grant had acknowledged that they could not object to receive further payment. In giving his support to this measure, he must be allowed to express a hope that the right hon. Baronet would not stop here, but that he would pursue a similar line of policy with respect to Ireland. If the right hon. Baronet, not having to fear any difficulties of opposition from hon. Gentlemen around him (Mr. V. Smith) pursued such a policy, he would adopt a course which must ultimately give satisfaction to Ireland, and thereby promote the advantage of the United Kingdom.

Lord *Norreys:* I cannot shut my eyes to the fact, that there is a very strong feeling out of doors against this measure; nor am I surprised that such should be the case. The Oxford Tractarians have of late created a very great sensation throughout the country, and rendered the minds of the Protestant population of the country peculiarly sensitive as to Roman Catholic doctrines. But I do not think the present question has been properly understood; and certain it is, that great exaggerations and gross misrepresentations have prevailed. The people of this country have in many instances been led to believe that this is a new and a novel grant, proposed now, for the first time, to Parliament; whereas it has existed for fifty years. They have in other instances been led to imagine, that the extension of the grant involves the extension of the Roman Catholic faith; whereas any one who knows anything of Ireland must know that, whether you leave the grant as it is, whether you extend it or withdraw it altogether, the Roman Catholic religion has been, and will continue to be, the religion of the majority of the people. The people have been told, that to vote in favour of the grant is to act contrary to religion. Now, I should be content to rest the defence of my vote on religious grounds alone. The question appears to me to be, not between the Protestant and Roman Catholic faith —not whether you will propagate the Protestant or Roman Catholic faith—but whether the Roman Catholic religion, being the religion of the great majority of the people, you will have that religion taught by an ignorant or well-educated priesthood; and though I differ from the tenets of the Church of Rome, I prefer the Roman Catholic religion to no religion at all. The people of this country have been told that the Income Tax has been kept on for the purpose of paying the Popish priests, as if this small addition to the grant could have affected the continuation of the Income Tax in any the slightest degree—a sum which, though small in amount, I trust will be large in its consequences and effects, as evincing a friendly feeling and conciliatory spirit towards the Irish people on the part of the British Government and British Parliament. The Dissenters have been told that it is unfair upon them; and that if a grant is given to the Roman Catholics, they are entitled to one also. If the proposal was to educate the Roman Catholic priesthood of this country, undoubtedly, the Dissenters would have a fair claim for a grant too; but is there any parallel to be drawn between this country and Ireland? Why, you give a grant to the Dissenters there—you have a Protestant Establishment there—the great majority of the people are Roman Catholics—you have given them a grant up to this time; and it is now proposed to increase the grant, though not even to the same amount as that given to the Dissenters, who are a minority, in order that those who are to read the Word of God, and propagate that Word to the people, shall have a better and more enlightened education, and in affording them a better opportunity of discerning and teaching the lights of the Gospel. It has been said, that it is inconsistent in the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel) to bring forward a measure of this kind. It is now nearly fifteen years since I have sat behind that right hon. Baronet; and I have never heard him during that period, either by vote or by voice, express any opinion which was to preclude him from proposing a measure of this sort. True it is, he did object to the proposal of hon. Gentlemen opposite, to take the money from the funds of the Established Church; but to that objection he still adheres. The hon. Baronet the Member for the University of Oxford (Sir R. Inglis) said, the other night, that the right hon. Baronet had scattered his great party to the winds by proposing this measure. The right hon. Baronet may have made the move, if he will; but I must say that he has been ably, zealously, and effectually seconded by the speeches which have been made by those who sit around the hon. Member for the University of Oxford; and whether this great party is to be dissolved, must depend, I think, in a great degree, upon the course which is taken by those hon. Members. Not one of them has ventured in this House to repeat those exaggerated statements and inflammatory appeals which have been made out of doors—no one has ventured to use in this House that uncharitable language which has been held out of it. Now, if they allow those exaggerated statements to go uncontrolled, unchecked, and uncontradicted throughout the country—if they pander to the prejudices of the people—if they have not the manliness and the moral courage to stand up to the people, and to tell them that, though they object, and conscientiously object, to the measure, there is less in it than they have been led to imagine—if they take the same vindictive and acrimonious course which was taken by some of the party after the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Bill—then, no doubt, we shall see similar results; and as in 1830, those who took that course assisted, and were mainly instrumental, in carrying that Reform Bill to which they were directly and diametrically opposed, so they may now, before long, by turning out the Government, be the means of carrying the Appropriation Clause, and, finally, of the overthrow of that Protestant Church in Ireland which they are anxious to maintain. I have never been a party in former years, when on the benches opposite, to any opposition to this grant. I have always looked upon such a course as a breach of faith, and gross act of injustice, towards the Irish Roman Catholics; and I view the extension of the grant as a wise, a just, a necessary, and conciliatory proposal; and, believing that its rejection would be attended by most unfortunate results, I have given, and shall continue to give, notwithstanding the obloquy which it may incur, my cordial, unhesitating, unequivocal support to the measure.

Lord *Dalmeny:* As I have not yet taken any part in the debate, nor in any way expressed any public opinion on this measure, as I supported the Motion of the hon. Member for Sheffield, and now intend to vote for the measure of the rght hon. Gentleman, I wish to say a few wrds to explain this apparent inconsistency. I highly approve of the spirit and tendency of this Bill. I consider that it is enlightened inprinciple, and that it will be beneficial in practice. I consider that its rejection would be fatal to the peace of Ireland, and to the prosperity of the Empire. Accordingly, no consideration would induct me to compromise the safety or endanger the success of this measure. The question of the fund from which this grant should be derived, although of great, is yet of secondary importance. I myself entertain a very strong opinion that the grant should be drawn from the funds of the Protestant Church. Accordingly, I voted for the Motion of the hon. Member for Sheffield. But the House of Commons have pronounced an opinion against that proposition. Accordingly, I am compelled either to assist in overthrowing the measure, or to afford it my support, though I may disapprove of all its details. Under such circumstances I do not hesitate in giving my vote in its favour. I believe, that with all its faults, it is one of the wisest, and most politic measures that has been passed with reference to Ireland since the removal of the Catholic disabilities. It has been asked, where is the use of concession, when the boon is unthankfully received? Why make efforts to propitiate, when every attempt only multiplies demands? I reply, that concession must advance, so long as one grievance continues unredressed. But, admitting, for the sake of argument, the fact—which I deny—that Ireland will despise the boon which has been tendered, I ask, are we then, to measure out our justice only in proportion to the gratitude of those whom it benefits? Are we to withhold rights, because the return made by those to whom we grant them may disappoint our expectations? Are we to perpetuate oppression, because the affection of those we liberate may fall short of our standard? Is, then, England to be ungenerous, on the calculation that Ireland will be ungrateful? But it is an error to assume the ingratitude of Ireland. She will accept this overture of peace in the spirit in which it is proffered. Not that I believe that this measure will alone ensure the tranquillity of Ireland. No; the wrongs of centuries are not obliterated in a moment. But she will hail this measure as I hail it, as a great advance in the career of conciliation. I should, however, be doing my own opinions injustice, were I not at the same time to declare, that I consider this, or indeed any measure of concession, imperfect, which does not provide for the suppression, or at any rate, the great reduction of the Protestant Church of Ireland. It ought to be swept away, or at least remodelled from its foundation. So long as this monstrous anomaly survives in the undiminished proportions of its colossal injustice, so long must any measure of concession fail to produce a satisfactory result. It may be received with a transient emotion of gratitude, but in the presence of that monument of persecution and oppression, the ancient feelings of irritation must infallibly revive. Have we any right to expect that the Irish Catholics should remain content under such a system? I should myself despise them if they yielded acquiescence to it. They would be unworthy of being our equals if they tamely submitted to oppression. They would be unworthy of being our fellow-citizens if they bowed the neck beneath injustice. I rejoice to find in my brethren of Ireland the spirit of freemen, not the passiveness of slaves. How can I condemn them without offering an insult to the example of my heroic forefathers in Scotland, who resisted to the death the imposition of a strange faith? How can I condemn them, without outrage to the memory of the Protestant patriots of England, who rather than bow to the yoke of a creed they rejected, sacrificed loyalty to liberty, the throne to the altar? What would be the emotions of Englishmen, if they saw Westminster Abbey or St. Paul's consecrated to the devotions of a handful of Roman Catholics, whilst the Protestant multitude of this populous metropolis were forced to hide the worship of their God in the obscure tabernacles of Finsbury or Smithfield? What would be the feelings of Englishmen if, in every parochial church, in every parochial locality, they saw high mass celebrated to a scattered band of heretical worshippers, whilst the Protestant majority wete compelled to resort to consecrated hovels by the wayside, or, prostrate under the vault of Heaven, were striving to catch the tones of their solemn and majestic Liturgy amid the roar of the tempest and the howl of the elements? Yet, what I have stated as an hypothesis for England, in Ireland is a matter of fact. What seems, when applied to England, an hyperbolical fiction, is history when applied to Ireland. Would those petitioners —those who hurl abuse against Catholicism, and denounce every religion but their own—those petitioners who seem to imagine that their piety waxes in proportion to their theological rancour—would they tamely submit to such a grievance?—would they preach patience to their followers?—would they meekly kiss the rod of persecution?—or, would they not rather stir heaven and earth in resistance to such oppression? Why, then, is there to be not only a different law, but a different spirit in Ireland? Why are what are exalted as virtues in one country, to be branded as vices in the other? Why is patriotism in England to be sedition in Ireland? Why is attachment to the faith of our fathers to be reverenced in England—to be persecuted in Ireland? Why is what is lauded in England as impatience of oppression, to be stigmatized in Ireland as a love of tumult and disorder? It is a melancholy truth, that in English history, every event which has contributed to promote the liberties, exalt the glory, or enhance the prosperity of England, has only served to rivet the chains and deepen the misery of Ireland. Why is it that we thus have doomed her to mourn over our triumphs and rejoice over our defeats? Why has every blessing to England been perverted into a curse to Ireland? The Reformation, which expanded the freedom of England, only aggravated the slavery of Ireland. The reign of Elizabeth, to which Englishmen look back with admiration and pride, presents to Irishmen the record of proscription and woe. When England, under Cromwell, was dictating the law to Europe, Ireland, amid the ashes of her cities, was weeping his tyranny in tears of blood. He exalted the name of Englishman to the dignity of that of Roman; he debased the name of Irishman into a synonym with that of slave. The Revolution, which in England hurled a despot from the throne, and built up the structure of her freedom on an imperishable basis, to Ireland was the dawn of a new era of persecution and oppression. Now what, on the other hand, is the solitary epoch in the English annals which Irish patriots point out as glorious and advantageous to their country? That disastrous crisis, when the Empire was dismembered; when England's fate trembled in the balance; when hostile fleets bearded her in the Channel; when hostile hosts menaced invasion; when her own armies were scattered abroad or immured in hostile prisons; when dire necessity wrung from her in the hour of peril the justice she had scornfully refused in the hour of triumph. Is that, I will not say a generous, I will not say a humane, I will not say a Christian, but is it a wise policy, which can thus turn our successes into a calamity to Ireland, and force her to regard our humiliation as a gain? Is that a prudent policy which has converted the rule over eight millions of loyal and generous hearts, abounding in valour and in virtue, into a source of weakness rather than of strength? Is that a sagacious policy which has produced such results as to lead to a proverbial expression that it were better for the interests of England that Ireland were swallowed up by the waves, than that this nation of brave and intelligent men should exist in the neighbourhood, who only demand justice to make them faithful subjects and allies? I shall indulge in no observations partaking of a spirit of partisanship—I shall cast a veil over the past, and look forward to the future. If the Ministers have been inconsistent, if they have departed from their former principles, at least their apostacy is of a noble character—it is from folly to wisdom, from bigotry to toleration. Let them be consistent in following out the new policy they have adopted. If they have been inconsistent in wrong, let them be consistent in right. What Ireland requires is a Minister who should have genius to conceive, and boldness to propose some grand scheme for her pacification—who, unscared by the clamour of partisans or the rage of fanatics, should unfold his plan at once in one comprehensive whole, and who should announce his resolution to stand or fall by its success. It is true that he might fail in the outset of his career. His first attempt might succumb beneath bigotry and prejudice. He might be the victim, before he became the leader of public opinion. But his martyrdom would ensure the triumph of his cause. He would become the rallying point of the wise, the polar star of the just, and public opinion, gradually reclaimed from its errors, would at length enlist itself under him who had denounced them and proclaimed the policy to retrieve them. But in vain I look round for such a Minister. In the absence of such a statesman, we must content ourselves with reformation in detail; we must dole out justice by instalments, and apply the lancet to abuses which stand in need of the axe. Hence, I shall give my vote in favour of the Bill of the right hon. Gentleman. My constituents are as hostile as I am friendly to this measure. But shall I weigh their good will against the welfare of Ireland? Shall I balance their pleasure against the safety of the Empire? Shall I dwell on my own interests when the interests of the commonwealth are at stake? No, Sir; were my vote to-night not only to forfeit their favour, but to doom me to a sentence of perpetual exclusion from public life, I would say, Perish all aspirations after public utility—perish all hopes of public distinction—perish all visions of ambition or renown—still let this measure prevail.

Sir *Charles Douglas* congratulated the noble Lord (Dalmeny) on the general tone of his speech, as being in accordance with the example which had prevailed through these debates, and which he would endeavour to follow. He wished, however, that the noble Lord had not, even in a hypothetical manner, indirectly shown any party feeling. The Bill under discussion had been described as having no principle, and being a mere pitiful expedient. He thought that its principle was the same on which the Legislature had acted for fifty years, and that the expediency of the measure was an honest endeavour to render that principle more efficacious. It was said that the gentlemen in office had climbed into power on the back of this very subject, and that the right hon. Baronet (Sir R. Peel) had turned round on those principles against those who formerly gave him their support. On this question, he (Sir C. Douglas) had given a consistent vote during eight Sessions. On both sides of the House, he had voted on this question with those now at the head of affairs; and he denied the charge of inconsistency. The present Government succeeded to office in consequence of their predecessors having lost the confidence of the country, on every question of foreign and domestic policy. The late Government obtained office in 1835, by asserting a principle; and to keep office, in 1838 they abandoned that same principle. He would contradict the assertion, that on the question before the House the Government had deceived any one. He did not feel that he was acting contrary to the principle involved in every vote he had given for any grant to Maynooth. One of the leaders of the opposition to this Bill, whose opinion was always conscientious, the hon. Member for Kent (Mr. Plumptre) said on the question of a grant to Maynooth, in September, 1841, "he felt it his duty to differ from the right hon. Baronet, but he was delighted to see him occupying the place he did, and to know that he was free as the wind to act as an independent Minister, and determined to do his duty to his country." Sir Robert Peel, on that occasion, stated that

> "He rose to prevent any mistake as to his motives for proposing and supporting the grant. He did not do so because one half of the money had been voted before he came into office, for he had voted for the grant to Maynooth for thirty years, in office and out of office, without feeling any violation of religious scruples."

Thus there was the recorded authority of the hon. Member for Kent, that, on this question, the right hon. Baronet was free as the wind in 1841; and the right hon. Gentleman's own words in that year, stating that for thirty years he had acted on the very principle to which this Bill would give a chance of success, which at least, together, were sufficient to refute the charges of inconsistency against the supporters of the Bill, and also to deny that Government had turned round on this question, or deceived any one. It had been objected to this Bill, that it made an annual vote into a permanent endowment. He (Sir C. Douglas) thought the term endowment was improperly applied If the property of the Church were confiscated, and Parliament gave the Church Establishment an annual charge on the Consolidated Fund instead, would the churchmen still consider he had the benefit and stability of an endowed church? Would it not be contended that, as in the cases of the incomes of the Royal Family, which were not annual votes, but annual charges on the Consolidated Fund, that Parliament could as easily control an annual charge, as make an annual grant? He thought the term endowment was misapplied, and that the only change proposed to be made was, in truth, to abolish the temptation which an annual vote gave to annual party religious contentions. Over every charge on the Consolidated Fund, Parliament had power, and to that power he would trust, whenever any such charge as this might be abused. He thought the alteration proposed on this point, a recommendation of the Bill. Of the principle of this Bill, as contained in its spirit, he fully approved; he meant the conciliation and kind feeling it held out. The way in which it was offered seemed to say, we are about to act on the rule of "Do unto others as you would they should do unto you;" and the spirit which had prevailed in the debate seemed to be the same, even from the opponents of this measure; for the noble Lord, the Member for Dorsetshire (Ashley), had stated "that there was no concession short of a concession like this he would not make for the benefit of Ireland." He (Sir C. Douglas) rejoiced to hear such language from such authority; for though the noble Lord would vote against this Bill, such expressions from him were calculated to do good in Ireland, and would be hailed with joy; although he opposed this Bill on religious scruples, he had added, "and if he thought that this concession would really content the people of Ireland, he would hesitate before he gave a negative to this measure." Surely, then, no one who agreed with the noble Lord would find fault with those who supported this Bill, thinking that its spirit would tend to that contentment which he avowed would lead him to hesitate when about to act on religious scruples. That the Union would be maintained, no one could doubt. He (Sir C. Douglas) defended the Church Establishment as the church of the majority of the United Kingdom. No one could maintain the principle that a minority could or ought to govern; and he implored Irish Protestants to accept the benefit of the assumption—that their church is that of the majority; and he believed that by acting in the spirit of this Bill the Union would be cemented—that assumption would be the nearer the fact, and therefore you could the more effectually maintain the Established Church. The hon. Member for Rochdale (Mr. S. Crawford), whose opinions were always honestly expressed and sincerely entertained, had stated as his reasons for opposing this Bill—

> "That it was a most Conservative one: without paying the Roman Catholic Church, he knew that it was impossible to maintain the Established Church in Ireland for any lengthened period; and being most anxious to see its removal, which the present measure would postpone, he would give it his strenuous opposition."

He (Sir C. Douglas), thought that the present measure would tend to strengthen the Union and the Established Church, and therefore it would have his support. Why was it that Ireland, with its soil, climate, situation, agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, was the most poor and dissatisfied of nations? Why was it that instead of the progress made against the errors of the Roman Church wherever it was fairly met elsewhere, in Ireland, after 300 years, the errors of that church prevailed with such a vast majority? He thought the answer was well expressed by the noble Lord (Ashley), who in these debates had said, "that the whole history of Ireland demanded not only the sympathy but the repentance of the British nation; that he could not read those terrible records without feelings of shame and sorrow." The reasons for proposing this Bill, and supporting it, had been better given by others; and in many of them he (Sir C. Douglas) concurred. He would only now add that he had presented a petition signed by thirteen of his constituents, praying the House to "refuse any measure which may be contrary to the obvious principles of the Protestant faith, and thereby calculated to endanger the stability of the Throne and the peace of these realms." If such could be the effect of this Bill, no one would more strenuously oppose it; but he looked on this Bill only as an honest attempt to conciliate and content Ireland, without at all affecting the Church of England. He felt the greatest pain in being compelled to differ on this important Bill with some of his best and most valued friends; his constituents generally had trusted to his unbiassed judgment, and he therefore the more felt his responsibility. His consolation was that, with those friends, and a majority of his constituents, his end was the same; his anxiety was to give a right vote; he knew it would be an honest one, and being satisfied that the increase of the grant, and the alteration of its provision, could not injuriously affect the Church of England and Ireland; that it would tend to give peace to that country; and looking also to the consequences of rejecting this Bill, he felt bound to give it his decided support.

Mr. *Hawes* had intended to propose that this grant should be annual as well as that of the 9,000*l.*; but he had observed in that House, and more particularly out of it, such a spirit of recrimination that he was persuaded if a discussion was annually raised, it could only tend to alienation, animosity, and discord. As to the principle of this measure, he could only repeat that if the Catholics of Ireland were told they could be governed by England only on the principle of Protestant ascendancy, the strongest arguments were furnished to the advocates of Repeal to come to that House and demand a separate Legislature. After the admission of the right hon. Secretary for the Home Department, that Protestant ascendancy could no longer be upheld in Ireland, he felt he should be wanting in his duty if he did not support a measure which indicated a new line of policy towards that country, on which we had so long committed such grievous injustice. He had another reason for supporting this measure—it would pave the way for the reform of the Protestant Church, and thus tend to cement that union which was every day drawn closer by the material interests of the two countries, than even by the principles of Government under which they subsisted. This measure was worthy of support in this sense too, that it was a more definite declaration of the justness of the appropriation principle than any proposal that a Government of this country had made for years. As a mere money grant the sum asked was a trifle. He admitted it saddled this country with the payment of a permanent sum; but it should be remembered that Ireland remitted annually to this country a large sum wholly independent of her establishments. He denied this was an endowment of the Catholic Church; it was a mere education vote for the College of Maynooth. There was nothing to prevent lay students from availing themselves of the education given at Maynooth. Up to 1817 lay students had been received there, and the discontinuance of that system of mixed education was caused by the Government, and not by the clergy. He had heard this grant strongly opposed by the adherents of the voluntary principle. But a grant wholly unfettered by any condition was no more than a private endowment, and such endowments were not, he believed, repudiated by any class of Dissenters. He would not repeat the assertion that the Church now endowed had wholly failed. According to the account of Sir W. Petty, the Catholics 200 years ago were only in the proportion of three to one; by the last census they were seven and a half to one. He thought it right to get up and say why he abstained from pressing the proposal for an annual vote, which he had on a former occasion intimated he should make.

Mr. *Hindley* respected the sincerity more than the arguments of his hon. Friend (Mr. Hawes). He was sure the opinions advanced by his hon. Friend would give great pain to his constituents, who entertained very different views. The objection of his hon. Friend to an annual vote of this grant, amounted to nothing but the old argument against annual Parliaments. His objection to popular discussion, considering his liberal views, was most extraordinary. Now he so far differed from his hon. Friend, that he acknowledged that if this vote was made an annual one, many of the objections which Dissenters had to it would be removed. But now the vote was fixed at 26,000*l.* a year. It was a proposal, in fact, to hand at once 100,000,000*l.* out of the Consolidated Fund for the College of Maynooth. He was aware that they who opposed that grant were charged with bigotry. "Why object," it was asked, "to give this sum to your Catholic fellow subjects—why object to conciliate Ireland?" To this he should answer, that if such a grant was proposed for his own church, which, instead of being the most was the least numerous, he should give it just as strenuous an opposition as he did to this grant for Maynooth. And as to Ireland, he was sure that no man was more anxious to give her every measure of justice which she had a right to demand. And he could say honestly, that he would rather give his vote for a Repeal of the Union, than in favour of this proposition, which he thought involved much more serious consequences to the welfare and benefit of the country. He thought it rather hard that the Dissenters should be charged with bigotry and intolerance. They had ever been the friends of civil and religious liberty. If this measure was rejected, said the right hon. Member for Dungarvon, Ashton-under-Lyne would be illuminated. Little did the right hon. Gentleman understand the principles and feelings of his constituents. They would illuminate not for a night, but for a month, to secure justice to Ireland. They were always desirous that she should be placed exactly on the same footing as this country. As for any bigotry towards the Catholics, he could only say that he had himself voted for the annual grant to this very College. Suppose two men were to quarrel in the street, and one was very roughly handled by the other, would it be fair for the aggressor to say to a passer by, "This poor man has suffered very much, give him a shilling." The obvious answer was, "Why don't you, who inflicted the injury, pay the penalty?" On what principle could the Dissenters of England—who supported their own ministers, chapels, and colleges—be called on to pay a permanent grant to the College of Maynooth, with the view of conciliating the Irish people, and making some amends (if it could be said to do so) for the past injustice of those who ruled that country? He had no doubt that if the right hon. Baronet now said—"I must retrace my steps—I see that this proposal is contrary to the feelings of the people of England—these poor Catholics must get some assistance, and in order to meet public opinion, I propose to give them 26,000*l.* by annual vote;"—he believed, however strong the feelings of the Dissenters as to the permanent grant, he could induce them to assent to this modification. But that this assistance should be given through this Bill they most decidedly objected; for after the speeches of the noble Member for Liverpool, of the noble Member for the city of London, of the right hon. Gentleman who had left the Cabinet, and of the right hon. Member for Edinburgh, they were filled with alarm, and could not see where such proposals were to end. Was this an isolated measure? He should like to hear some Members of the Government get up and say what was the whole policy to be pursued with regard to Ireland. If it was an isolated measure, it raised hopes it was never intended to satisfy. If it was one of a series of measures, then the fears of the people of England were not half so great as they ought to be. Let the Government tell the House what it meant. Were they going to send the Queen to Ireland with gilt gingerbread? The Irish were children if they would be satisfied with any such thing. He would bid higher for their favour; and those who acted with him would prove that they were better friends of the Irish than those who made such high professions. He remembered when the hon. and gallant Colonel the Member for Lincoln (Colonel Sibthorp) had on one occasion proposed that the annual grant to Maynooth should be discontinued, the hon. and gallant Colonel the Member for Armagh (Colonel Verner) who sat by his side, had concurred with him, and the hon. and gallant Colonel the Member for the county of Sligo (Colonel Perceval) also supported him, and formed a trio; on that occasion Mr. O'Connell said he should certainly divide with the hon. and gallant Colonel if he put the House to a division; "for," said he, "the Roman Catholic religion is not to be supported by such a paltry grant as this. The support of religion ought to be voluntary; it ought to be able to support itself." It was on that occasion that Mr. O'Connell gave vent to one of the brightest flashes of wit that his genius had ever given birth to in that House. "Oh," said he, "these gallant Colonels, they are the Church Militant—

"'Three colonels in three distant counties born,
"'Lincoln, Armagh, and Sligo do adorn;
"'The first in face surpassed, the next in jollity,
"'The third was famed for his sobriety.
"'The force of nature could no further go
"'To beard the first, she shaved the other two.'"

Oh let them not spend their time in squabbles with respect to differences in religion! He respected the Catholics, as he desired himself to get to heaven, which he believed they all sought. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newark had not thought it worth his while to detain the House two minutes by any allusion to the voluntary principle, because he did not think it practicable. He thought it was far more practicable to establish the voluntary principle in Ireland, than to govern Ireland with a dominant Church of a minority. What did the voluntary principle do? In the first place, what did it do to the Dissenters' chapels? They had some 10,000 or 11,000 churches, and there were 8,000 or 9,000 Dissenters' chapels. The voluntary principle had thus almost equalled in number the places of worship which the compulsory system had built in the course of centuries. The voluntary principle had subscribed 925,000*l.* a year some seven years ago towards the maintenance of its ministers at these places of worship; and he did not doubt but that that sum now amounted to nearly 1,000,000*l.* The expenses annually, in repairing and cleaning chapels, was estimated at not less than 1,000,000*l.* It was also estimated that not less than

168,240*l.* was annually spent in charitable societies; whilst the Independents supported a theological academy, at which 220 students were educated, at an expense of 7,000*l.* or 8,000*l.* a-year. There were similar academies amongst the Baptists and Wesleyans; so that altogether not less than 30,000*l.* a-year were spent in supporting these academies. The sums annually raised by the Dissenters for the support and spread of the Gospel at home and abroad amounted to not less than 537,000*l.*; at the present time he did not doubt but that sum amounted to 700,000*l.* or 800,000*l.* Lastly, he would refer the House to the sums raised by Churchmen for the support of their own worship on the voluntary system; for he rejoiced to say that the voluntary system had made way in the Church, and was now very vigorous in it. In Manchester ten new churches had been built, and in his own neighbourhood two or three, on this principle. The amount raised altogether by the voluntary principle was between 3,000,000*l.* and 4,000,000*l.* of money—not raised by the rich, but by the middle and lower classes. He therefore did think it rather too hard that they should now be called upon to support an additional endowment for an additional Establishment (for to that this grant must lead, if their arguments went for anything), and especially when it was for the teaching of principles which they did not avow. The noble Lord the Member for Liverpool said, that this proposal was a little restitution. The noble Lord the Member for London had said, that the argument went to endow the Roman Catholic clergy, and he was willing to vote for that proposition whenever it was made. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Newark had said, that the proposed grant was a restitution of 6*d.* in the pound, and it ought to be 20*s.*, and as honest men they ought to pay it; and then the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Edinburgh said, "Don't you see what fine buildings you have stolen from them in Oxford and Cambridge, and cannot you give them a decent building at Maynooth?" What did they mean by restitution? Why did they not propose it? He might not think an endowment wise, but he might not on principle object to a restitution. He contemplated the proposed alteration with great alarm, and thought it a step in the wrong direction. If the right hon. Baronet had thought it his duty to give additional comfort to the students at Maynooth he (Mr. Hindley) should not have felt himself called upon to give his strenuous opposition to such a measure, because he should not have thought that it involved in it all that fatality which was involved in the proposal now before the House.

Mr. *John Round* said, nothing could be more unsatisfactory than the present condition of the College of Maynooth, and he thought it highly desirable that something should be done for the elevation of the character of that institution. He regarded the present measure as one purely of civil polity, and as such he should give it his cordial support. He was convinced that if this measure did not pass, an irresistible impulse would be given to Repeal; whereas the concession of the measure would induce a grateful return from the Irish people. He was not weak or foolish enough to expect a grateful return from the arch-agitator, but he had a faithful reliance on the representations made of the Roman Catholic body by the right hon. Member for Dungarvon, the hon. Member for Roscommon, and a noble Lord, the representative of a noble race, who spoke the sentiments of the Roman Catholic aristocracy. He (Mr. Round) believed the measure would have a beneficial result, and therefore he should give it, not a weak, or hesitating, but an honest and sincere, a hearty and cordial, support.

Mr. *Brotherton* would wish to do justice to Ireland, without doing injustice to the Dissenters of England. The Irish Roman Catholics stood in a different relation to the Established Church than the Dissenters. He did not think the Dissenters had a fair claim to any church property. But with regard to the Roman Catholics of Ireland it must be recollected that they constituted seven-eighths of the population, and that they had been despoiled of their ecclesiastical revenues, and were compelled to support a Church from which they could derive no benefit. Although he approved of the object of the Bill, he wished that the end should be accomplished by proper means. He had voted for the Appropriation Clause, and for every measure calculated to ameliorate the state of the Irish people. They had an Established Church in Ireland, which did not answer the end for which it was established; and Government had the means in their own power for doing all that was required for the Roman Catholics of Ireland without doing injury to any body. He should not have hesitated to support an increased grant; but the noble Lord the Member for London had said, that this was not merely a grant, but that it involved a great principle—that it was the precursor of a great many other measures. He, therefore, began to consider where this principle might lead him. Was he to vote an unlimited sum out of the pockets of the Dissenters for the endowment of another Church in Ireland? They had been told that night that the Dissenters subscribed between 2,000,000*l.* and 3,000,000*l.* annually in support of their establishments; they were half the population ("No"): he believed that in Lancashire they were, and, besides, they had a strong feeling on this question. He would be no party to a bigoted and intolerant "No-Popery" cry. He did not look upon the various denominations of Christians as antagonists, but as one great Christian family, each class having its mission, and all operating together for the general welfare and happiness of society. The hon. Member concluded by stating that he could not bring his mind to vote for taking the amount for Maynooth out of the Consolidated Fund,more especially as the Bill before the House appeared to him to be the precursor of measures of which no one could see the end.

Mr. *Borthwick* had not intended to address the House on this subject, but that the hon. Member had changed his Motion from a Motion as to the place from which the money was to come, into a Motion which brought again before the House the whole principle of the Bill. The present discussion might, in fact, be said to be a discussion upon the entire principle of the Bill. He had not been so fortunate as to obtain an opportunity of addressing the House, otherwise he would have stated his reasons which induced him to support the Bill. In supporting this measure he was aware that he was about to vote against that large, sincere, and patriotic excitement which had loaded the Table of that House with so many petitions from all parts of the country, and against those for whom he entertained the greatest deference and the most profound respect, and to whom he could, under any future circumstances, only refer with the deepest personal gratitude. He could have no object of a personal character in supporting the present measure of Her Majesty's Government. He did not regard this measure on account of assistance which it contributed towards the education of the Roman Catholic priesthood of Ireland. He valued it rather on account of the disposition it evinced. He believed that a new era was commencing, in which the union and prosperity, the peace and happiness of Ireland would be promoted. He believed that the present measure was calculated to lead to the best results between the two countries. The House had been asked by the hon. Member for Shrewsbury, the right hon. Member for Edinburgh, the right hon. Member for Devonport, and others, to consider how far the consistency of public men bore upon public measures—whether the House ought not, in consistency, to refuse to support a measure of this kind, whether good or bad, because it had been brought forward by the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government? The hon. Member for Shrewsbury, in expressing his opposition to this measure, talked of sublime mediocrity, and of an organized hypocrisy. But if the hon. Member for Shrewsbury, when he spoke of the advantage of a constitutional Opposition, would consider what might be the character of that Opposition, he might find that it was composed of a hypocrisy not always organized—of a mediocrity that was not always sublime. The movement which had been commenced by the hon. Member for Shrewsbury had been followed up by the right hon. Member for Edinburgh. The hon. Member for Shrewsbury had a perfect right to make the remarks which he did, and to state the reasons why he thought it inconsistent to vote for the measure of Her Majesty's Government. But he thought that the case was somewhat different with respect to the right hon. Member for Edinburgh. That right hon. Gentleman was a Member of the late Whig Government—a Government who, when in Opposition, by manœuvres as artfully framed as the rules of Parliament would admit, did in 1835 upset the Government of the right hon. Baronet. That Government, in Opposition, had brought forward the Appropriation Clause, but, when in office, they abandoned that principle, and allowed it to slumber in the breast of the hon. Member for Sheffield, who was its consistent supporter. From 1830 to 1840, the late Government had abandoned that question; and when the right hon. Gentleman called upon the House to look to the consistency of honourable men, he ought rather have first looked to the consistency of the course that had been pursued by that Government of which he was a Member. These accusations of the right hon. Gentleman reminded him of the lines of Pope, who, speaking of the prudery of a lady not very remarkable for her virtue, said—

> "Just as some blockhead rubs his thoughtless skull,
> And thanks his stars he was not born a fool."

Now for a proof of the inconsistency of the late Government, we need not go further than to refer to their conduct with respect to the Appropriation Clause. However, he would vote for the present Bill, even though the Government might have been inconsistent in bringing it before the House. He had heard it said that they should look to measures, not men; and he had heard others say that they should look to men and not to measures. Now, he thought that the parties who uttered those expressions were partly both right, and partly both wrong. Now, he would wish to know what there was in the conduct of the right hon. Gentleman, either in or out of office, which made him open to the charge of inconsistency with reference to this matter. The right hon. Gentleman, he believed, had been for upwards of thirty years in Parliament, and he believed that never in any one instance had he opposed the grant to Maynooth. The grant had been proposed by Mr. Pitt in 1795, and certainly there was nothing inconsistent in the Tory party continuing and enlarging a grant which had been proposed by Mr. Pitt, and sanctioned by George III. It had been urged that to change this grant from an annual into a permanent endowment, would be to convert it into a perpetuity; but he was at a loss to know what there was in the law or practice of that House to prevent any hon. Member from moving a repeal of this Act of Parliament if it should be found that in any way those funds had been misapplied. The House had been reminded by an hon. Member who had spoken that evening, that those who wished for this measure would not vote in accordance with the opinions or the feelings of the constituent body of England. On this subject he might refer to the celebrated speech of Mr. Burke to his constituents at Bristol, in 1774, in which that distinguished man said,—

> "Certainly, gentlemen, it ought to be the happiness and glory of a Representative to live in the strictest union, the closest correspondence, and the most unreserved communication with his constituents. Their wishes ought to have great weight with him; their opinions, high respect; their business, unremitted attention. It is his duty to sacrifice his repose, his pleasures, his satisfactions to theirs; and above all, ever and in all cases to prefer their interests to his own. But his unbiassed opinion, his mature judgment, his enlightened conscience, he ought not to sacrifice to you, to any man, or to any set of men living. These he does not derive from your pleasure; no, nor from the laws and the Constitution. They are a trust from Providence, for the abuse of which he is deeply answerable. Your Representative owes you not his industry only, but his judgment, and he betrays, instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion."

He thought that on the present occasion he was best serving his constituents by exercising that free judgment with which he was sure that at no distant time they would fully concur. He was sure that whatever the consequences might be to him, he would feel more satisfaction at having honestly performed his duty than if, by pursuing a different course, he had betrayed what he conceived to be the interests both of his constituents and his country. When he looked to the petitions with which the Table was loaded, he could not help looking at that agitation by which the mighty mind of this country had been excited on this question; when he saw the agitation that had taken place in Liverpool and other parts of this country, he would venture to say that those petitions which had resulted from this agitation did not represent the honest mind of the people of this country. Those whom he addressed wished to support the Established and Reformed Church of that country. And he would call attention to some proceedings, which had appeared in an Irish newspaper, and which took place at a meeting of "The Priests' Protection Society," presided over by a nobleman whose name was synonymous with everything that was patriotic and good—the Earl of Roden. The proceedings of this meeting commenced with a prayer, in which the meeting besought the Divine protection for the society, and prayed that the priests who were now the blind leaders of the blind, might be enlightened, and that the Holy

Spirit might so take possession of their hearts and enlighten their minds as to induce them to come out of the spiritual Babylon, where they were in danger of perishing. Now he thought that the use of such language as that was inconsistent with the charity which distinguished the Church of England. That Church extended its toleration to Jews, Turks, Heretics, and Infidels; and he thought that it was inconsistent with the Christian charity which distinguished that Church to use language of this description. Now, as an illustration of the means of agitation that were resorted to, to stir up the public mind on this question, he might mention that he had heard it stated that a gentleman, turning out of a church in Cheltenham, encountered an elderly lady —and she asked him whether it was really true that Maynooth was going to be built in Cheltenham. This lady was evidently afraid that the Pope was about to take up his residence in Cheltenham, and she did not know what might be the result. He thought that every Member of that House who took upon himself the responsibility of passing this Bill, ought to be able to give a reason for undertaking that responsibility. He was prepared to give reasons drawn from the depths of our constitutional history. When they looked to the fabric of this mighty Empire, which was spread over all parts of the globe—when they recollected the fact that England, to a certain extent, was responsible for the march of enlightenment and civilization, and for spreading the blessings of Christianity amongst mankind, he asked whether this was a measure to which they could refuse their assent. In India, they were supporting religions that were repugnant to Christianity. In India, in Malta, in Canada, in Trinidad, they had endowed the Roman Catholic religion; and why, then, should they deny to the Roman Catholics of Ireland the charitable countenance of that faith which they supported in other parts of the world? It had been asked, whether, with respect to this measure, he would be willing to trust to Mr. O'Connell and the Roman Catholic priests? He admitted that he would not; but he would trust to that by which he was never deceived—he would trust to human nature. Let them treat Ireland with kindness, and such a course of policy must produce satisfactory results. It had been said that the Church of Ireland was a missionary church; but let them recollect that that Church for three centuries had proclaimed the truth without making any additional conversions; and why was this but because the system with which she had been connected had shrouded her and prevented her from standing before the people of Ireland in her naked simplicity and beauty. The English Reformation had not been promoted by Henry VIII.; it had not descended from the higher to the lower classes, but had ascended upwards from the people to the aristocracy — from the people who had listened to the preachings of Wickliffe and his followers. Let that Church get fair play in Ireland, and it would advance. Mr. Burke, whose opinions he had already referred to, had stated that the agitation amongst the people of Ireland was not about Popes, but about potatoes; and that it was not the spirit of zeal which raised rebellion in Ireland but the spirit of whisky. The truth was that, after all, it was chiefly physical relief that the people of Ireland needed. But one great accessory to the promotion of this great object, would be the exhibition of a soothing and conciliatory spirit. He would never support any measure affecting the rights and revenues of the Established Church of Ireland; but the proposal of Government involved no such step. The hon. Gentleman concluded by reiterating his approval of the Government Motion.

Mr. *Fox Maule* said, that after the patient hearing which had been granted to him on a former occasion, he regretted now to trouble the House. He thought it, however, right to notice some allusions which had been made to him, and his conduct out of the House, with respect to this measure. The hon. Member for Sheffield had gone somewhat out of his way to attack him for having attended a public meeting; and had endeavoured to make him responsible for language there held. Now, he did not conceive that a person present, or even presiding, at a public meeting, was to be held responsible for all that fell from speakers there, in the heat of argument and debate. Moreover, he thought that some allowance should be made for language used at these meetings; because it was the only opportunity and occasion for giving vent to those feelings; and moreover it was somewhat excusable, inasmuch as the fear of an answer was not always before their eyes. Again, with respect to the resolutions adopted at those meetings, he was no more responsible for them than he was for a Resolution, or a Notice of Motion in the shape of a Resolution, of that House, first given, then postponed, then altered; and at last brought forward, when its proposer acknowledged he would not have pressed it if it endangered the measure now before the House, and when its supporters avowed they would not vote for it if it caused any danger to that Bill. He looked upon the use of this language as a safety-valve for strong public opinion. It was in such places as these meetings that public opinion got vent; and, however strong the language might be, the public had a right to express their opinions, and it was better for the House to hear them. In voting for the Motion of the hon. and learned Recorder, he (Mr. Fox Maule) did so with the simple view of putting a stop to the measure itself. The right hon. Baronet had said, that with respect to the principle, hon. Members were pledged by their conduct with respect to the Charitable Bequests Act of last year; but it was hard that those who consented to a Bill with a clause enabling parties to endow certain establishments on the voluntary principle, should be pledged to the general endowment by the State of such institutions, or to the endowment of a Roman Catholic seminary exclusively for the education of the priesthood; and ultimately, as he believed it would turn out, to the endowment of the Roman Catholic Church. Notwithstanding the silent vote he might have given on that Bill, and notwithstanding he might have voted on former occasions in favour of the grant to Maynooth, he held himself at liberty to judge of this as a new and permanent measure, and leading, as he believed, not only to the endowment of Maynooth, but to the future endowment of the Catholic clergy. His noble Friend on this side of the House looked forward to that measure with sanguine expectation; and the right hon. Gentleman opposite did not say that it was impossible to happen: no one, indeed, denied that the present measure might lead to that event, and so he had a right to judge of it. Now, the grant was to be taken from the Consolidated Fund, a considerable part of which arose from taxes paid by the people of this country. Some Gentlemen said that the sum was so paltry it was not worth contending about. It was true the people did not care about the money; they had proved their generosity in granting an enormous amount of Income Tax, and they were not likely to quarrel about a sum of 26,000*l.* It was the principle they quarrelled with; for they thought it hard that the grant should be taken not only at their expense, but in violation of their conscientious feeling. It had been said that a "No-Popery" cry had been raised against the measure. He did not exactly know the meaning of that word. Did it mean the "No-Popery" cry previous to 1829? That cry was then raised against the possession by Roman Catholics of civil privileges. If it were proposed to give a Roman Catholic a vote for a Member of Parliament, or a seat in Parliament, then the cry was raised that the Protestant Constitution of the country was invaded. That he called a "No-Popery" cry. But here it was proposed to give to the Roman Catholics more than the mere concession of civil privileges. It was proposed to endow a Roman Catholic seminary, principally for priests, without any supervision from the State; and leading (in the opinion of some) ultimately to the endowment of the Roman Catholic Church itself. Surely men had a right to express their opinion on this subject, without being charged with raising the cry of "No Popery." But if that cry was complained of now, why had it not been complained of before? Was it not raised against Lord Melbourne's Government in 1837, 1838, and 1839, in all its original power? If the Government talked of dealing with municipal corporations in Ireland, they were met with that cry; and by whom? By the party of which the right hon. Gentlemen opposite were the members and leaders; they neither disclaimed it then, nor endeavoured to put it down. On the contrary, they made all the use of it they could. The right hon. Baronet (Sir Robert Peel) had stated, that he had always disclaimed proceedings founded on the cry of "No Popery." He must say, that while he sat on the Ministerial side of the House, and the cry of "No Popery" was raised against the Government to which he belonged, he never heard any disclaimer of it by the right hon. Gentleman; and when he found that it was stated the other day by a most respectable individual that the right hon. Baronet, when opposing the measure of Lord Melbourne's Government, did, while addressing a highly important body of men from Scotland, give countenance to that "No-Popery" cry, he (Mr. Fox Maule) thought they had a right, on this occasion, to receive from the right hon. Gentleman a public explanation of the course which he followed in regard to that cry when he was in Opposition. He perceived that at a meeting held the other day at Glasgow, a most extraordinary statement was made by the Rev. Dr. Buchanan. He (Mr. Fox Maule) had read that statement with considerable surprise. He could not believe it; and yet, knowing the gentleman who made it, he could not conceive it possible that there had been any wilful misrepresentation on his part on the subject. He (Mr. Fox Maule) therefore wrote to Dr. Buchanan for an explanation. The passage in Dr. Buchanan's speech at Glasgow the other day, which contained the quotation from the address of Sir Robert Peel, to which he (Mr. Fox Maule) was alluding, was in these words:—

EXTRACT FROM NOTE BOOK OF THE REV. DR. BUCHANAN.

"We were much struck, and deeply interested by a declaration Sir Robert Peel made while referring to the importance of bringing out the Bench of Bishops. Independent of rousing the English Members and England generally to the importance of our individual question, he thought it was of the highest moment that the English and Scotch Establishments should unite in these days on the common ground of the Protestant faith, in resisting the encroachments of Popery. 'It is impossible, I think,' he said, with great earnestness of tone and manner, 'to look at the progress Popery is now making, and the efforts it is putting forth, without anxiety and alarm. The re-establishment of the order of the Jesuits in most of the countries of Europe—the movements in Prussia and Belgium—the increase of Popish chapels and seminaries in our own country, show us too clearly what we have to dread. And I am persuaded,' he continued, 'that we shall ere long, see a struggle arise, in which again we shall have to determine the question whether Popery or Protestantism is to have the ascendancy.'"

This address of the right hon. Gentleman was made in 1838. After having listened to that quotation, the House ought to hear the grounds upon which Dr. Buchanan defends his use of it. He would, therefore, read Dr. Buchanan's statement, which was a confirmation of the truth of the words he used at the meeting, and also a justification for using them. Dr. Buchanan, in answer to his letter, stated:—

"*Glasgow, April* 18, 1845.

"My dear Sir,—I have received your letter of the 15th instant in reference to a speech of mine delivered at the late meeting of the Free Church Synod of Glasgow and Ayr. You express astonishment at a certain quotation from a note book of mine, which the newspaper report of my speech contained, and wish me to give you some information regarding it. I can have no possible objection to answer your inquiries upon the subject; but as you indicate an intention to make some use of my statement, you must allow me to mention the circumstances in which the passage from my note book came under the public eye. The Synod was discussing a motion to petition Parliament against the Maynooth Endowment Bill. In speaking on that question, I had occasion to allude to the ridicule which many in the present day attempt to cast on the notion that Popery is ever again to rise into power, or to prove a source of danger to this country or to the world. On such a point I thought it important to be able to adduce the testimony of one whom no one could accuse of religious fanaticism, or imagine to be under the influence of exaggerated apprehensions on the subject of Popery. Such a witness, I thought, every one must allow Sir R. Peel to be; and having in my possession the memorandum of a remarkable statement of his regarding the threatening aspects of the Church of Rome, I read it to the Synod.

"In doing so I ventured to think and say that I was not violating any principle of propriety; the statement in question having been made, not to a private individual, but to an official body, and having reference solely to matters which were patent to the observation of the whole world; the statement, moreover, being one, as I conceived, both true and important, and which there could be no possible reason for concealing from any one.

"If the report of my speech which you saw, was that which appeared in the *Scottish Guardian*, the quotation from my note book, as there given, is *verbatim et literatim*, as I wrote it down within an hour from the time when the words were spoken by Sir Robert Peel. The interview at which the statement was made took place on the 24th March, 1838. It was addressed to a deputation from the Church of Scotland on the subject of Church extension. The deputation consisted of the Rev. Dr. Muir, of Edinburgh; the Rev. Dr. M'Leod, of Glasgow; the Rev. Dr. Simpson, of Kirknewton; Mr. William Collins, of Glasgow, and myself. Mr. Colquhoun, of Killermont, and Mr. Pringle, of Whytbank, were also present on the occasion.

"As to the accuracy of my note book, I have the most perfect confidence. Written as the memorandum was, so immediately after the words were spoken, and read over, as I was accustomed to read all my notes of our official interviews to my Colleagues at the time, I am as certain of its correctness as any fact whatever.

"In all this, Mr. Collins, to whom I have shown your letter, cordially and unhesitatingly concurs.—I am, dear Sir, your's most truly,

"ROBERT BUCHANAN.

"The Right Hon. Fox Maule."

"P.S. I have thought it better to send you a copy of the entire passage of my note book, to which this letter refers.

"R. B."

This was the statement made by Dr. Buchanan, a man who, from all his knowledge of him, was incapable of making any misrepresentation on the subject. He would not contend that it was to be assumed that this statement was perfectly true, until he had heard what the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Robert Peel) had to say against it; but if he were to suppose it to be true, what were they to think of the great leader of a party in Opposition—a party who thought it their glory and their happiness to be guided by such a man, and to have their minds influenced and swayed by him, because he avowed that he entirely went along with them in this strong "No-Popery" feeling which they most conscientiously entertained, who no sooner than that he had assumed the reins of Government came forward, and to the total and entire subversion of all political consistency of character, proposed a measure of the description such as was now before the House? Without pretending to dictate what other course the right hon. Gentleman might have pursued, still he (Mr. Fox Maule) certainly thought the right hon. Gentleman and his Colleagues might have avoided falling into this difficulty if they had honestly set to work in a real and true way of legislation for Ireland. They had attempted to bribe that country to peace by a paltry grant of money, and the concession of a most indefensible principle, instead of legislating for the country in the only proper mode, which they might easily have done, namely, by removing the injuries which the people of Ireland had received from this country in their political relations, and by relieving them from injustice which they now suffered under in various forms of their civil Government. To such measures, he would answer for it, if they had been brought forward by the right hon. Gentleman, the House would have cordially agreed, and they were measures which would undoubtedly have had a much more permanent effect in tranquillising that country than the present proposal. The right hon. Gentleman (Sir Robert Peel) had said that, with this measure he sent to Ireland a message of peace; but what, if he should by so doing leave the apple of discord in this country? If he had sent out a message of peace to the whole civil community, and the benefit had been bestowed with an equal hand, then a large money grant might have been willingly concurred in, and might have produced a salutary effect on the whole body of the people; but framed as this measure was, it would not and could not have the effect of allaying discord, but would, in his opinion, raise a feeling of discontent, such as could only be the effect of the worst possible policy. For it was impossible the right hon. Gentleman could hold out any hope that this was a measure on which he could permanently rest. It had been attributed to agitation, and its origin had been traced to their fears, and not to their love of justice; and they might rely upon it that all those who traced it to that origin, and who saw what they had got by agitation, would never let that system rest until they had wrung from the Government conditions to which the people of England would never willingly consent, but to which if the Government did force them to consent, he believed in his heart it would make them more thorough-going Repealers than the people of Ireland themselves now were. He believed it was the conscientious conviction of the great body of the people, certainly of his (Mr. Fox Maule's) countrymen, at this moment, that the establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland, in connexion with the State, would be a circumstance to which they would prefer the sweeping away of all State Church Establishments together. Yes, even this they would rather see than submit to such a violation of their conscience. He could not believe that it was even yet too late for Her Majesty's Government to try whether there was not some mode by which to confer peace on Ireland other than this. He did not believe that the sacrifice they were making was worth the result they were anticipating from it. In giving this measure to Ireland they were making a sacrifice of all public character of public men—[*Loud cries of* "Hear,

hear."] Yes, they were sacrificing all public character of all public men. He thought they would do more damage to the character of the public men of this country by such a measure as this, than it would be in the power of any Minister, even with all the consistency of his noble Friend the Member for the city of London (Lord John Russell), in his long tried and honourable political career, ever to restore.

Mr. *Pringle :* As it is very rarely that I intrude myself on the attention of the House, perhaps I may be allowed to bespeak their indulgence at this time. It was neither my wish nor my intention to have taken part in these discussions, nor would I have done so now, if special reference had not been made to me by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Perth. The right hon. Gentleman has quoted certain words said to have been spoken by the right hon. Baronet at the head of the Government, at an interview at which I was present; and my recollection has been appealed to as to the accuracy of the quotation. Sir, I perfectly well remember the interview alluded to; but after the lapse of so many years it is very difficult to speak to precise words, and I should be sorry to do so with confidence; but as to the substance of what was then said, the report appears to me to be a very fair report so far as I recollect. Now, I have no doubt that these were the genuine sentiments of my right hon. Friend at the time he uttered them; and I have no less doubt that he still continues sincerely to entertain them. I moreover believe, that if my right hon. Friend had thought that this measure would have a tendency to shake or weaken the Protestant interests in this country, and to exalt those of the Roman Catholics, and bring them into immediate and direct collision with each other, he would never have introduced it. And it is just because I myself believe that it will have this effect that I have differed—and I need not add that I have done so with the greatest pain—from my right hon. Friend. There never was a statesman in this, or in any other country, to whom I have looked up with greater respect and esteem. I have admired the comprehensive wisdom of his policy, and was proud to be connected with his Administration. On all ordinary measures of Government I willingly gave him my confidence; and if, at any time, from imperfect information I might have been disposed to differ from him, I was ready to give way, and yield to his superior judgment. But in the measure now before us there are considerations involved, on which I can yield my judgment to no man. I fear that it has a tendency, certainly not contemplated by my right hon. Friend, to give an impetus to the growing power of the Roman Catholics in the British realms. It is a step in a wrong direction. It is a departure from the long-cherished policy under which this country has prospered. It contains a principle which, if carried out, must lead to very serious consequences. I have observed in some speeches delivered in the course of these discussions a disposition to exaggerate the minor differences amongst Christians, and to place them on a level with the more serious—confounding the essential with the non-essential differences in form with differences in doctrine. The right hon. Member for Edinburgh treats all alike, and makes no allowance for distinctions which are generally considered the most serious and important. With such latitudinarian opinions I have no sympathy. I have observed that in the Roman Catholic religion there is that, which, whenever it is brought into collision with Protestantism, will always bring on a struggle for ascendancy; and I greatly fear the measure now before us is one which will go far to advance the Roman Catholic power to that position, and hasten that struggle. You will certainly have it sooner or later; and when it comes, it will be a fearful one. The measure itself is represented as not very important: one calls it a mere question of education; another, only one of more or less money. We are told that the principle has been admitted before, and long acquiesced in; that we are disputing now that which we ought to have contested at an earlier stage. This may, perhaps, be all very true; but the lesson which I would deduce is, that we ought to be the more careful and circumspect when measures affecting the religious interests of the country are brought forward, and consider well, and anxiously, what may be their ultimate tendency. At every step which we may be called on to take, we ought to be watchful and on our guard against the admission of any principle on which an argument for ulterior measures may be raised. It is my observation of the past, that renders me the more jealous on the present occasion. It is for this reason that I have been led to consider the subject now before us with the deeper anxiety; and it is for this reason, that after such anxious consideration I cannot give it my acquiescence. I, at the same time, do not shut my eyes against the embarrassments with which the Government are surrounded. I am well aware of the difficulties which they must encounter in their endeavours to govern a country so divided as Ireland is by religious parties: and I can make great allowances for their willingness to go great lengths in their anxiety to maintain peace in that country. I can farther conceive how in their eagerness to effect this important object, they may have overlooked the depth and strength of Protestant feeling in this country, and not been sufficiently aware how much their course was calculated to wound that feeling. I give them credit, too, for the sincerity of their declarations that they do not contemplate ulterior measures; and I believe that they not only do not intend any ulterior measures, but that they do not consider this as necessarily leading to ulterior measures. But then I cannot overlook the light in which it is viewed by other speakers in this debate; more especially when I find the same view taken by statesmen who entertain the most opposite sentiments regarding its expediency. I may allude, particularly, to the speeches of the noble Lord the Member for the city of London (Lord J. Russell), and the right hon. Baronet the Member for Devonport (Sir George Grey), who extolled the measure chiefly as introducing a new course of policy, and as leading necessarily to ulterior views which the Government disclaim, and which would, confessedly, have the effect of depressing the Protestant interests in this land, and exalting the Roman Catholic. They have said, and I fear with too much reason, that though the present Ministers may not be disposed to take the next step, yet they have removed an obstacle and prepared the way; and those who come after them will thus be enabled to take it. Such are the hopes which they build upon this measure. And such also, are the fears of my hon. Friend the Member for the University of Oxford, and others who oppose it. In these fears I am compelled to participate. I shall not discuss the reasons why I entertain them. In doing so, I could hardly avoid expressing opinions which must give pain to certain Members of this House, who differ from me on important points of religion; and I am most desirous to avoid saying anything which would hurt their feelings. The hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Ward) has done his utmost to provoke such discussions; but I shall not be tempted to enter on them. I have never seen them lead to any good result in this House; and in an assembly constituted as this is, I do not think that they would be edifying. To my Roman Catholic fellow subjects and fellow Christians I entertain nothing but sentiments of kindness; and I should be the more inclined to treat their feelings with consideration, and bestow on them every favour, because I cannot, conscientiously, accord them this. I have now to thank the House for the attention and indulgence with which they have listened to me while I have endeavoured briefly to state the grounds for my decidedly opposing this Bill. I may have stated them feebly and imperfectly; but I know that they are the grounds on which it is resisted by a great proportion of the people of England and Scotland. There may be some who may not have rested their opposition on enlightened views; and there may be many who have had other reasons for agitating the question loudly and clamorously; but do not suppose that the resistance is confined to these. The feeling is strong and deep in the bosoms of many—many of the most loyal and attached of Her Majesty's subjects amongst Protestants of all denominations—but more especially amongst those who, in connexion with the Established Churches of these realms, have long been reluctant to give full vent to their feelings, though these have not been the less deeply wounded, and who are now mourning in anguish over the progress of measures which they dread, but cannot successfully avert.

Mr. *M. J. O'Connell* rose to express to the House the feelings which he knew to prevail pretty extensively among his fellow countrymen and co-religionists on this subject—a feeling of cordial gratitude, which was not confined indeed to the Government, but which was extended to them, for the manner in which they had brought this measure forward, as well as for the measure itself. He thought it was an honest confession which the leading Members of the House had made. They perceived that their Government policy to Ireland had been founded in error, and in the most candid manner they had come forward and stated that error to the House, thus giving Ireland hope that this was the beginning of a better policy towards that country. He must also express the thanks of his fellow countrymen—though that had not been so generally signified by others, yet he knew it was entertained towards the great body of the Opposition party, particularly to the noble Lord the Member for London, for the manner in which he had thrown himself into the support of this measure—notwithstanding those temptations to a contrary line of policy which a man of less strength of mind could not have resisted, and which others of his Colleagues have not so well resisted—he, rising above all such temporary motives, had given this measure a support which he was certain would be gratefully remembered in Ireland. The measure was valuable in spite of the smallness of the sum, with which the hon. Member for Ashton had taunted them tonight—it was valuable to Ireland, because they looked at it as first of a series. Let him not be misunderstood, and, if possible, let him not be misrepresented. He did not speak of the endowment of the priests, which hon. Members were so anxious to combat before it was proposed, though upon that question he would appeal to the whole party opposed to him—from the hon. Member for Oxford University to the hon. Member for Knaresborough; but he wished to know on what intelligible principle the endowment of the Roman Catholic Church would now be refused if the people of Ireland were to ask for an endowment on the ground that their religion was the religion of the majority. Those who made the grant to Maynooth must take care that they did not open the eyes of the Irish to the fact that they were entitled to more. He was glad that the people of Ireland did not wish it. He believed that a better arrangement could be made. The measures to which he alluded were of a class which were pressed upon the House two years ago, in the memorable debate on the Motion of Mr. Smith O'Brien. There was the landlord and tenant question. They had made inquiry into the subject; and he was bound to say that the result of the inquiry had far surpassed the hopes which he entertained. Though it was not all he wished for, it was much better than he expected. He trusted that the Government would, as soon as possible—for in this case he gave more than twice who gave quickly—he trusted that the Government would, as soon as possible, bring forward some of the practical conclusions of that Report. Then there was the question of the franchise. He would not go into that question now, further than to say that he trusted no bigoted adherence to their past policy would prevent them treating this subject in an enlarged and liberal spirit. Then there was the question brought forward by the hon. Member for Sheffield, which was not now in debate; but he would say of that question, that all the measures for the pacification of Ireland would prove fruitless until that Church was put on a fair footing—on such a footing as would be satisfactory to them if they were the poor majority, and were called on to support the Church of a rich minority. They were told that the Irish people would not be grateful for this measure. If it were followed up as he had suggested he was confident they would be warmly grateful. He would not tell them that by these means they would suppress the Repeal agitation, or a desire for a domestic Legislature; but then there were two ways of conducting the Repeal agitation. There was, first, the system of large meetings, of which some were afraid, and some pretended to be afraid; and there was the system of agitating the question in pamphlets, in debates, in Motions before this House. If they would endeavour to conciliate Ireland they must act as much for her benefit as the best Parliament could do which would sit in College-green. Then they would take away all danger from the Repeal agitation; and the only question for Repealers then would be, had the British Parliament the power to secure their true interests. But there was one circumstance which he feared. If this extraordinary opposition to the grant continued—this strange coalition between the highest churchmen and the lowest voluntaries—if this flame should continue to burn till the next Session, he did fear that angry and dangerous feelings would be excited in Ireland. If they saw the first men in Parliament driven from their seats for supporting this grant, he confessed that he had strong fears, not only for the Legislative Union, but for that which was far more valuable, the form of the connexion between the countries, or even the substance of that connexion itself. His hon. Friend, if he might still call him so, had told them of the power of the voluntary principle, and had asked the Roman Catholics why they did not do as the English Dissenters did? and the hon. Member had read to them the enormous sums which the Dissenters paid for the support of their religion. Why, this reminded him of the old story of the lady, who asked how it was possible any persons could be starving, when so many nice cakes could be had for twopence? The twopence was wanting. How could the hon. Member compare the rich substantial Dissenters, composed of the middle classes of England, with the Catholics of Ireland. All the blue books which had been published, revealing the starving miserable condition of the Irish peasant, showed that the comparison was altogether absurd. He trusted the people of Great Britain would, in the exercise of that vigorous common sense which they used in all cases except where their religious prejudices were excited, and even in those cases after the excitement had passed away, would see that, in supporting the grant, they were really doing an act which was worthy of Christianity—that they were uniting, in one bond, parties of different sects, but who yet, in the more important articles of faith, could recognise Churchmen, Dissenters, and Catholics as making up different portions of their common Christianity.

Sir *R. Peel* said: Sir, as I have already had the opportunity on three several occasions of stating fully to the House the motives that have influenced Her Majesty's Government in introducing this measure, and their general views respecting it, and of answering questions put to me in the course of the debate as to their ulterior objects, I shall think it unnecessary on this, the fourth occasion, to trouble the House with many observations. Sir, I consider the present Motion to be precisely the same as that which we discussed upon the second reading of the Bill. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Cambridge distinctly avows that his object is to defeat the measure. The issue, therefore, on the present occasion is precisely the same as that for which we contended on the second reading of the Bill, and those who voted for the second reading of the Bill will, I think feel themselves under an equal obligation to vote now against the proposition of the hon. and learned Gentleman. The hon. and learned Gentleman's proposal was supported by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Ashton-under-Lyne. That hon. Gentleman, I understand, is the organ and representative of the great body of public opinion in this country, which is not unfriendly to the voluntary principle; and yet I was surprised to hear in the course of the speech of the hon. Gentleman, that if this measure had been proposed originally by me—if this grant, instead of being brought forward as a permanent, had been proposed as an annual one; or if I now consented, instead of proposing a permanent measure, to ask for an annual grant, that he should be prepared to acquiesce in that proposal to grant the whole sum which I propose of 26,000*l*., if it were merely an annual vote, although he feels it his duty to contend with the utmost vehemence against it as a permanent vote. Now, Sir, I cannot reconcile the hon. Gentleman's opinions upon the voluntary principle with his readiness to support the vote of an annual grant; and I cannot understand how, against the spirit of at least the great majority of those who have presented petitions against this Bill, if we merely make the change of converting the vote from a permanent to an annual one, he would support the measure. Sir, I think there is little difference in point of principle between the raising the sum of 26,000*l*. yearly, or embodying it in a Bill permanently. I think the former would amount to almost as strong an engagement on our part—unless there were some very strong and conclusive reasons for its withdrawal—as to propose now a vote of 26,000*l*. permanently; and that it would in point of fact, be virtually an engagement for its continuance little less binding than if we inserted it in a permanent Bill. But I cannot consent to purchase the hon. Gentleman's support by making that change. Sir, in the first place, I believe that it would purchase little support from those hon. Gentlemen who disapprove of the grant; and even if it purchased much support, I should not now be disposed to make the change; but I believe that in Ireland it would totally alter the character of the measure. Sir, I believe that it would be considered as an indication of distrust, and that the alteration would be completely at variance with that spirit in which I profess to bring it forward. On that account, therefore, it is wholly out of my power to consent to that alteration, and I shall do all that it is in my power to do to prevail upon the House to pass the measure in its present shape, and as of the rev. Gentleman. I should like to have heard the interlocutory observations; but, in short, I cannot undertake, when the rev. Gentleman says he made a note of it at the time, to recollect the precise expressions. I never since made any reference to it; and considering how my time has been occupied for the last seven years, I can only say that I am not prepared to give an unqualified and decisive assent to the hon. Gentleman's version of my words. I have no recollection of them; but I greatly doubt whether any of the observations I made had precisely the meaning which he has attributed to them. Sir, this I know, that during the whole time I was opposed to the Roman Catholic claims, I never encouraged the presentation of a single petition against them—I never raised a "No-Popery" cry —I advised those who consulted me to leave it all to the deliberate consideration of the Legislature—and I never was a party to any cry which might impede the progress of Catholic Emancipation. Sir, I must say, that if it was my object to form a combination against Popery, and to obstruct the views of Her Majesty's late Government, it is remarkable that I volunteered to come forward Session after Session, to support this grant to Maynooth; that in 1841 I did all I could to prevail on my hon. Friends, who were adverse to the grant, not to press it to a division, but to permit the vote to pass, and I said I would not be a party to any opposition to it. Sir, the general temper in which I spoke may be presumed from the speech of the hon. Gentleman, now an hon. Baronet, opposite, who spoke after me, and who in 1841 could not be considered as very friendly to our party. In referring to my speech the hon. Gentleman made these observations:—

> "I think it would be more prudent for the hon. Gentleman opposite to follow the advice of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Tamworth, who has done himself so much honour by the course he has dared to take on this question, and for which he will doubtless gain credit out of doors."

Then, with respect to this vote for Maynooth, when I was Secretary for Ireland, in 1813, I proposed it to the House; and in 1841, when there was a great deal of religious excitement, and when there was some doubt as to the course that would be pursued by Her Majesty's Government, and more especially with regard to their religious policy towards Ireland in 1841, I did not shrink from avowing my opinions in favour of that vote. I said that we had entered into a virtual and substantial engagement, and that it was impossible for Parliament, without hurting and wounding the feelings of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, to withdraw that which had been continued to them for nearly forty years. Sir, in saying this, I entertain all my former feelings and opinions with respect to the faith to which I belong; and I do believe that the vote I propose is not adverse to the interests of the Protestants of Ireland, either with a view to their temporal or religious principles. Sir, I think it utterly impossible to withhold this grant; I cannot advise the course which has been suggested by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Cambridge—he calls upon us to protect existing interests, but warns us against any alliance with the Roman Catholic religion. Sir, I believe the Roman Catholics of Ireland generally are very indifferent as to any alliance with the State; but how the hon. Gentleman could suppose that Her Majesty's Government would come forward and advise that this, whether it be an alliance or a connexion, or whatever term you may apply to it, should now be dissolved—that we should protect existing interests merely by withholding any future grant, and giving some principal sum which might provide for the claims of that body —with regard to that I can only say that it is utterly out of my power to be a party to such a proposition. I think such a course would be implying distrust, and subjecting to imputations, which I for one cannot be a party to. Sir, I do not bring forward this measure under the futile pretence that it will promote the Protestant religion in Ireland—I do not bring it forward under the supposition that it will undermine the Roman Catholic religion—I do not propose it with any such views; but I believe it will produce an effect upon the feelings of those who will be the recipients of the grant—that it will dispose them to think more kindly of the people of this country, and that they will not retire from Maynooth receiving your bounty and yet indignant at your parsimony. Sir, I say it is unworthy of this country to propose to give the means of education to the Roman Catholic priesthood of Ireland, and then to give them a pittance which is only calculated to excite angry feelings and make them dissatisfied with the niggardliness of your vote. Sir, in that respect I feel that the spirit in which the grant has been made, the confidence which it has evinced, the refusal to interfere with the doctrines or tenets of that religion, will make it still more acceptable; and I believe that Protestantism will derive greater advantages on account of the cordial feeling with which the grant has been conferred, than if we continued to vote a sum of 9,000*l.* annually; and therefore it is that, with strong regard and attachment to the principles of the Protestant religion, I feel myself at perfect liberty to make this grant. Sir, I cannot help saying that I deeply regret the manifestation of public feeling which has been evinced in this country. I will not say that I was prepared for it to the full extent to which it has gone. The hon. Gentleman who spoke last has referred to it, and has expressed his apprehension that the feeling between Ireland and this country may be exasperated by what has passed. Sir, I can only say for myself, that the manifestation of that feeling in this country, much as I respect the public feeling here—but that manifestation of it is far from inducing me to relax in the course which I have pursued, and it will only impose an additional obligation on me to persevere steadily in the course I have adopted—I do not say in violation and opposition to popular opinion, for I have no desire to run counter to it; but this I feel, it is absolutely necessary to prove to the Roman Catholics of Ireland that the manifestation of that feeling should not induce public men to swerve from the course which, at any rate, appears to have produced kindly feelings among those in whose favour it is to be given. Sir, I fear it will not be in my power to satisfy altogether the expectations of my Roman Catholic fellow subjects. From the avowals which are made of what is necessary for their satisfaction, I am bound to say that I fear it will be impossible, if these are their expectations, entirely to satisfy them; but of this I will give them the assurance, that, in office or out of office, that which I have undertaken to do, I will to the utmost of my power fulfil. It may be short of their expectations; but they never shall have cause to charge me with abandoning their interests, to the extent to which I feel, consistently with my public duty, I can promote them.

Mr. *T. Duncombe* said that, having opposed the Bill from its introduction up to the present moment, no apology was required from him for his vote on the present occasion. The right hon. Baronet had stated, that of course all those who voted against the second reading, would support the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman the Recorder of the city of London; but, if he recollected rightly, the right hon. Gentleman stated the other evening, that every one of those Gentlemen who voted for the hon. Member for Sheffield, must, of necessity, vote for the Motion of the hon. Member for Cambridge. [An hon. *Member:* He has changed his Motion.] Changed his Motion! How had he changed his Motion? He placed a Motion on the Votes, that the money should not be taken out of the Consolidated Fund; and he now proposed that the Report of the Committee, saying it should be taken out of the Consolidated Fund, should be read this day six months. He asserted that the Motion was precisely the same; and if the right hon. Gentleman was right in calling upon those Gentlemen to vote for the Motion of the hon. Member for the University of Cambridge who voted for the hon. Member for Sheffield, they ought to vote for him now; but it did not appear that they would vote for him; they would not follow the advice given by the right hon. Baronet. We were told that these expressions of public feeling were to be treated as a ferment of the public mind which was about to subside. That was the language which the Prime Minister used to the people of England; and not only that, but the stronger the expression was, the more determined was he to resist it. There appeared to be something more than met the ear in the speech of the right hon. Baronet in answer to the speech of the hon. Member for Northampton. He talked of being ready to tender his resignation. Since he had been in Parliament, he had never seen the right hon. Baronet, whether in office or out of office (he could not say as much for all his Colleagues), show any indecent haste on his part to resume office, nor had he seen any unworthy desire on his part to retain office after his power was gone. That, he thought, due to the right hon. Baronet; and he believed that he thought it his duty to pass this measure, if he possibly could do it, through the two Houses of Parliament; but he (Mr. Duncombe) would tell him, at the same time, that he was carrying it in direct opposition to the feelings and wishes of a great portion of the people. The hon. Member for Ashton had said that he would vote for this measure if it were an annual vote; but that would not remove the whole of his objection, for this reason—that this was only the precursor of other measures. The hon. Member for the city of London had stated, that it was the preliminary measure to the endowment of the Catholic clergy in Ireland, and to that this country never would submit. Even the Motion of the hon. Member for Sheffield would not have removed the objection, because the great objection was the principle of endowment. To that principle the people strongly objected, from whatever source the money came—whether from the Consolidated Fund, or from the revenues of the Church. They objected to the establishment of another Church in a country where there was one too many. The right hon. Baronet had now set the public opinion at defiance; having a majority in that House made up of his political opponents, he was prepared to set a very great amount of public opinion at defiance. The right hon. Baronet had proved himself the greatest enemy of the Established Church in Ireland in that House; and further, he had proved himself the greatest friend to the extension of the elective franchise in the country, because the public would not allow it to remain as it was at present after they had been so contemned.

Mr. *Collett* was understood to say that he was desirous to address a very few words to the House on the subject then before them. The Maynooth question had already presented itself in so many different aspects, that, to a young Member like himself, any farther discussion on it was attended with most formidable difficulties. After the principle of the Bill, however, had been approved of by the majority on the second reading, there could be very little difficulty in deciding on the course to be taken with regard to the Motion of the hon. and learned Recorder the Member for the University of Cambridge. The Amendment of the hon. Member for Sheffield was a very intelligible one. It might have been expressed in the simple words—"Who was to pay the piper?" Was the amount to be paid by the poor, hard-worked, under-fed, operatives of England, or would they force it to be disgorged by the well-paid, over-fed, and under-worked parsons of Ireland? He was himself a member of the Protestant (and the *par excellence*) Established Church; but he would confess that, excepting on the voluntary principle, he was against all religious establishments whatever. The Established Church in Ireland was one in which the religion of the minority was attempted to be forced down the throats of what would, but for it, be a contented and happy people. He already stated on a former occasion, that he strongly objected to any man having a right to interfere with the religious opinions of another. He thought religion was a matter to be left altogether between man and his God; and he considered it was the highest presumption for a Protestant to say that his religion was better than that of a Catholic, or for a Christian to allege that he was better than a Mahomedan. Pure religion consisted more (according to his opinion) in doing good, and refraining from evil, than in any attempt to revive the practice of obsolete forms and ceremonies, than in deciding whether the clergyman was to preach in a white or in a blue gown. He considered that if they were to have a Pope or a supreme power in religion at all, the farther he was off the better. He thought it would be safer to have a Pope at Rome than one in London or Exeter. His constituents were, he believed, greatly obliged to the right hon. Baronet, not only for the measure which he had brought forward, but also for the manner and spirit in which it had been introduced by him. Their gratitude would, however, be much increased if they found that the grant was to be voted in the least objectionable manner, and that it was to be appropriated out of the surplus funds of the Established Church in Ireland, as far as they would be found sufficient. If there were a deficiency in that source of revenue, he thought there were other sources from which a portion of the grant might be procured. For instance, he considered they might very safely take 5,000*l.* a year from the revenues of the Bishop of London, and 5,000*l.* a year from the revenues of the Bishop of Exeter. By doing so, they would place these prelates more on a level with the meek and lowly apostles from whom they were facetiously pleased to designate themselves the descendants, although they were no more descended from the apostles than he was.

The House divided on the Question that the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:—Ayes, 232; Noes, 119: Majority, 113.

List of the AYES.

Acland, Sir T. D.
Acland, T. D.
A'Court, Capt.
Adderley, C. B.
Aglionby, H. A.
Aldam, W.
Archbold, R.
Armstrong, Sir A.
Arundel and Surrey, Earl of
Baillie, Col.
Baird, W.
Baine, W.
Barclay, D.
Baring, rt. hon. F. T.
Baring, T.
Baring, rt. hon. W. B.
Barnard, E. G.
Barron, Sir H. W.
Bell, M.
Bell, J.
Bellew, R. M.
Blackburne, J. I.
Blake, M. J.
Bodkin, W. H.
Boldero, H. G.
Borthwick, P.
Botfield, B.
Bowes, J.
Bowles, Adm.
Bowring, Dr.
Broadwood, H.
Browne, hon. W.
Brownrigg, J. S.
Bruce, Lord E.
Buller, C.
Campbell, Sir H.
Cardwell, E.
Carew, W. H. P.
Castlereagh, Visct.
Cavendish, hon. C. C.
Cavendish, hn. G. H.
Chapman, B.
Charteris, hon. F.
Chelsea, Visct.
Childers, J. W.
Clay, Sir W.
Clayton, R. R.
Clerk, rt. hon. Sir G.
Clifton, J. T.
Clive, Visct.
Clive, hon. R.
Cockburn, rt. hn. Sir G.
Colebrooke, Sir T. E.
Collett, J.
Collins, W.
Corbally, M. E.
Corry, H.
Courtenay, Lord
Collett, W. R.
Craig, W. G.
Cripps, W.
Dalmeny, Lord
Dalrymple, J.
Damer, hon. Col.
Davies, D. A. S.
Dawson, hon. T.
Denison, W. J.
Denison, J. E.
Dennistoun, J.
D'Eyncourt, rt. hn. C. T.
Dickinson, F. H.
Douglas, Sir C. E.
Douro, Marquess of
Dundas, D.
East, J. B.
Eastnor, Visct.
Ellice, rt. hon. E.
Emlyn, Visct.
Escott, B.
Esmonde, Sir T.
Estcourt, T. G. B.
Etwall, R.
Ferguson, Sir R. A.
Fitzmaurice, hon. W.
Fitzroy, hon. H.
Flower, Sir J.
Forster, M.
Fox, C. R.
Fremantle, rt. hn. Sir T.
Gardner, J.
Gaskell, J. Milnes
Gladstone, rt. hn. W. E.
Gladstone, Capt.
Godson, R.
Gordon, hon. Capt.
Gore, M.
Goulburn, rt. hon. H.
Graham, rt hn. Sir J.
Granby, Marquess of
Granger, T. C.
Greene, T.
Halford, Sir H.
Hamilton, W. J.
Hamilton, Lord C.
Harcourt, G. G.
Hatton, Capt. V.
Hawes, B.
Heneage, E.
Herbert, rt. hon. S.
Hervey, Lord A.
Hinde, J. H.
Hobhouse, rt. hn. Sir J.
Hogg, J. W.
Hollond, R.
Holmes, hn. W. A'C.
Hope, hon. C.
Hope, G. W.
Horsman, E.
Howard, P. H.
Howard, Sir R.
Hume, J.
Hutt, W.
James, W.
James, Sir W.
Jermyn, Earl
Jocelyn, Visct.
Labouchere, rt. hn. H.
Lambton, H.
Lascelles, hon. W.
Layard, Capt.
Lemon, Sir C.
Lennox, Lord A.
Leveson, Lord
Lincoln, Earl of
Listowel, Earl
Loch, J.
Lyall, G.
Macaulay, rt. hn. T. B.
Macnamara, W.
McNeill, D.
Mahon, Visct.
Mangles, R. D.
Manners, Lord C. S.
Marshall, W.
Martin, J.
Martin, C. W.
Martin, T. B.
Mildmay, H.
Milnes, R. M.
Mitcalfe, H.
Mitchell, T. A.
Mordaunt, Sir J.
Murphy, F. S.
Nichol, J.
Norreys, Lord
O'Connell, M. J.
O'Connor, Don
O'Ferrall, R. M.
Oswald, A.
Owen, Sir J.
Parker, J.
Patten, J. W.
Peel, rt. hon. Sir R.
Peel, J.
Pennant, hon. Col.
Philips, G. R.
Pigot, Sir R.
Praed, W. T.
Pusey, P.
Rawdon, Col.
Redington, T.
Reid, Sir J. R.
Repton, G. W. J.
Rice, E. R.
Roche, E. B.
Roebuck, J. A.
Round, J.
Rumbold, C. E.
Russell, Lord J.
Russell, J. D.
Rutherfurd, A.
Seymour, Lord
Seymour, Sir H. B.
Sheil, R. L.
Shelburne, Earl of
Sheridan, R. B.
Smith, B.
Smith, J. A.
Smith, rt. hon. R. V.
Smith, rt. hon. T. B. C.
Somerville, Sir W. M.
Somes, J.
Sotheron, T. H. S.
Stansfield, W. R. C.
Stanton, W. H.
Staunton, Sir G. T.
Stewart, J.
Stuart, Lord J.
Stuart, W. V.
Strutt, E.
Stuart, H.
Sutton, hon. H. M.
Tancred, H. W.
Tennent, J. E.
Thesiger, Sir F.
Thornely, T.
Tollemache, J.
Townely, J.
Trelawny, J. S.
Trench, Sir F. W.
Trotter, J.
Vane, Lord H.
Vernon, G. H.
Villiers, Visct.
Walker, R.
Wall, C. B.
Warburton, H.
Ward, H. G.
Watson, W H.
Wellesley, Lord C.
White, S.
Williams, W.
Wilshere, W.
Winnington, Sir T. E.
Wood, Col.
Wood, Col. T.
Worsley, Lord
Wortley, hon. J. S.
Wortley, hon. J. S.
Wrightson, W. B.
Wynn, rt. hon. C. W. W.
Wyse, T.
Yorke, H. R.

TELLERS.

Young, J.
Baring, H.

List of the NOES.

Acton, Col.
Alexander, N.
Antrobus, E.
Ashley, Lord
Austen, T.
Bankes, G.
Beckett, W.
Beresford, Major

Berkeley, hon. C.
Blackstone, W. S.
Blewitt, R. J.
Bouverie, hon. E. P.
Bright, J.
Brisco, M.
Broadley, H.
Brocklehurst, C.
Brotherton, J.
Bruen, Col.
Buckley, E.
Burrell, Sir C. M.
Burroughes, H. N.
Chetwode, Sir J.
Christopher, R. A.
Cole, hon. H. A.
Colvile, C. R.
Compton, H. C.
Copeland, Ald.
Crawford, W. S.
Curteis, H. B.
Dawnay, hon. W. H.
Deedes, W.
Denison, E. B.
Dick, Q.
Douglas, J. D. S.
Duke, Sir J.
Duncan, G.
Duncombe, T.
Duncombe, hon. O.
Du Pre, C. G.
Eaton, R. J.
Ellice, E.
Entwisle, W.
Ewart, W.
Farnham, E. B.
Feilden, W.
Fellowes, E.
Ferrand, W. B.
Filmer, Sir E.
Fitzroy, Lord C.
Ffolliott, J.
Forbes, W.
Forman, T. S.
Fox, S. L.
Fuller, A. E.
Goring, C.
Greenall, P.
Grimsditch, T.
Grogan, E.
Hallyburton, Lord J.
Hamilton, J. H.
Hamilton, G. A.
Hampden, R.
Hanmer, Sir J.
Hastie, A.
Heathcoat, G. J.

Henley, J. W.
Hill, Lord M.
Hindley, C.
Humphery, Ald.
Hussey, A.
Jervis, J.
Johnson, Gen.
Johnstone, H.
Kemble, H.
Knight, F.
Knightley, Sir C.
Lawson, A.
Lefroy, A.
Leslie, C. P.
Long, W.
Lopez, Sir R.
Lowther, Sir J. H.
Mackenzie, T.
Maclean, D.
McTaggart, Sir J.
Marsland, H.
Masterman, J.
Maule, F.
Morgan, C.
Morris, D.
Muntz, G. F.
Neeld, J.
Neeld, J.
Newdegate, C. N.
Newry, Visct.
O'Brien, A. S.
Palmer, R.
Pattison, J.
Pechell, Capt.
Philipps, Sir R. B. P.
Plumptre, J. P.
Polhill, F.
Protheroe, E.
Richards, R.
Rolleston, Col.
Rushbrooke, Col.
Ryder, hon. G. D.
Sibthorp, Col.
Smith, A.
Smollett, A.
Spooner, R.
Spry, Sir S. T.
Taylor, E.
Thompson, Ald.
Tollemache, J.
Tower, C.
Turnor, C.
Verner, Col.
Wakley, T.

TELLERS.
Law, hon. C. R.
Inglis, Sir R. H.

Main Question again put.

Mr. *Tancred* moved the Amendment of which he had given notice, as follows: to add to the end of the Resolution the words:—

"Until provision shall be made for the same, by any Act to be passed in this or any subsequent Session of Parliament, either out of any surplus in the hands of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of Ireland, or by an assessment of the lands of Ireland to an amount equivalent to the remission of tithes made to the landlords of Ireland by the Tithe Commutation Act, as Parliament may deem most advisable."

The House divided on the Question that these words be added:—Ayes, 52; Noes, 128: Majority, 76.

List of the AYES.

Aglionby, H. A.
Aldham, W.
Baine, W.
Barnard, E. G.
Bell, J.
Berkeley, hon. C.
Blake, M. J.
Blewitt, R. J.
Bouverie, hon. E.
Bowring, Dr.
Brotherton, J.
Christie, W. D.
Collett, J.
Curteis, H. B.
Dennistoun, J.
D'Eyncourt, C.
Etwall, R.
Ewart, W.
Forster, M.
Granger, T. C.
Hallyburton, Lord J.
Hawes, B.
Hill, Lord M.
Hindley, C.
Hume, J.
Hutt, W.
Johnson, Gen.
M'Taggart, Sir J.

Marshall, W.
Marsland, H.
Martin, J.
Mitchell, T. A.
O'Connell, M. J.
Pechell, Capt.
Philips, G. R.
Rice, E. R.
Roebuck, J. A.
Smollett, A.
Stansfield, W.
Staunton, Sir G.
Stuart, Lord J.
Stuart, W. V.
Strutt, E.
Thornely, T.
Trelawny, J. S.
Wakley, T.
Walker, R.
Warburton, H.
Williams, W.
Worsley, Lord
Wyse, T.
Yorke, H. R.

TELLERS.
Ward, H.
Tancred, H. W.

List of the NOES.

A'Court, Capt.
Adderley, C. B.
Alexander, N.
Antrobus, E.
Archbold, R.
Arundel, and Surrey, Earl
Ashley, Lord
Baillie, Col.
Baring, T.
Baring, W. B.
Barron, Sir H.
Blackburne, J.
Bodkin, W. H.
Boldero, H. C.
Borthwick, P.
Botfield, B.
Bowles, Adm.
Broadwood, H.
Browne, hon. W.
Brownrigg, J. S.
Bruce, Lord E.
Campbell, Sir H.
Cardwell, E.
Carew, W. H. P.

Chapman, B.
Childers, J. W.
Clayton, R. R.
Clerk, Sir G.
Clifton, J. T.
Clive, Lord
Clive, hon. R. H.
Cockburn, Sir G.
Colvile, C. R.
Copeland, Ald.
Corbally, M. E.
Corry, H.
Courtenay, Lord
Cripps, W.
Damer, hon. Col.
Darby, G.
Davies, D. A. S.
Dawson, hon. T.
Denison, E. B.
Dickinson, F. H.
Douglas, Sir C.
Duncombe, O.
East, J. B.
Escott, B.
Esmonde, Sir T.

Estcourt, T. G.
Farnham, E. B.
Fitzmaurice, W.
Fitzroy, hon. H.
Flower, Sir J.
Freemantle, Sir T.
Gardner, J. D.
Gaskell, J. M.
Gladstone, W. E.
Gladstone, Capt.
Godson, R.
Gordon, Capt.
Gore, M.
Goulburn, H.
Graham, Sir J.
Greene, T.
Grimsditch, T.
Halford, Sir H.
Hamilton, G. A.
Hamilton, W. J.
Hamilton, Lord C.
Henley, J. W.
Herbert, S.
Hervey, Lord A.
Hinde, J. H.
Hogg, J. W.
Holmes, W.
Hope, hon. C.
Hope, G. W.
Howard, P. H.
Hussey, A.
James, W.
James, Sir W. C.
Jermyn, Earl
Jocelyn, Lord
Lascelles, hon. W.
Lennox, Lord A.
Lincoln, Earl
Loch, J.
Lopez, Sir R.
Lowther, Sir R.
Macnamara, W.
M'Neill, D.
Manners, Lord C.
Martin, C. W.
Milnes, R. M.
Mordaunt, Sir J.
Newry, Lord
Nicholl, J.
O'Brien, A. S.
O'Connor, Don
Patten, J. W.
Peel, Sir R.
Peel, J.
Pigot, Sir R.
Polhill, F.
Pusey, P.
Rawdon, Col.
Repton, G. W. J.
Round, J.
Sheil, R. L.
Smith, T. B. C.
Somes, J.
Sotheron, T. H.
Spooner, R.
Sutton, hon. H.
Tennent, J. E.
Thesiger, Sir F.
Thompson, Ald.
Tollemache, F.
Trench, Sir F. W.
Trotter, J.
Vernon, G. H.
Villiers, Lord
Wellesley, Lord C.
Wood, Col. T.
Wortley, hon. J.
Wortley, hon. J.
Wynn, C W. W.

TELLERS.

Young, J.
Baring, H.

Resolution read a second time, and ordered to be incorporated in the Maynooth College Bill.—Agreed to.

House adjourned at half-past twelve o'clock.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

Tuesday, April 29, 1845.

MINUTES.] BILLS. *Public.*—$1^{a.}$ Turnpike Roads (Scotland) Act Amendment.

$2^{a.}$ Church Building Acts Amendment; Customs (Import Duties); Sugar (Excise Duties); Auction Duties Repeal; Colonial Passengers.

Private.—*Reported.*—Plymouth and Stonehouse Gas; Devonport Gas.

$3^{a.}$ and passed:—Wallasey Improvement.

PETITIONS PRESENTED. From Landowners and Occupiers of Dorchester for Protection to Agriculture.—By Bishops of London, and Cashel, Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Devon, Marquess of Breadalbane, and by Lords Kenyon, Farnham, and Belhaven, from Clergy and others of St. George's in the East, and numerous other places, against Increase of Grant to Maynooth.—By the Bishops of Cashel, and Bangor, and Earl Powis, from Clergy and others of St. Pancras, and several other places, against Union of St. Asaph and Bangor.—From Holyhead, and other places, against the Union of St. Asaph and Bangor, but in favour of the Appointment of a Bishop to the See of Manchester.—From Hallen, and several other places, for the Suppression of Intemperance, especially on the Sabbath.—By Lord Stanley, from Bedford, and Devonport, in favour of Grant to Maynooth College.—From Kippen, against the running of Railway Trains on the Sabbath.—By Lord Brougham, from Perth, to prevent Railway Companies Encroaching on the Pleasure Ground of the People, called the South Inch.—From Solicitors and Attorneys of London and Westminster, for Inquiry into operation of the late Bankrupt and Insolvent Acts.—From Birmingham, for Repeal of 57th Clause of Insolvent Debtors Act, and for Establishment of Local Courts to decide all Claims under 20*l.*—By Lord Campbell, from Boston, for Repeal of Insolvent Debtors Act Amendment Act.—From Presbyteries of Cairston, and Burravoe, for Improving the Condition of Schoolmasters (Scotland).

RAILWAYS.] Lord *Brougham* presented a petition from the inhabitants of the ancient town of Perth, complaining of the invasion of the South Inch by a proposed line of railway. Their Lordships were aware that in the immediate vicinity of the town, in fact abutting upon it, was a very spacious and beautiful piece of ground, encircled by the river Tay, called the South Inch; this piece of ground the inhabitants believed to be very conducive to their health, from the facilities it afforded for walking, riding, and driving. It had also an historical interest; for it was recorded that when the Roman soldiers came in sight of the river at this spot, they exclaimed, *Ecce Tiber!* and, pointing to the plain, *Ecce Campus Martius!* This ground had been opened to the inhabitants for five centuries; but now they, like all their fellow men, were about to "suffer a land change;" a third part of this fine ground being about to be taken by railroad speculators, who were, of course, quite certain that the Report of the Board of Trade would be in their favour. The magistrates and rich inhabitants of Perth had shares in this railway as directors; and he, therefore, appeared for the poorer and middle classes, who were thrown for protection upon their Lordships. Sir R. Walpole, when asked by the Sovereign what it would cost to enclose the parks in the vicinity of London, was reported to have answered that it would not cost much — only "three crowns;" and the King of that day gave up the attempt. If the strongest Ministry and the strongest Government were to attempt to shut up the parks, over which, by the courtesy of the Crown, the people had a right of way, the attempt would fail in the hands of that strong Ministry and that strong Government; and if this could not be done here, merely because they happened to be on the spot, he thought they were bound to protect the people of Perth, who were not able to protect themselves.

OATHS DISPENSATION BILL.] Lord *Denman* moved the Second Reading of this Bill, which had been framed in consequence of a case of hardship brought under the notice of the House in a petition which he had presented. The petitioner stated that he was a bankrupt; and, having conscientious scruples against taking an oath, had refused to swear an affidavit relative to the disclosure of his property; in consequence of which he had been committed to prison, and had remained there for three years and a half, although he was perfectly ready to make a full disclosure of his property, by way of declaration. The noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack was of opinion that such a case was worthy of the consideration of the House, and he (Lord Denman) had brought in this Bill to meet it; for, as the law now stood, any person who, from conscientious scruples, declined to make an affidavit of the sort mentioned, however willing he might be to make a declaration, might be imprisoned for life. The provisions of the Bill were to this effect—that if a party should be willing to make a declaration as to his property, having scruples to take an oath, and if the Commissioner should be convinced—for a discretion was left to him—that the party was ready to state the truth, and did not pretend scruples of conscience, then the Commissioner should be at liberty to receive his statement without being sworn to. He should propose that the same penalties should attach to a false declaration as to perjury.

The Earl of *Devon* said, that it was his impression that it would be much better to require that the declarations of men who were to give an account of their property before a Commissioner should in no case be made on oath, than to leave it to the discretion of the Commissioner to determine whether they had conscientious scruples or not against taking an oath.

Lord *Denman* concurred; but in compliance with a suggestion from the Duke of Wellington, withdrew the Motion for the second reading, and would allow the Bill to lie over for the present, with the view of considering whether a more general measure, of the nature mentioned by the Earl of Devon, might not be introduced.

AUCTION DUTIES REPEAL BILL.] The Earl of *Dalhousie* moved the Second Reading of the Bill for repealing the Auction Duties. This was not the first time that the duty on auctions had attracted the notice of Government; in 1835 a Commission had been appointed and had reported upon it. It had been found an unjust and oppressive tax, and easily evaded; in fact, for 8,000,000*l.* of property sold by auction which paid duty, there was no less than 37,000,000*l.* submitted to auction, but for which exemption was claimed. It was also proposed to have only one auctioneer's license taken out, instead of several, as at present; and certain property, such as property taken in distress for rent, was to be sold by any person, without his being compelled to go to the expense of a license.

Lord *Brougham* said this was the only part of the Budget which he did not exceedingly admire; or, to speak more properly, moderately admire. He highly approved of those measures which were in relief of trade; but this he thought a very unwise and ill-considered measure, proceeding upon a very erroneous view of the subject. The auction duty was almost the only tax to which no one objected; auctioneers themselves did not, and accordingly no gratitude proceeded from them now, but they were all complaining of the repeal; he knew this, for he had seen some of them, and among them one who was not long since chief magistrate of the city of London. He (Lord Brougham) would not pretend to understand their occupation; he was, as to it, a layman, though there was said to be a great analogy between it and the profession of the noble and learned Lord on the Woolsack; but he knew enough of it to warrant him in objecting to this Bill. A large and increasing revenue was to be sacrificed, when the surplus might have been far better employed. But there were two objections which he would particularly urge. The first was, that in one of the clauses (in addition to letting in a lower class of practitioners, by diminishing the sum payable for a yearly license) a stigma was attempted to be cast upon an auctioneer by requiring him to have his license always in his pocket at an auction; and any revenue officer, gauger, or other, might go up to him and call upon him to produce it, and if he did not "immediately do so," or pay down 10*l.* (though he might be a very respectable man, and yet have neither in his pocket) he was to go to prison for a month. Really the House of Commons must not send up such Bills, and expect their Lordships not to alter them. The other objection was with respect to distress for rent. For the first time, any person of the lowest degree was to be allowed to sell goods distrained for less than 20*l.* rent; any person whatsoever was to be allowed to take the goods of a poor man in distraint, and sell them for the landlord. He had said any person could now be employed to take the goods, because the fact was, that if an auctioneer was required by law to be employed to sell, he would be the person employed to distrain; and that gave the advantage of a better kind of person being employed in this summary process, and thus furnished more security against a sale at an undervalue. Now, this was part of the relief for which the country was to be content to pay the Income Tax! And that led him to mention a circumstance which he hoped would be taken due notice of; he would presently hand to the Government a paper stating the circumstances; he did not blame them, but he blamed the tax and the party concerned in this instance, and he mentioned it publicly that it might be a warning to Property-tax Commissioners all over the country, that the indignation of Parliament would visit such grossly negligent conduct. A citizen of London, living at the east end of the town, had occasion to purchase something or other at a chandler's shop, and when he got home he found it was wrapped up in a return—the original signed return—made the other day under the Property-tax Act, by a person whose name was appended to it, stating the profits of his trade under one head, and of his profession (for he had both) under another head. The paper had been shown to him (Lord Brougham), and might have been seen by twenty other persons; and if some of these returns were selling for waste paper, he should like to know where it was to end. It gave him great concern to find a case of negligence of so gross a description. A noble Friend of his had had a conversation with a Gentleman, a Member of the other House of Parliament, who lived near Clapham, and who stated that in a public conveyance he happened to say, "That is a handsome villa on the right;" when a stranger replied, "Yes, and it will very soon be in the market; I dare say, you may buy it cheap, if you like it." "Indeed," said the gentleman, "what do you mean?" "Why, I happen to know," was the answer, "that the owner, though he is supposed to be a respectable and wealthy merchant in the city, has given in his profits under the Property-tax as amounting to nothing for the last two or three years;" and therefore he inferred that he would soon be in the *Gazette*, and his villa for sale. The noble Lord who made this communication to him (Lord Brougham) told him that he had himself given in his income not at what it really was, for he had for three years, from the state of foreign trade, lost many thousands instead of gaining, but he had paid the tax, presuming (as the fact was) that profitable trade would return; it was on his mentioning that, and saying how fatal to his credit in the city the knowledge of such losses might at the time have been, that he was led to add this proof that the returns got known.

Lord *Stanley* had understood that the second reading of the Bill now before the House was to be taken *pro formâ*, and the discussion postponed to a later stage; and indeed the objections urged were not directed against the principle of the Bill. His noble and learned Friend had made one or two objections to the Bill. The first objection was, that whereas it was desirable to raise the characters of auctioneers generally, the alteration was calculated to lower them. He (Lord Stanley) differed from his noble and learned Friend upon this point; because, although it was true that the higher classes of auctioneers could carry on their business with a license of 10*l.* a year, a restriction was imposed upon the lower class, who could not act without a license of that amount, instead of 5*l.*, as at present. The effect, therefore, was to raise the character of the lower class. His noble and learned Friend objected to the provision by which any auctioneer at an auction might be required to produce his license; and if he did not produce it he was liable to deposit 10*l.* But this could be productive of no inconvenience. If an auctioneer was required at any time to produce his license, such a provision might be oppressive; but it could be no inconvenience to be called upon at a time of public sale, when he would go provided with his license just as with a catalogue of the goods to be sold. Persons could be called upon to produce game licenses, and were liable to a penalty if they refused.

Lord *Brougham :* But not to a month's imprisonment.

Lord *Stanley ;* According to the existing law, auctioneers were required to have over their heads a ticket, with their name and other particulars. He thought that, as his noble and learned Friend had not objected to the principle of the Bill, his objections would not prevail upon their Lordships to refuse to read the Bill a second time.

Bill read 2ª.

House adjourned.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, April 30, 1845.

MINUTES.] BILLS. *Public.* — 1°· Exchequer Bills (9,379,600*l.*); Courts of Common Law Process; Courts of Common Law Process (Ireland); Court of Session (Scotland) Process.

2°· Canal Companies Tolls; Canal Companies Carriers.

3°· and passed:—Sheriffs (Wales); Calico Print Works.

Private. — 2°· Epsom and Dorking Railway; Erewash Valley Railway (No. 2); Reversionary Interest Society (No. 2); South-Eastern Railway (Branch to Deal, and Extension of the Canterbury, Ramsgate, and Margate Railway); South-Eastern Railway (Maidstone to Rochester); Eastern Union and Bury St. Edmund's Railway (No. 2); Boileau's Divorce; Waterford and Limerick Railway.

Reported.—Blackburn Waterworks.

PETITIONS PRESENTED. By Mr. Ffolliott, Mr. G. Hamilton, and Viscount Northland, from several places in Ireland, for Encouragement to Schools in connexion with Church Education Society.—By Mr. Brotherton, from James Wilkinson, for Alteration of Jewish Disabilities Removal Bill.—By several hon. Members, from a great many places, against, and by Viscount Jocelyn, Viscount Castlereagh, and Sir Robert Peel, from several places, in favour of the Grant to Maynooth College. — By Mr. Sergeant Murphy, from Kinsale, for Abolition of Ministers' Money (Ireland).—By Mr. Bright, from Aldwinkle, for Substituting Affirmations for Oaths.—By Sir J. Yarde Buller, from Deanery of Pydar, for Amendment of Law respecting the Rating of Tithes.—By several hon. Members, from a great number of places in Wales, against the Union of St. Asaph and Bangor.—By Mr. C. Bruce, Lord Dalmeny, Mr. Fox Maule, and Mr. Bannerman, from several places in Scotland, for Abolition of Tests in Scotch Universities.—By Mr. Bright, Sir J. Easthope, and Mr. Strutt, from Guiseborough, Leicester, and Derby, against the Importation of Hill Coolies into Colonies.—By Mr. Borthwick, and Mr. O. Duncombe, from Worcester, and Richmond, for Relief from Agricultural Taxation.—By Mr. Charteris, from Gloucester, for Defraying Charge of County and Police Rates from Consolidated Fund.—By Mr. Borthwick, from Burstall, for Inquiry (Anatomy Act).—By Mr. Lockhart, from Glasgow, in favour of Arrestment of Wages (Scotland) Bill.—By several hon. Members, from a great many places, for Diminishing the Number of Public Houses.

CONDITION OF THE LABOURING CLASSES.] Lord *John Russell* would take that opportunity of asking a question of the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Peel) with respect to the Notice which stood in his (Lord John Russell's) name on the Paper for to-morrow—he alluded to his Resolution with respect to the condition of the labouring classes. He understood that the right hon. Gentleman wished to go into Committee on the Maynooth Bill on Friday, and as his Resolutions would probably lead to an adjourned debate, he was very unwilling to interfere with the Order of the Day with regard to the Maynooth Bill. He wished to consult the convenience of the House and of the right hon. Gentleman, and was, therefore, quite willing to postpone his Resolutions. As it was very uncertain on what day he might be able to bring them forward, perhaps the right hon. Gentleman would appoint some day which would be convenient to the Government, and on which he might feel certain of being enabled to introduce his Resolutions, without interfering with the discussion on the Maynooth Bill. Would the right hon. Baronet give him a fixed day—say next week?

Sir *R. Peel* thought the best course which could be adopted under the circumstances, would be to fix the third reading of the Maynooth Bill for Monday the 19th of May, so as to give the noble Lord the Monday following, the 26th.

Resolutions postponed until after the Whitsuntide recess.

ROMAN CATHOLIC RELIEF BILL.] On the Motion that the Order of the Day be now read,

Sir *James Graham* said, that he observed that the first Order of the Day was the second reading of the Bill introduced by the hon. and learned Member for Kinsale (Mr. Watson). He (Sir James Graham) was anxious that the hon. and learned Gentleman would not press the second reading that day, and that he would consent to defer it until after the holidays. He had stated to the hon. and learned Gentleman that a Commission had been appointed, which had under consideration many points included in that Bill. As yet the Commission had not reported; but Her Majesty's Ministers expected the Report at an early day. When they had the advantage of that Report before them, it might then become the duty of the Government to propose some measure on the subject. Under these circumstances, he felt justified in asking the hon. and learned Gentleman, not at this moment, and in the present imperfect state of information on the subject, to press the Bill. He would, therefore, request the hon. and learned Gentleman to postpone the second reading until an early period after the recess.

Mr. *Watson* was extremely anxious to have his Bill read a third time and passed before the close of the present Session. The Bill which he now sought to carry had passed a Committee of the House of Lords last Session, and was altered on the Motion for its re-commitment in that House. He had no doubt that the matter involved in the Bill had been referred to persons with whom he was very well acquainted, and who, he knew, were perfectly competent to judge of the subject; and he must say, that if he had the assurance of the right hon. Baronet that his Bill should not receive any obstruction further than merely making it conformable to any Report which might be made by the Commission alluded to, he should not press it at that moment. Unless he had that assurance he must insist on going on upon the present occasion. All that he then wanted was, that the second reading of the Bill should take place, and that the discussion upon it should take place in its after stages. He was as anxious as any person that no impediment should be offered to the full consideration which he was sure those excellent persons who had been placed upon the Commission would give to the subjects before them. But, unless the assurance to which he had already alluded were given him, he wished to be allowed to take one step with the Bill, and would then wait until the Government were in possession of the Report for which they were looking.

Sir *James Graham* said, that nothing was farther from the wish of the Government than to obstruct the progress of the Bill, or prevent the fair discussion of it. To show that the very contrary was their desire, the first instruction given to the Commission was to give attention to this very subject. The Bill of the hon. and learned Gentleman was confined to England. The operations of the Government Commission were of a much wider extent. The instructions given to the Commission were to inquire not only into the penal laws affecting Catholics and Dissenters in England, but also in Scotland and Ireland; and questions had been already referred to the Lord Advocate, and he believed to the Irish Attorney General. The hon. and learned Gentleman, therefore, would not think it unreasonable, that before they affirmed the principle of the Bill, even though it should have passed through a Committee of the other House, and although it had come to them recommended by the learning and experience of the hon. and learned Gentleman, that when an inquiry was pending before a Commission composed of such Gentlemen of the profession as they could all have confidence in, Her Majesty's Government should wish to have the advantage of seeing the Report of the Commission before they proceeded any further with this Bill. He had every reason to believe that the Government would be in possession of the Report spoken of at an early period after the recess. If they were disappointed in that hope, he would not then be in a condition to ask of the hon. and learned Gentleman the further postponement of his Bill; but he was sure that at the present moment the hon. and learned Gentleman would acknowledge, on reflection, that the request which he (Sir J. Graham) made was not an unfair one.

Mr. *Watson*, after the observations of the right hon. Baronet, would not press the second reading of the Bill on the present occasion. He hoped that it was distinctly understood that he would avail himself of the first opportunity afforded him, after the recess, to move the second reading of the Bill, unless an equivalent measure were brought forward by the Government. But he saw so much inconvenience arising from the large nature of the inquiry by the Commission, who are to inquire into the penal laws which affected all classes of religionists throughout the country, that he could not help believing that the Government would find great difficulties lying in its way. The principle which he wanted to establish was that all penal laws, affecting persons as regarded their religion, should be blotted out of the Statute book, to which they had so long been a disgrace.

Order for second reading of the Bill postponed.

Arrestment of Wages (Scotland) Bill.—Mr. *T. Duncombe* said, that he had hoped to have been allowed to pass this Bill that night through another stage. It was his wish to place the working classes in Scotland on precisely the same footing as were those in England and Ireland, by relieving them, as well as their employers, of a system vexatious to the one, and extremely oppressive to the other. But he found that there were very great difficulties in removing altogether the arrestment of wages, and also that the most conflicting opinions prevailed in Scotland itself upon the subject; and as he had seen several parties from Glasgow and other places, he had promised these individuals, after the representations which they made to him, that he would make some modifications in his measure. These gentlemen had promised to forward to him the draft of a Bill which they thought would meet the views of all parties. He had had communication with the Lord Advocate upon the subject, and must say that, considering the opinions entertained upon the matter, the gentlemen alluded to seemed to have taken a fair and liberal view of it, and were prepared to make such concessions as were likely to lead to unanimity. As he understood them, they were prepared to say that the arrestment of wages should never exceed more than one-half, and that the Commissioners should have the power, in reducing that half, to take into consideration the circumstances of a man and his family. He did not know whether this would suit the views of the Lord Advocate or not; but, when the Bill should be sent up to him, he should think it his duty to send it to the learned Lord for his approval. It might appear presumptuous in him thus to interfere in questions relative to the affairs of Scotland. But it must be borne in mind, that this matter had been already in the hands of Scottish Members several times; but as there was always a sort of local influence which interfered with the progress of the Bill, it was on all these occasions abandoned. He knew that great alarm was felt on the part of many in Scotland, that by abolishing the system included in the Bill, they should give encouragement and hold out a premium to the truck system. He had told the deputation from Glasgow that no one could hold that system in greater detestation than himself. Some more stringent clauses should be introduced into the Bill against the truck system in Scotland. The only way in which they could make them more stringent would be, that, after the first penalty, when a man was convicted of being guilty of the offence, no matter what his wealth or station might be, he should be subject to imprisonment for its repetition. Parties in Scotland would have no objection to a clause or clauses of this nature. If such clauses should be introduced they would not come within the scope of his Bill. The best course, therefore, would be to withdraw the Bill, at present, altogether, and begin *de novo* when the draft of the new Bill should come to his hands. He now asked leave to have the Order discharged for the second reading of the Bill, on the condition of permission being given him, at a future time, to introduce another Bill, when all parties had agreed as to the proper provisions of such Bill.

The *Lord Advocate* was understood to say that difficulties existed on this subject which did not at first appear. He did not think it altogether safe to follow out the sweeping course which the Bill proposed. He approved, however, of the course now taken by the hon. Gentleman, and could a measure on which all parties could agree be devised, he was not prepared to say that he would withhold any assistance which it was in his power to give to the hon. Gentleman.

Mr. *F. Maule* said, that the hon. Member for Finsbury alluded to the fact that the Bill introduced by him into the House had not prospered in the hands of Scottish Members who had formerly taken it up. The reason of that was simply the many difficulties which lay in the way of such a measure.

Sir *J. Graham* observed that the question was one of extreme difficulty. They should take care that they did not abolish the power of arresting wages, unless they took further precautions against the spread of the truck system. He could not, of course, anticipate what measure would be introduced; but he was quite sure the Government would give all the assistance in their power to the promotion of the object the hon. Member had in view.

Mr. *Rutherfurd* considered that there ought to be no arrest of wages, except in execution. He coincided in the propriety of preventing the extension of the truck system.

Mr. *Duncombe*, in reply, suggested that the Lord Advocate ought to undertake the conduct of such a measure as this.

Bill withdrawn.

House adjourned at six o'clock.

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TO

HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

VOLUME LXXIX.

BEING THE THIRD VOLUME OF SESSION 1845.

Explanation of the Abbreviations.

1*R.* 2*R.* 3*R.* First, Second, or Third Reading—*Amend.*, Amendment.—*Res.*, Resolution.—*Com.* Committed.—*Re-Com.*, Re-committed.—*Rep.*, Reported.—*Adj.*, Adjourned.—*cl.*, Clause.—*add. cl.*, Additional Clause.—*neg.*, Negative.—*l.*, Lords.—*c.*, Commons.—*o. q.*, Original Question.—*o, m.*, Original Motion.—*p. q.*, Previous Question.—*r. p.*, Report Progress.—*A.*, Ayes.—*N.*, Noes.—*M.*, Majority.—1*st Div.*, 2*nd Div.*, First or Second Division.

⁂ It has seemed better, instead of incumbering this Index with a reference to Private Bills, upon which debate seldom occurs, to collect them in a table at the end, in form similar to the Paper issued by the House of Commons. The date will be a sufficient reference to the volume. The progress of Bills will not be carried *beyond* the contents of each volume; but it is not intended to omit from the table appended to each the stage that Bills may have passed through recorded in preceding volumes.

☞ *The * indicates that no Debate took place upon that Reading.*

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LIST OF
PUBLIC BILLS IN PARLIAMENT,
AND PROCEEDINGS THEREON,
SESSION 1845.

TITLE OF BILL. PROGRESS THROUGH	COMMONS.				LORDS.			ROYAL ASSENT.
	LEAVE GIVEN, OR BILL BROUGHT FROM LORDS.	BILL READ 1°.	BILL READ 2°.	BILL READ 3°.	BILL READ 1^{a}.	BILL READ 2^{a}.	BILL READ 3^{a}.	
Actions of Debt (Limitation) . . . . L.	...	...	...	...	Apr. 14.			
Arrestment of Wages . . [*Scotland*] .	Apr. 10.	Apr. 11.						
Auction Duties Repeal	Apr. 8.	Apr. 9.	Apr. 11.	Apr. 16.	Apr. 17.	Apr. 29.		
Bail in Error . . . . L.	...	...	...	...	Feb. 20.	Feb. 28.		
Banking . . . . . [*Scotland*] .	Apr. 25.	Apr. 28.						
Bastard Children . . . . L.	...	...	...	...	Mar. 17.			
Bastardy	Feb. 24.	Feb. 25.	Mar. 6.	Mar. 14.	Mar. 17.	Apr. 3.	Apr. 18.	
Calico Print Works	Feb. 18.	Mar. 12.	April 2.	Apr. 30.				
Canal Companies Carriers	Apr. 25.	Apr. 25.	Apr. 30.					
Canal Companies Tolls	Apr. 25.	Apr. 25.	Apr. 30.					
Charitable Trusts . [*England and Wales*] L.	...	...	..	...	Apr. 7.			
Chattels Interests (Real Property)	Apr. 14.	Apr. 14.						
Church Buildings Act Amendment . . . L.	..	...	...	...	Apr. 22.	Apr. 29.		
City of London Trade . . . . . . L.	...	...	...	...	Mar. 13.			
Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons . . .	Feb. 25.	Feb. 25.	Apr. 25.					
Colonial Passengers	Apr. 11.	Apr. 17.	Apr. 21.	Apr. 25.	Apr. 28.	Apr. 29.		
Companies Clauses Consolidation	Feb. 6.	Feb. 6.	Feb. 10.	Mar. 4.	Mar. 6.	Mar. 13.	Apr. 3.	
Companies Clauses Consolidation . [*Scotland*] .	Feb. 6.	Feb. 6.	Feb. 10.	Mar. 4.	Mar. 6.	Mar. 13.	Apr. 3.	
Compensation to Families of Persons killed by Accident . . . . L.	...	..	..	...	Feb. 18.	Apr. 21.		
Consolidated Fund (£8,000,000)	Mar. 4.	Mar. 5.	Mar. 6.	Mar. 11.	Mar. 13.	Mar. 14.	Mar. 17.	Mar. 18.
Constables . . . . . [*Scotland*] .	Feb. 13.	Feb. 13.	Feb. 17.	Feb. 20.	Feb. 28.	Mar. 3.	Mar. 10.	Mar. 18.
Courts of Common Law Process		Apr. 30.						
Courts of Common Law Process . [*Ireland*] .		Apr. 30.						

PUBLIC BILLS—*Continued.*

TITLE OF BILL. PROGRESS THROUGH	COMMONS.				LORDS.			ROYAL ASSENT.
	LEAVE GIVEN, OR BILL BROUGHT FROM LORDS.	BILL READ 1^{o}.	BILL READ 2^{o}.	BILL READ 3^{o}.	BILL READ 1^{a}.	BILL READ 2^{a}.	BILL READ 3^{a}.	
Court of Session (Scotland) Process		Apr. 30.						
Customs Export Duties	Mar. 10.	Mar. 11.	Mar. 12.	Mar. 17.	Mar. 18.	Apr. 14.	Apr. 15.	Apr. 24.
Customs Import Duties	Mar. 18.	Mar. 20.	Mar. 21.	Apr. 21.	Apr. 22.	Apr. 29.		
Deodands Abolition . . . L.	..	..	..	...	Feb. 24.	Mar. 14.		
Divorce . . . L.	...	...	...	...	Mar. 13.			
Ecclesiastical Courts Consolidation . . L.	...	...	..	...	Apr. 25.			
Elective Franchise Extension . . L.	...	...	...	...	Apr. 18.			
Exchequer Bills (£9,379,600)	Apr. 28.	Apr. 30.						
Field Gardens	Mar. 4.	Mar. 4.	Apr. 9.					
Fresh Water Fishing [*Scotland*] L.	...	...	...	...	Mar. 11.	Mar. 14.		
Glass (Excise Duty)	Apr. 1.	Apr. 3.	Apr. 4.	Apr. 9.	Apr. 11.	Apr. 15.	Apr. 17.	Apr. 24.
Heritable Securities [*Scotland*]	Mar. 7.	Mar. 7.	Mar. 14.	Apr. 25.	Apr. 28.			
Infeftment [*Scotland*]	Mar. 7.	Mar. 7.	Mar. 14.	Apr. 25.	Apr. 28.			
Jewish Disabilities Removal . . L.	...	Mar. 17.	...	..	Mar. 7.	Mar. 10.	Mar. 14.	
Justices' Clerks and Clerks of the Peace	Feb. 20.	Feb. 26.	Mar. 12.					
Lands Clauses Consolidation	Feb. 6.	Feb. 6.	Feb. 10.	Mar. 19.	Apr. 3.	Apr. 11.		
Lands Clauses Consolidation [*Scotland*]	Feb. 6.	Feb. 6.	Feb. 10.	Mar. 20.	Apr. 3.	Apr. 11.		
Malt Drawback	Apr. 18.	Apr. 21.						
Marine Mutiny	Apr. 1.	Apr. 4.	Apr. 7.	Apr. 10.	Apr. 11.	Apr. 14.	Apr. 17.	Apr. 24.
Maynooth College	Apr. 3.	Apr. 3.	Apr. 18.					
Museums of Art	Mar. 6.	Mar. 18.	Apr. 2.	Apr. 28.				
Mutiny	Apr. 3.	Apr. 4.	Apr. 7.	Apr. 10.	Apr. 11.	Apr. 14.	Apr. 17.	Apr. 24.
Oaths Dispensation . . L.	...	..	...	...	Apr. 22.			
Outlawries	...	Feb. 4.						
Parochial Settlement	Feb. 11.	Feb. 17.						
Pauper Lunatics Amendment [*Ireland*] L.	...	...	...	...	Mar. 10.	Mar. 17.		
Peace Constables, near Public Works [*Scotland*] L.	..	..	...	...	Feb. 27.	Withdrawn		
Physic and Surgery	Feb. 25.	Feb. 25.	Apr. 25.					
Poor Law Amendment [*Scotland*]	Apr. 2.	Apr. 2.						
Post Office Offences Act Amendment . . L.	...	...	...	...	Mar. 17.			

PUBLIC BILLS—*Continued.*

TITLE OF BILL. PROGRESS THROUGH	COMMONS.				LORDS.			ROYAL ASSENT.
	LEAVE GIVEN, OR BILL BROUGHT FROM LORDS.	BILL READ 1o.	BILL READ 2o.	BILL READ 3o.	BILL READ 1a.	BILL READ 2a.	BILL READ 3a.	
Privy Council Appellate Jurisdiction Act Amendment . . . . L.	...	...	...	...	Apr. 28.			
Property Tax	Feb. 20.	Feb. 21.	Feb. 27.	Mar. 12.	Mar. 13.	Mar. 17.	Apr. 4.	Apr. 5.
Public Museums	Mar. 18.	Mar. 18.	Mar. 31.	Apr. 9.	Apr. 14.			
Railway Clauses Consolidation	Feb. 6.	Feb. 6.	Feb. 10.	Mar. 19.	Apr. 3.	Apr. 11.		
Railway Clauses Consolidation . [*Scotland*] .	Feb. 6.	Feb. 6.	Feb. 10.	Mar. 20.	Apr. 3.	Apr. 11.		
Roman Catholic Relief	Feb. 20.	Feb. 20.						
Select Vestries . . . . L.	...	...	...	...	Feb. 4.			
Service of Process . . . . . . L.	...	...	...	...	Feb. 13.	Mar. 3.	Apr. 5.	
Service of Process . . . . [*Ireland*] L.	...	...	...	...	Feb. 13.	Mar. 3.	Apr. 5.	
Service of Summons . . . . [*Scotland*] L.	...	...	...	...	Feb. 17.	Mar. 3.	Apr. 5.	
Sheriffs . . . . [*Wales*] L.	...	Apr. 22.	Apr. 25.	Apr. 30.	Apr. 14.	Apr. 17.	Apr. 21.	
Smoke Prohibition		Mar. 5.	April 2.					
Stamp Duties Assimilation	Feb. 20.	Feb. 21.	Feb. 27.	Mar. 5.	Mar. 6.	Mar. 11.	Mar. 14.	Mar. 18.
Statute Labour . . . . . [*Scotland*] .	Apr. 10.	Apr. 10.						
St. Asaph and Bangor Dioceses . . . . L.	...	...	...	...	Apr. 11.	Withdrawn.		
St. Asaph and Bangor and Manchester Dioceses . L.	...	...	...	...	Apr. 24.			
Sugar Duties	Mar. 10.	Mar. 11.	Mar. 12.	Mar. 18.	Apr. 3.	pr . 7.	Apr. 11.	Apr. 24.
Sugar (Excise Duties)	Apr. 8.	Apr. 8.	Apr. 11.	Apr. 16.	Apr. 17.	Apr. 29.		
Turnpike Roads Act Amendment . [*Scotland*] L.	...	...	...	...	Apr. 29.			

PRIVATE BILLS.

TITLE OF BILL.	COMMONS.				LORDS.			ROYAL ASSENT.
PROGRESS THROUGH	PETITION PRESENTED, OR BILL BROUGHT FROM LORDS.	BILL READ 1°.	BILL READ 2°.	BILL READ 3°.	BILL READ 1ª.	BILL READ 2ª.	BILL READ 3ª.	
Aberdare . . . . [*Railway*] . .	Apr. 7.	Apr. 23.						
Aberdeen . . . . [*Railway*] . .	Feb. 28	Mar. 20.	Apr. 14.					
Agricultural and Commercial . [*Bank of Ireland*] .	Feb. 27	Mar. 31.	Apr. 25.					
Amicable Society Assurance . [*Company*] . .	Feb. 21.	Mar. 7.	Mar. 14.	Apr. 16.	Apr. 17.	Apr. 21.		
Anderston . . . . [*Municipal & Police*]	Feb. 26.	Mar. 19.	Apr. 7.					
Argyll's (Duke of) . . [*Estate*] . .	Lords Bill	..	...	...	Apr. 3.	Apr.		
Ashton, Stalybridge, and Liverpool Junction (Ardwick and Guide Bridge Branches) . [*Railway*] . .	Feb. 5.	Feb. 19.	Feb. 24.					
Barnsley Junction . . [*Railway*] . .	Feb. 14.	Feb. 27.	Mar. 4.					
Battersea . . . [*Poor*] . . .	Feb. 27	Mar. 14.	Apr. 9.					
Bedford and London and Birmingham . . . . [*Railway*] . .	Feb. 27	Mar. 13.	Apr. 8.					
Belfast . . . . [*Improvement*]. .	Feb. 26.	Mar. 20.	Apr. 8.					
Belfast and Ballymena . . [*Railway*] . .	Feb. 7.	Mar. 4.	Mar. 10.					
Belfast Lough . . . [*Drainage*] . .	Feb. 28	Apr. 18.						
Berks and Hants . . . [*Railway*] . .	Feb. 24.	Mar. 11.	Mar. 17.					
Bermondsey . . . [*Improvement*] (No. 1).	Feb. 28.	Apr. 11.	Withdrawn.					
Bermondsey . . . [*Improvement*] (No. 2).	Motion.	Apr. 18.						
Birkenhead (Commissioners') . [*Dock*] . . .	Feb. 7.	Feb. 20.	Feb. 24.	Apr. 1.	Apr. 3.	Apr. 8.	Apr. 18.	
Birkenhead (Company's) . [*Docks*] . . .	Feb. 12.	Feb. 26.	Mar. 3.	Apr. 3.	Apr. 3.	Apr. 5.		
Birkenhead, Manchester, and Cheshire Junction . [*Railway*] (No. 1) .	Mar. 20.							
Birkenhead, Manchester, and Cheshire Junction . . [*Railway*] (No. 2) .								
Birmingham . . . [*Improvement*] .	Feb. 27.	Mar. 13.						
Birmingham and Gloucester [*Railway Acts Amend.*].	Mar. 20.							
Birmingham and Gloucester, (Gloucester Extensions, Stoke Branch, and Midland Railways Junction) . . [*Railway*] .	Mar. 31.							

TITLE OF BILL. PROGRESS THROUGH	COMMONS.				LORDS.			ROYAL ASSENT.
	PETITION PRESENTED, OR BILL BROUGHT FROM LORDS.	BILL READ 1^{o}.	BILL READ 2^{o}.	BILL READ 3^{o}.	BILL READ 1^{a}.	BILL READ 2^{a}.	BILL READ 3^{a}.	
Birmingham and Gloucester (Wolverhampton Line) . [*Railway*] . .	Mar. 31.							
Birmingham and Gloucester (Worcester Branch and Cheltenham Extensions) . [*Railway*] . .	Mar. 31.							
Birmingham and Gloucester (Worcester Deviation) . . [*Railway*] . .	Mar. 31.							
Birmingham and Staffordshire . [*Gas*] . . .	Feb. 13.	Feb. 26.	Mar. 3.	Apr. 16.	Apr. 17.	Apr. 21.		
Blackburn . . . . [*Waterworks*] . .	Feb. 25.	Mar. 13.	Apr. 4.					
Blackburn and Preston . . [*Railway*] . .	Feb. 25.	Mar. 12.	Mar. 17.					
Blackburn, Burnley, Accrington, and Colne Extension . [*Railway*] . .	Feb. 10.	Feb. 26.	Mar. 4.					
Blackburn, Darwen, and Bolton . . . . [*Railway*] . .	Feb. 21.	Mar. 13.	Apr. 8.					
Black Sluice . [*Drainage and Navigation*] .	Feb. 25.	Mar. 12.	Mar. 18.					
Boddam . . . . [*Harbour*] . .	Feb. 27.	Mar. 31.	Apr. 14.					
Boileau's . . . . [*Divorce*] . .	Lords' Bill.	Apr. 21.	Apr. 30.	...	Mar. 18.	Apr. 8.	Apr. 15.	
Bradford . . . . [*Gas*] . . .	Feb. 19.	Mar. 5.	Mar. 10.	Apr. 22.	Apr. 22.	Apr. 25.		
Bridgeton . . . . [*Municipal & Police*] .	Feb. 13.	Mar. 10.	Apr. 4.					
Bridgwater . . . [*Navigation & Railway*] .	Feb. 14.	Feb. 27.	Mar. 3.					
Brighton and Chichester (Portsmouth Extension) . . [*Railway*] . .	Feb. 21.	Apr. 9.	Apr. 22.					
Brighton, Lewes, and Hastings (Keymer Branch) . . [*Railway*] . .	Feb. 28.	Mar. 13.	Mar. 31.					
Brighton, Lewes, and Hastings (Hastings, Rye, and Ashford Extension) . . . . [*Railway*] . .								
Bristol . . . . [*Parochial Rates*] .	Feb. 27.	Mar. 17.	Apr. 15.					
Bristol and Exeter . . [*Railway Branches*] .	Mar. 18.	Apr. 11.						
Bristol and Gloucester . . [*Railway*] (No. 1) .	Mar. 20.							
Bristol and Gloucester . . [*Railway*] (No. 2) .	Apr. 11.							

PRIVATE BILLS—*Continued.*

TITLE OF BILL. PROGRESS THROUGH	COMMONS.				LORDS.			ROYAL ASSENT.
	PETITION PRESENTED, OR BILL BROUGHT FROM LORDS.	BILL READ 1°.	BILL READ 2°.	BILL READ 3°.	BILL READ 1ª.	BILL READ 2ª.	BILL READ 3ª.	
Bristol and Gloucester, and Birmingham and Gloucester [*Railways*]	Feb. 28.							
Bristol (Redcliff) [*Bridge*]	Feb. 27.	Mar. 12.	Withdrawn.					
Britten's [*Divorce*]	Lords' Bill.	Feb. 28.	Mar. 5.	Apr. 14.	Feb. 26.	Feb. 24.	Feb. 28	Apr. 24.
Burnley [*Improvement*]	Feb. 21.							
Caledonian [*Railway*]	Feb. 5.	Feb. 25.	Mar. 3.					
Calton and Bridgeton [*Police*]	Feb. 19.	Mar. 12.	Apr. 4.					
Calvert's [*Estate*]	Lords' Bill.	Apr. 21.	Apr. 25.	...	Mar. 4.	Mar. 11.	Apr. 15.	
Cambridge and Lincoln [*Railway*]	Feb. 14.	Mar. 5.	Mar. 10.					
Castle Hill (Wexford) [*Docks*]	Feb. 28.	Apr. 4.	Apr. 18.					
Chelsea [*Improvement*]	Feb. 28.	Mar. 17.	Apr. 14.					
Chester [*Improvement*]	Feb. 28.	Mar. 19.	Apr. 14.					
Chester and Birkenhead Extension [*Railway*]	Feb. 7.	Feb. 20.	Feb. 25.					
Chester and Holyhead [*Railway*] (No. 1.)	Feb. 13.	Feb. 26.	Mar. 3.					
Chester and Holyhead (Mold Branch and Purchase of Chester and Birkenhead) [*Railway*] (No. 2)	Mar. 20.	Apr. 10.	Ap. 21.					
Chester, Manchester, and Liverpool Junction [*Railway*]	Mar. 17.							
Churnet Valley [*Railway*]	Mar. 3.							
Claughton cum Grange (St. Andrew's) [*Church*]	Feb. 24.	Mar. 11.	Apr. 18.					
Claughton cum Grange (St. John the Baptist's) [*Church*]	Feb. 24.	Mar. 11.	Apr. 18.					
Clerkenwell [*Improvement*]	Feb. 28.	Mar. 13.	Mar. 31.	Apr. 28.	Apr. 28.			
Clifton [*Bridge*]	Feb. 28.	Apr. 7.	Apr. 15.					
Clydesdale Junction [*Railway*]	Feb. 10.	Mar. 11.	Mar. 17.					
Cockermouth and Workington [*Railway*]	Feb. 7.	Feb. 20.	Feb. 25.					
Cork and Banden [*Railway*]	Feb. 28.	Apr. 11.	Apr. 25.					
Cornwall [*Railway*]	Feb. 13.	Mar. 17.	Apr. 7.					

PRIVATE BILLS—*Continued.*

TITLE OF BILL.	PROGRESS THROUGH	COMMONS.				LORDS.			ROYAL ASSENT.
		PETITION PRESENTED, OR BILL BROUGHT FROM LORDS.	BILL READ 1°.	BILL READ 2°.	BILL READ 3°.	BILL READ 1ª.	BILL READ 2ª.	BILL READ 3ª.	
Coventry, Bedworth, and Nuneaton	[*Railway*]	Mar. 7.	Apr. 8.	Apr. 21.					
Crediton	[*Small Debts*]	Feb. 28.	Mar. 13.	Apr. 7.					
Cromer Protection from the Sea		Feb. 28.	Apr. 4.	Apr. 21.					
Cromford	[*Canal*]	Feb. 14.	Feb. 27.	Mar. 3.					
Devonport	[*Gas & Coke*]	Feb. 11.	Feb. 26.	Mar. 3.	r. 21.				
Direct London and Portsmouth	[*Railway*]	Mar. 18.	Apr. 7.	Apr. 21.					
Direct Northern (No. 1)	[*Railway*]	Feb. 21.	Withdrawn.						
Direct Northern (Lincoln to York)	[*Railway*] (No. 2)	Mar. 20.							
Diss and Colchester Junction	[*Railway*	Mar. 20.							
Diss, Beccles, and Yarmouth	[*Railway*]	Mar. 14.							
Dublin	[*Cemeteries*]	Feb. 28.							
Dublin	[*Pipe Water*]	Feb. 28.	Apr. 10.	Apr. 25.					
Dublin and Belfast Junction, (Branch to Kells)	[*Railway*]	Feb. 25.	Apr. 10.	Apr. 25.					
Dublin and Drogheda	[*Railway*]	Feb. 24.	Mar. 14.	Apr. 4.					
Duddeston and Nechells	[*Improvement*] (No. 1)	Feb. 27.	Mar. 13.	Withdrawn.					
Duddeston and Nechells	[*Improvement* (No. 2)	Motion.	Apr. 15.						
Dundalk and Enniskillen	[*Railway*]	Feb. 24.	Mar. 17.	Apr. 4.					
Dundee	[*Waterworks*]	Feb. 27.	Mar. 20.	Apr. 11.					
Dundee and Perth	[*Railway*]	Feb. 27.	Mar. 20.	Apr. 11.					
Dunstable and London and Birmingham	[*Railway*]	Mar. 6.	Apr. 4.	Apr. 21.					
East Dereham and Norwich	[*Railway*]	Mar. 31.							
Eastern Counties (Cambridge and Huntingdon Line)	[*Railway*]	Feb. 12.	Feb. 26.	Mar. 10.					
Eastern Counties (Ely and Whittlesea Deviation)	[*Railway*]	Feb. 12.	Feb. 26.	Mar. 4.					
Eastern Counties (Hertford and Biggleswade Line)	[*Railway*]	Feb. 12.	Mar. 3.	Mar. 7.					

TITLE OF BILL.	PROGRESS THROUGH	COMMONS.				LORDS.			ROYAL ASSENT.
		PETITION PRESENTED, OR BILL BROUGHT FROM LORDS.	BILL READ 1^o.	BILL READ 2^o.	BILL READ 3^o.	BILL READ 1^a.	BILL READ 2^a.	BILL READ 2^a.	
Eastern Union	[*Railway*]	Feb. 28.	Mar. 14.	Apr. 7.					
Eastern Union and Bury St. Edmund's	[*Railway*] (No. 1)	Mar. 7.							
Eastern Union and Bury St. Edmund's	[*Railway*] (No. 2)	Mar. 19.	Apr. 17.	Apr. 30.					
Eastern Union and Norwich	[*Railway*] (No. 1)	Mar. 7.							
Eastern Union and Norwich	[*Railway*] (No. 2)	Mar. 19.							
Eastern Union (Harwich)	[*Railway and Pier*] (No. 1)	Apr. 7.	Withdrawn.						
Eastern Union (Harwich)	[*Railway and Pier*] (No. 2)	Apr. 10.							
Edinburgh and Glasgow	[*Railway*]	Feb. 5.	Mar. 4.	Mar. 10.					
Edinburgh and Hawick	[*Railway*]	Feb. 11.	Mar. 10.	Mar. 14.					
Edinburgh and Northern	[*Railway*] (No. 1)	Mar. 5.							
Edinburgh and Northern	[*Railway*] (No. 2)	Mar. 19.	Apr. 8.	Apr. 21					
Edinburgh Life Assurance	[*Company*]	Feb. 27.	Mar. 19.	Apr. 11					
Ellesmere and Chester and Birmingham and Liverpool Junction	[*Canals Union*]	Feb. 6.	Feb. 19.	Feb. 24.	Apr. 14.	Apr. 14.	Apr. 17.		
Ely and Huntingdon	[*Railway*]	Mar. 18.	Apr. 7.	Apr. 23.					
Epsom and Dorking	[*Railway*]	Apr. 2.	Apr. 17.	Apr. 30.					
Erewash Valley	[*Railway*] (No. 1)	Feb. 24.	Mar. 17.	Apr. 9.	Withdrawn.				
Erewash Valley	[*Railway*] (No. 2)	Motion.	Apr. 22.	Apr. 30.					
Exeter and Crediton	[*Railway*]	Mar. 20.	Apr. 10.	Apr. 22.					
Falmouth	[*Harbour Improvement*]	Feb. 25.	Mar. 12.	Mar. 18.					
Fisher Lane (Greenwich)	[*Improvement*]	Motion.	Feb. 13.	Mar. 10.	Apr. 14.	Apr. 15.	Apr. 24.	Apr. 28.	
Forth and Clyde	[*Navigation*]	Feb. 14.	Mar. 5.	Mar. 10.	Apr. 17.	Apr. 17.			
Forth and Clyde Navigation and Union	[*Canal Junction*] (No. 1)	Feb. 25.							
Forth and Clyde Navigation and Union	[*Canal Junction*] (No. 2)	Feb. 27.	Mar. 20.	Apr. 14.		Apr. 17.	Apr. 21.	Apr. 25.	
Foulmire	[*Inclosure*]	Feb. 11.	Mar. 7.	Mar. 14.	Apr. 25.	Apr. 28.			
Glasgow	[*Bridges*]	Feb. 25.	Mar. 17.	Apr. 4.					

PRIVATE BILLS—*Continued.*

TITLE OF BILL. PROGRESS THROUGH	COMMONS.				LORDS.			ROYAL ASSENT.
	PETITION PRESENTED, OR BILL BROUGHT FROM LORDS.	BILL READ 1^{o}.	BILL READ 2^{o}.	BILL READ 3^{o}.	BILL READ 1^{a}.	BILL READ 2^{a}.	BILL READ 3^{a}.	
Glasgow Harbour Union . [*Railway*] . .	Apr. 3.							
Glasgow . . . . [*Markets*] . .	Feb. 27.	Mar. 19.	Apr. 11.					
Glasgow . . . . [*Police*] . .	Feb. 28.	Mar. 19.	Apr. 8.					
Glasgow and Shotts . . [*Road*] . . .	Feb. 25.	Mar. 18.	Apr. 4.					
Glasgow, Barrhead, and Neilston Direct . . . [*Railway*] . .	Mar. 14.	Apr. 25.						
Glasgow, Dumfries & Carlisle [*Railway*] . .	Feb. 5.	Feb. 25.	Mar. 3.					
Glasgow, Garnkirk, and Coatbridge . . . . [*Railway*] . .	Feb. 27.	Mar. 19.	Apr. 11.					
Glasgow Junction . . [*Railway*] . .	Feb. 6.	Mar. 7.	Apr. 14.					
Glasgow, Paisley, Kilmarnock, and Ayr . . . [*Railway*] . .	Feb. 6.	Mar. 7.	Mar. 17.					
Glossop . . . . [*Gas*] . . .	Feb. 27.	Mar. 12.	Apr. 7.					
Gloucester and Dean Forest . [*Railway*] . .	Mar. 31.							
Goole and Doncaster . . [*Railway*] . .	Apr. 10.							
Grand Junction . . . [*Railway*] . .	Mar. 7.	Apr. 10.	Apr. 28.					
Gravesend and Rochester . [*Railway*] . .	Mar. 20.	Apr. 24.						
Great Grimsby and Sheffield Junction . . . . [*Railway*] . .	Feb. 10.	Feb. 25.	Mar. 3.					
Great North of England (Clarence & Hartlepool Junction) [*Railway*] . .	Mar. 19.	Apr. 11.						
Great Southern and Western (Ireland) . . . . [*Railway*] . .	Feb. 18.	Mar. 13.	Apr. 7.					
Great Western, (Ireland) (Dublin to Mullingar and Athlone) . . . . [*Railway*] . .	Mar. 20.							
Greenwich Colliery . . [*Railway*] . .	Motion.	Feb. 17.	Apr. 7.					
Gresham . . . . [*Avenue*] . .	Feb. 28.							
Grimsby . . . . [*Docks*] . . .								
Guildford, Chichester, and Portsmouth . . . [*Railway*] . .	Feb. 5.	Feb. 26.	Mar. 3.					

PRIVATE BILLS—*Continued.*

TITLE OF BILL. PROGRESS THROUGH	COMMONS.				LORDS.			ROYAL ASSENT.
	PETITION PRESENTED, OR BILL BROUGHT FROM LORDS.	BILL READ 1^{o}.	BILL READ 2^{o}.	BILL READ 3^{o}.	BILL READ 1^{a}.	BILL READ 2^{a}.	BILL READ 3^{a}.	
Guildford Junction [*Railway*]	Feb. 28.							
Hamilton [*Gas*]	Feb. 28.							
Harrogate and Ripon Junction [*Railway*]	Feb. 27.	Mar. 14.	Apr. 8.					
Hartlepool [*Pier and Port*]	Feb. 27.	Mar. 12.	Apr. 14.					
Harwell and Streatley [*Road*]	Feb. 13.	Mar. 4.	Apr. 16.					
Harwich [*Railway*]	Apr. 21.							
Harwich and Eastern Counties Junction [*Railway*] (No. 1)	Mar. 5.							
Harwich and Eastern Counties Junction [*Railway*] (No. 2)	Apr. 8.							
Hemel Hempsted [*Small Tenements*]	Feb. 27.	Mar. 13.	Apr. 15.					
Heywood (No. 1) [*Waterworks*]	Feb. 12.							
Heywood (No. 2) [*Waterworks*]	Feb. 12.	Withdrawn.						
Huddersfield [*Waterworks*]	Feb. 24.	Mar. 11.	Apr. 8.					
Huddersfield and Manchester [*Railway & Canal*]	Feb. 10.	Feb. 25.	Mar. 3.					
Huddersfield and Sheffield Junction [*Railway*]	Feb. 14.	Feb. 27.	Mar. 4.					
Hull and Gainsborough [*Railway*]	Mar. 7.							
Hull and Selby (Bridlington Branch) [*Railway*]	Feb. 6.	Feb. 20.	Feb. 24.					
Hungerford and Lambeth [*Suspension Foot Bridge*]	Feb. 28.	Mar. 20.	Apr. 14.					
Irish Great Western (Dublin to Galway) [*Railway*]	Mar. 10.							
Kendal [*Reservoirs*]	Feb. 28.	Mar. 13.	Apr. 23.					
Kendal and Windermere [*Railway*]	Feb. 7.	Feb. 20.	Feb. 24.					
Keyingham [*Drainage*]	Feb. 27.	Mar. 20.	Apr. 9.					
Kidwelly [*Inclosure*]	Feb. 27.	Mar. 12.	Apr. 16.					
Kingston upon Hull [*Docks*]	Feb. 5.	Feb. 19.	Feb. 24.	Apr. 14.	Apr. 15.	Apr. 17.	Apr. 28.	
Kingstown and Bray [*Railway*]	Mar. 5.							
Labouring Classes Improvement [*Society*]	Feb. 6.	Feb. 19.						
Lady's Island and Tacumshin [*Embankment*]	Feb. 28.	Apr. 17.						

PRIVATE BILLS—*Continued.*

TITLE OF BILL. PROGRESS THROUGH	COMMONS.				LORDS.			ROYAL ASSENT.
	PETITION PRESENTED, OR BILL BROUGHT FROM LORDS.	BILL READ 1^{o}.	BILL READ 2^{o}.	BILL READ 3^{o}.	BILL READ 1^{a}.	BILL READ 2^{a}.	BILL READ 3^{a}.	
Lancaster and Carlisle . . [*Railway*] . .	Feb. 7.	Feb. 20.	Feb. 24					
Launceston and South Devon . [*Railway*] . .	Feb. 24.	Mar. 11.	Mar. 17.					
Leeds and Bradford Extension (Shipley to Colne) . . [*Railway*] . .	Feb. 6.	Feb. 19.	Feb. 24.					
Leeds and Thirsk . . . [*Railway*] . .	Feb. 14.	Feb. 27.	Mar. 4.					
Leeds and West Riding Junction . . . . . [*Railway*] . .	Feb. 5.	Feb. 19.	Feb. 24.					
Leeds, Dewsbury, and Manchester Junction . . [*Railway*] . .	Feb. 5.	Feb. 19.	Feb. 24.					
Leicester Freemen's . . [*Allotments*] . .	Feb. 11.	Feb. 27.	Mar. 13.					
Liverpool . . . . [*Docks*] . . .	Feb. 6.	Feb. 19.	Feb. 24.	Apr. 24.				
Liverpool and Bury (Bolton Wigan, and Liverpool and Bury Extension) . . [*Railway*] . .	Feb. 28.	Apr. 4.	Apr. 21.					
Liverpool Guardian . . [*Gas*] . . .	Feb. 25.	Mar. 12.	Mar. 18.					
Liverpool and Manchester . [*Railway*] . .	Apr. 9.							
Liverpool, Ormskirk, and Preston . . . . . [*Railway*] . .	Apr. 9.							
Liverpool, Ormskirk, and Preston (Skelmersdale Branch) . [*Railway*] . .	Apr. 9.							
London and Birmingham . . [*Railway*] . .	Mar. 20.							
London and Brighton (Dorking Branch) . . . [*Railway*] . .	Apr. 3.							
London and Brighton (Horsham Branch). . . . [*Railway*] . .	Apr. 15.							
London and Brighton (Wandsworth Branch) . . . [*Railway*] . .	Apr. 3.							
London and Croydon (Chatham and Gravesend) . [*Railway*] . .	Mar. 20.							
London and Croydon (Chatham to Chilham) . . [*Railway*] . .	Mar. 20.							

PRIVATE BILLS—*Continued.*

TITLE OF BILL.	PROGRESS THROUGH	COMMONS.				LORDS.			ROYAL ASSENT.
		PETITION PRESENTED, OR BILL BROUGHT FROM LORDS.	BILL READ 1^{o}.	BILL READ 2^{o}.	BILL READ 3^{o}.	BILL READ 1^{a}.	BILL READ 2^{a}.	BILL READ 3^{a}.	
London and Croydon Enlargement, Orpington Branch . [*Railway*] . .		Mar. 5.							
London and Croydon (Kentish Lines) . . . . [*Railway*] . .		Mar. 5.							
London and Croydon (Maidstone, Ashford, and Tonbridge) . . . . [*Railway*] . .		Mar. 20.							
London and Croydon (Orpington Branch) . . . [*Railway*] . .		Mar. 20.							
London and Croydon . [*Railway Enlargement*] .		Mar. 20.							
London and Greenwich . [*Railway*] . .		Feb. 27.	Mar. 12.	Apr. 23.					
London and Norwich Direct . [*Railway*] . .		Mar. 31.	Apr. 28.						
London and South Western (Epsom Branch) . . [*Railway*] . .		Apr. 3.							
London and South Western (Metropolitan Extension) . [*Railway*] (No. 1) .		Feb. 5.	Feb. 19.	Feb. 24.					
London and South Western . [*Railway*] (No. 2) .		Feb. 28.	Mar. 13.	Mar. 31.					
London and Worcester and South Staffordshire (Dudley and Sedgley Branch . [*Railway*] . .		Mar. 19.	Apr. 17.						
London and York . . [*Railway*] . .		Feb. 6.	Feb. 21.	Mar. 3.					
London, Chatham, and North Kent . . . . [*Railway*] . .		Feb. 28.	Apr. 28.						
Londonderry and Coleraine . [*Railway*] . .		Apr. 8.							
Londonderry and Enniskillen . [*Railway*] . .		Apr. 3.							
London Orphan . . . [*Asylum*] . . .		Feb. 26.	Mar. 12.	Mar. 31.	Apr. 24.	Apr. 24.	Apr. 28.		
London, Worcester, and South Staffordshire (Extension from Dudley to Wolverhampton [*Railway*] . .		Mar. 20.	Apr. 23.						
London, Worcester, and South Staffordshire . . . [*Railway*] . .		Feb. 14.	Mar. 7.	Mar. 14.					

PRIVATE BILLS—*Continued.*

TITLE OF BILL. PROGRESS THROUGH	COMMONS.				LORDS.			ROYAL ASSENT.
	PETITION PRESENTED, OR BILL BROUGHT FROM LORDS.	BILL READ 1^{o}.	BILL READ 2^{o}.	BILL READ 3^{o}.	BILL READ 1^{a}.	BILL READ 2^{a}.	BILL READ 3^{a}.	
Lowestoft [*Railway & Harbour*].	Feb. 27.	Mar. 14.	Apr. 4.					
Lyme Regis [*Improvem. Mark. & Waterw.*]	Feb. 28.	Apr. 4.	Apr. 18.					
Lynn and Dereham [*Railway*]	Mar. 20.	Apr. 7.	Apr. 21.					
Lynn and Ely [*Railway*]	Feb. 14.	Mar. 4.	Mar. 10.					
Manchester [*Court of Record*] (No. 1)	Feb. 28.	Mar. 14.	Withdrawn.					
Manchester [*Court of Record*] (No. 2)	Motion.	Apr. 25.						
Manchester [*Improvement*]	Feb. 28.	Mar. 19.	Apr. 14.					
Manchester and Birmingham (Ashton Branch) [*Railway*]	Feb. 5.	Feb. 19.	Feb. 24.					
Manchester and Buxton [*Railway*]	Feb. 13.							
Manchester and Leeds [*Railway*]	Feb. 5.	Feb. 19.	Feb. 24.					
Manchester and Leeds (Burnley Branch and Oldham and Heywood Branches Extension) [*Railway*]	Feb. 5.	Feb. 19.	Feb. 24.					
Manchester and Salford [*Waterworks*]	Feb. 17.	Mar. 4.	Mar. 10.					
Manchester, Bury, and Rossendale [*Railway*]	Feb. 27.	Mar. 13.	Apr. 8.					
Manchester, Bury, and Rossendale (Heywood Branch) [*Railway*]	Feb. 14.	Feb. 28.	Mar. 4.	Withdrawn.				
Manchester Division [*Stipendiary Magistrate*]	Feb. 7.	Feb. 20.	Feb. 24.	Apr. 16.	Apr. 17.	Apr. 21.	Apr. 25.	
Manchester, Leeds, and Hull Associated [*Railway Companies*]	Feb. 28.	Mar. 19.	Withdrawn.					
Manchester, Sheffield, and Midland Junction [*Railway*]	Mar. 7.	Mar. 20.	Apr. 15.					
Manchester South Junction and Altrincham [*Railway*]	Feb. 10.	Feb. 25.	Mar. 3.					
Middlesbro' and Redcar [*Railway*]	Feb. 27.	Mar. 19.	Apr. 8.					
Middlesex [*County Rate*]	Feb. 26.	Mar. 20.	Apr. 14.					
Midland Branches [*Railway*]	Mar. 6.	Mar. 20.						
Midland (Ely to Lincoln) [*Railways*]	Feb. 27.	Mar. 13.	Mar. 31.					
Midland (Nottingham to Lincoln) [*Railways*]	Feb. 27.	Mar. 14.	Mar. 31.					

PRIVATE BILLS—*Continued.*

TITLE OF BILL. PROGRESS THROUGH	COMMONS.				LORDS.			ROYAL ASSENT.
	PETITION PRESENTED, OR BILL BROUGHT FROM LORDS.	BILL READ 1^{o}.	BILL READ 2^{o}.	BILL READ 3^{o}.	BILL READ 1^{a}.	BILL READ 2^{a}.	BILL READ 3^{a}.	
Midland Railways Company (Birmingham and Gloucester and Bristol and Gloucester . [*Railways Purchase*]	Mar. 20.							
Midland (Swinton to Lincoln) [*Railways*] . .	Feb. 27.	Mar. 14.	Mar. 31.					
Midland (Syston to Peterboro') [*Railways*] . .	Feb. 27.	Mar. 14.	Mar. 31.					
Molyneux's . . . . [*Estate*] . L.	...	...	...	...	Apr. 22.	Apr. 25.		
Monkland and Kirkintilloch . [*Railway*] . .	Feb. 5.	Feb. 25.	Mar. 3.					
Monmouth and Hereford . [*Railway*] . .	Mar. 5.	Apr. 10.						
Newark and Sheffield . . [*Railway*] . .	Feb. 26.	Mar. 12.	Mar. 17.					
Newcastle and Berwick . . [*Railway*] . .	Feb. 11.	Mar. 4.	Mar. 10.					
Newcastle and Darlington (Brandling Junction) . . [*Railway*] . .	Feb. 12.	Mar. 3.	Mar. 7.					
Newcastle upon Tyne . . [*Coal Turn*] . .	Feb. 18.	Mar. 13.	Apr. 4.					
Newcastle upon Tyne . . [*Port*] . . .	Feb. 28.	Mar. 13.	Apr. 1.					
Newcastle upon Tyne and North Shields (Tynemouth Extension, &c.) . . [*Railway*] . .	Feb. 18.	Mar. 13.	Apr. 1.					
Newport and Pontypool . . [*Railway*] . .	Feb. 24.	Mar. 12.	Apr. 11.					
Newry and Enniskillen . . [*Railway*] . .	Mar. 7.	Apr. 11.	Apr. 25.					
North British . . . [*Insurance Company*] .	Feb. 28.	Mar. 20.	Apr. 14.					
North British . . . [*Railway*] . .	Feb. 18.	Mar. 10.	Mar. 17.					
Northumberland . . . [*Railway*] . .	Mar. 4.	Apr. 7.	Apr. 21.					
North Union and Ribble Navigation Branch . . . [*Railway*] . .	Mar. 5.	Mar. 19.	Apr. 14.					
North Wales . . . . [*Railway*] . .	Mar. 20.	Apr. 16.	Apr. 28.					
North Wales Mineral . . [*Railway*] . .	Apr. 8.	Apr. 28.						
North Woolwich . . . [*Railway*] . .	Feb. 27.	Mar. 18.	Apr. 7.					
Norwich and Brandon Deviation (and Diss and Dereham) Branches . . . . [*Railway*] . .	Feb. 6.	Feb. 27.	Mar. 3.					
Nottingham . . . [*Inclosure*] . .	Feb. 28.	Mar. 13.	Apr. 1.					
Nottingham . . . . [*Waterworks*] . .	Feb. 10.	Feb. 25.	Mar. 3.					

PRIVATE BILLS—*Continued.*

TITLE OF BILL.	PROGRESS THROUGH	COMMONS.				LORDS.			ROYAL ASSENT.
		PETITION PRESENTED, OR BILL BROUGHT FROM LORDS.	BILL READ 1^{o}.	BILL READ 2^{o}.	BILL READ 3^{o}.	BILL READ 1^{a}.	BILL READ 2^{a}.	BILL READ 3^{a}.	
Oxford	[*Mileways*]	Feb. 24.	Mar. 12.						
Oxford and Rugby	[*Railway*]	Feb. 20.	Mar. 5.	Mar. 10.					
Oxford, Worcester, and Wolverhampton	[*Railway*]	Mar. 6.	Mar. 19.	Apr. 8.					
Paisley	[*Gas*]	Feb. 21.	Mar. 12.	Mar. 31.	Apr. 25.	Apr. 28.			
Plymouth and Stonehouse	[*Gas*]	Feb. 6.	Feb. 19.	Mar. 3.	Apr. 21.				
Portarlington and Tullamore	[*Railway*]	Apr. 10.							
Preston and Wyre	[*Railway Branches*	Mar. 20.	Apr. 10.	Apr. 22.					
Pudsey	[*Gas*]	Feb. 5.	Feb. 19.	Feb. 24.	Apr. 2.	Apr. 3.	Apr. 5.		
Quinborowe	[*Borough*]	Feb. 28.	Mar. 19.	Apr. 14.					
Reversionary Interest	[*Society*] (No. 1)	Feb. 28.							
Reversonary Interest	[*Society*] (No. 2)	Apr. 9.	Apr. 23.	Apr. 30.					
Richmond (Surrey)	[*Railway*]	Feb. 5.	Feb. 19.	Feb. 24.					
Royal Naval	[*School*]	Feb. 28.	Mar. 19.	Apr. 14.					
Runcorn and Preston Brook	[*Railway and Docks*]	Mar. 17.	Apr. 16.	Apr. 28					
Rye and Tenterden	[*Railway*]	Mar. 5.	Mar. 19.	Apr. 8.					
St. Helen's	[*Canal and Railway*]	Feb. 28.	Mar. 13.	Apr. 4.					
St. Helen's	[*Improvement*]	Feb. 25.	Mar. 12.	Apr. 4.					
St. Ives Junction	[*Railway*]	Mar. 20.	Apr. 8.	Apr. 21.					
St. Mathew, Bethnal Green	[*Rectory*]	Feb. 28.	Mar. 18.	Apr. 18.					
Scarborough	[*Waterworks*]	Feb. 19.	Mar. 5.	Mar. 10.					
Scottish Central	[*Railway*]	Feb. 11.	Mar. 4.	Mar. 10.					
Scottish Midland Junction	[*Railway*]	Mar. 19.	Apr. 9.	Apr. 22.					
Shaws	[*Waterworks*]	Feb. 25.	Mar. 17.	Apr. 4.					
Sheffield	[*Waterworks*]	Feb. 18.	Mar. 5.	Mar. 17.					
Sheffield and Lincolnshire Junction	[*Railway*]	Feb. 11.	Mar. 12.	Mar. 17.					
Sheffield and Rotherham	[*Railway*]	Mar. 6.	Mar. 31.	Apr. 28.					
Sheffield and Tinsley	[*Canal*]	Feb. 27.	Mar. 12.	Apr. 14.					
Sheffield Ashton-under-Lyne and Manchester	[*Railway*]	Feb. 27.	Mar. 12.	Mar. 31.					

PRIVATE BILLS—*Continued.*

TITLE OF BILL. PROGRESS THROUGH	COMMONS.				LORDS.			ROYAL ASSENT.
	PETITION PRESENTED, OR BILL BROUGHT FROM LORDS.	BILL READ 1^{o}.	BILL READ 2^{o}.	BILL READ 3^{o}.	BILL READ 1^{a}.	BILL READ 2^{a}.	BILL READ 3^{a}.	
Shelsley . . . . [*Road*] . . .	Feb. 25.	Mar. 12.	Mar. 17.	Apr. 24.	Apr. 24.	Apr. 28.		
Shepley Lane Head & Barnsley [*Road*] . . .	Feb. 28.	Mar. 14.	Apr. 7.					
Shrewsbury and Birmingham . [*Railway*] . .	Feb. 6.							
Shrewsbury and Grand Junction [*Railway*] . .	Mar. 18.							
Shrewsbury, Oswestry, and Chester Junction . . [*Railway*] . .	Feb. 28.	Mar. 13.	Mar. 31.					
Skerries . . . . [*Harbour*] . .	Feb. 28.							
Southampton . . . [*Docks*] . . .	Feb. 14.	Mar. 3.	Mar. 10.					
Southampton and Dorchester . [*Railway*] . .	Mar. 4.	Apr. 4.	Apr. 21.					
South Devon (Tavistock and other Branches) . . . [*Railway*] . .	Feb. 24.	Mar. 11.	Mar. 17.					
South Eastern . . . [*Railway*] . .	Feb. 18.							
South Eastern (Ashford to Hastings . , . . [*Railway*] . .	Mar. 20.	Apr. 28.						
South Eastern (Branch to Deal and Extension of the South Eastern, Canterbury, Ramsgate and Margate) . . [*Railway*] . .	Mar. 20.	Apr. 22.	Apr. 30.					
South Eastern (Hungerford Bridge to Chilham with Branches) . . . . [*Railway*] : .	Mar. 20.							
South Eastern (Lewisham to Tunbridge and Paddock Wood) . . . . [*Railway*] . .	Mar. 20.							
South Eastern (Maidstone to Rochester) . . . [*Railway*] . .	Mar. 20.	Apr. 22.	Apr. 30.					
South Eastern (Tunbridge to Tunbridge Wells) . . [*Railway*] . .	Mar. 20.	Apr. 28.						
South Eastern (Widening and Extension of the London and Greenwich) . . [*Railway*] . .	Mar. 20.	Apr. 28.						

TITLE OF BILL. PROGRESS THROUGH	COMMONS.				LORDS.			ROYAL ASSENT.
	PETITION PRESENTED, OR BILL BROUGHT FROM LORDS.	BILL READ 1^{o}.	BILL READ 2^{o}.	BILL READ 3^{o}.	BILL READ 1^{a}.	BILL READ 2^{a}.	BILL READ 3^{a}.	
Southport and Euxton Junction [*Railway*]	Mar. 4.	Mar. 19.	Apr. 14.					
South Wales . . . [*Railway*]	Feb. 26.	Mar. 19.	Apr. 11.					
Southwark and Vauxhall . [*Waterworks*]	Feb. 27.	Mar. 12.	Mar. 18.					
Sparrows Herne . . . [*Road*]	Feb. 7.	Feb. 20.	Feb. 25.	Apr. 4.	Apr. 7.	Apr. 11.	Apr. 17.	
Spoad (Clun), &c. . . [*Inclosure*]	Feb. 26.	Apr. 7.	Apr. 23.					
Staines and Richmond . [*Railway*]	Apr. 2.							
Stalybridge . . . . [*Waterworks*]	Feb. 24.	Mar. 11.	Mar. 19.					
Standard Life Assurance . [*Company*]	Feb. 19.	Mar. 12.	Mar. 31.					
Stokenchurch . . . [*Road*]	Feb. 26.	Mar. 14.	Apr. 4.					
Stoke upon Trent . . [*Market*]	Feb. 28.	Mar. 13.	Apr. 4.					
Sunderland, Durham, and Auckland Union . . [*Railway*]	Apr. 17.							
Surrey Iron Railway . [*Company Dissolving*]	Feb. 24.							
Surrey and Sussex . . . [*Roads*]	Feb. 19.	Mar. 5.	Mar. 10.					
Taunton . . . . [*Gas*]	Feb. 12.	Feb. 26.	Apr. 10					
Taw Vale . . . . [*Railway & Dock*]	Feb. 28.	Mar. 19.	Apr. 14					
Thames and Medway . . [*Canal*]	Feb. 14.							
Thames Navigation . . . [*Debt*]	Feb. 10.	Feb. 25.	Mar. 3.	Apr. 10.	Apr. 11.	Apr. 15.	Apr. 18.	Apr. 24.
Totness . . [*Markets & Waterworks*] (No. 1)	Feb. 28.	Apr. 4.	Withdrawn.					
Totness . . [*Markets & Waterworks*] (No. 2.)	Motion.	Apr. 16.	Apr. 28.					
Tottenham and Farringdon Street Extension . . [*Railway*]	Apr. 4.							
Tranmere . . . . [*Docks*]	Feb. 28.							
Trent Valley . . . [*Railway*]	Feb. 20.	Mar. 6.	Mar. 11.					
Ulster Extension . . . [*Railway*]	Feb. 14.	Mar. 5.	Mar. 10.					
Wakefield, Pontefract, and Goole [*Railway*]	Feb. 5.	Feb. 26.	Mar. 3.					
Wallasey . . . . [*Improvement*]	Feb. 14.	Feb. 27.	Mar. 4.	Apr. 21.	Apr. 21.	Apr. 25.	Apr. 29.	
Waterford and Kilkenny . [*Railway*]	Feb. 20.	Mar. 17.	Apr. 4.					
Waterford and Limerick . [*Railway*]	Mar. 7.	Apr. 23.	Apr. 30.					
Waterman's Company [*Poor's & Endowment Fund*]	Feb. 27.	Mar. 12.	Apr. 15.					
Wear Valley . . . . [*Railway*]	Feb. 27.	Mar. 19.	Apr. 8.					

PRIVATE BILLS—*Continued.*

TITLE OF BILL. / PROGRESS THROUGH	COMMONS.				LORDS.			ROYAL ASSENT.
	PETITION PRESENTED, OR BILL BROUGHT FROM LORDS.	BILL READ 1^{o}.	BILL READ. 2^{o}.	BILL READ 3^{o}.	BILL READ 1^{a}.	BILL READ 2^{a}.	BILL READ 3^{a}.	
Wells and Dereham [*Railway*]	Mar. 20.							
West Cornwall [*Railway*]	Feb. 18.	Mar. 5.	Mar. 10.					
West London [*Railway*]								
Westminster [*Improvement*] (No. 1)	Feb. 28.	Mar. 19.	Withdrawn					
Westminster [*Improvement*] (No. 2)	Motion.	Apr. 16.						
West of London and Westminster [*Cemetery*]	Feb. 21.	Mar. 10.	Mar. 18.					
West Yorkshire [*Railway*]	Feb. 5.	Feb. 19.	Feb. 24.					
Wexford, Carlow, and Dublin Junction [*Railway*]	Mar. 3.	Apr. 11.	Apr. 25.					
Whitby and Pickering [*Railway*]	Feb. 7.	Feb. 27.	Mar. 4.					
Whitehaven and Furness Junction [*Railway*]	Apr. 15.							
Whittle Dean [*Waterworks*]	Feb. 28.	Mar. 19.	Apr. 14.					
Wilts, Somerset, and Weymouth [*Railway*]	Mar. 3.	Apr. 7.	Apr. 21.					
Winwick [*Rectory*]	Feb. 24.	Mar. 13.	Apr. 1.					
Wolverhampton [*Waterworks*]	Feb. 28.	Mar. 17.	Apr. 4.					
Yarmouth and Norwich [*Railway*]	Feb. 28.	Mar. 19.	Apr. 14.					
Yoker [*Road*]	Feb. 21.	Mar. 17.	Apr. 4.					
York and North Midland (Bridlington Branch) [*Railway*]	Feb. 14.	Feb. 28.	Mar. 5.					
York and North Midland (Doncaster Extension) [*Railway*]	Feb. 27.	Mar. 12.	Mar. 18.					
York and North Midland (Goole Branch) [*Railway*]	Feb. 14.	Mar. 5.	Mar. 10.					
York and North Midland (Harrogate Branch) [*Railway*]	Feb. 24.	Mar. 11.	Mar. 18.					
York and Scarborough (Deviation) [*Railway*]	Feb. 5.	Feb. 19.	Feb. 24.					

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